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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
AND OTHER

Ecclesiastical Transactions

IN and ABOUT the
LOW-COUNTRIES,
From the Beginning of the *Eighth Century*,
Down to the Famous Synod of *Dort*, inclusive.

In which all the Revolutions that happen'd in CHURCH and STATE,
on Account of the Divisions between

The PROTESTANTS } The ARMINIANS
and PAPISTS, } and CALVINISTS,

Are fairly and fully represented

By the Reverend and Learned Mr. GERARD BRANDT,
late Professor of Divinity, and Minister to the Protestant Remonstrants
at *Amsterdam*.

Faithfully Translated from the Original LOW-DUTCH,
by m^r. Chamberlayne.

VOL. II.



L O N D O N:

Printed by T. Wood, for JOHN CHILDE, at the *White-Hart* at the
West End of *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. MDCCXXI.

THIS Second Volume of the History of the Reformation should have appear'd about New-Years Tide last ; nor was it the Fault of Mr. Chamberlayne the Translator, who always furnish'd the Press with Copy as fast as it could be wrought off ; but the Death of the Undertaker, and some other unhappy Circumstances attending it, were the Cause of this Delay ; of which the Publick shall be indemnify'd by the future Diligence of all Parties.

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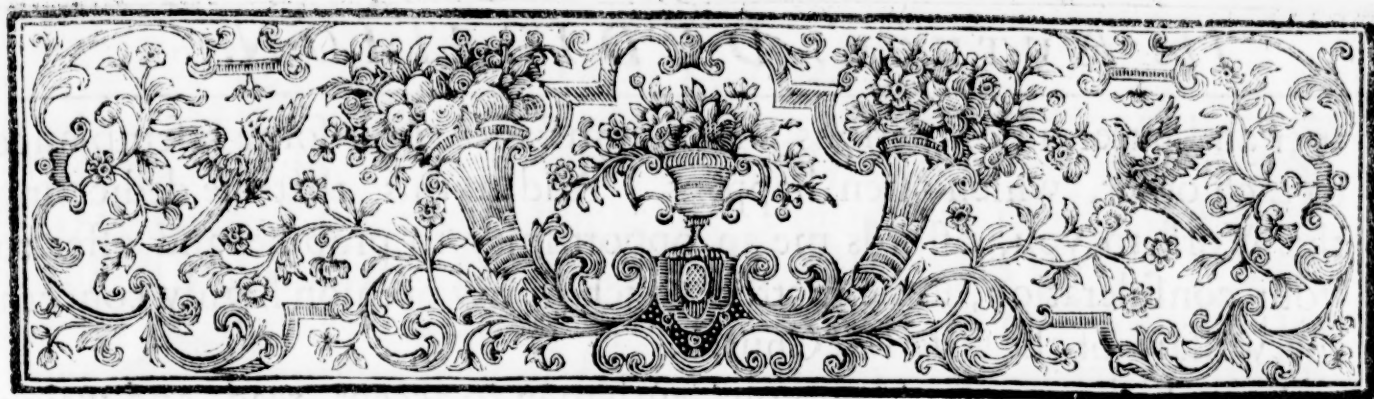
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T H E
Author's Dedication.

TO ALL THE
MINISTERS and TEACHERS
Of the Publick
Reformed Churches and Schools
O F
HOLLAND and WEST-FREESLAND.

Reverend, Pious, and Learned Gentlemen and Brethren,



HAT I might conform to the ancient custom, by Dedicating this Second Volume of *The History of the Reformation* to somebody, I have thought it proper to address my self to you Gentlemen; not only because you are particularly obliged zealously to promote the Reformation, but likewise on account of the Civilities I acknowledge my self to have received from you, or from some of you at least; and the rather, because many of your Order have been pleased to pass a favourable judgment on the First Volume of this Work, and to recommend it to others, who perhaps might have otherwise rejected it without either seeing or reading it. This Book belongs also to you rather than others, because it contains matters and things which in a great measure have happened in the Churches and Schools where you Gentlemen preach and teach. Now these transactions of your Predecessors are in their own nature most proper to instruct you their Successors and Followers, in your duty, especially so far as the for-

mer and latter times, persons and circumstances bear some resemblance to each other, which often happens. Add to this, that the dedicating this Work to you, affords me an opportunity to propose and offer to your consideration, some matters which in my opinion highly concern the welfare of the *Reformed Church*.

For which purpose, I beg you Gentlemen to accept, read, and weigh it with the same intention, inclination and view, as I write and dedicate it to you.

Our History, after relating some preceding Events by way of introduction, proceeds here to describe the Disputes and Quarrels that have divided and separated the Church of this Country, one of the principal Members of *Reformed Christendom*, by a most pernicious Schism, upon which the pious and prudent men of both parties can never reflect, but with pouring out their tears and prayers to God at the same time, that he would vouchsafe to re-establish Peace among brethren so much estranged and alienated from each other. But in the relation of those dismal quarrels among them who were known by the titles of REMONSTRANTS and CONTRA-REMONSTRANTS, my chief design is to place Truth naked and in her real shape before the eyes of the world, in order to obviate all partiality, as well on the one side as the other, and every where to sow, as far as possible, the seeds of peace and unity in the minds of my Readers.

Accordingly my endeavours have been, never to expose with contempt or hatred the false steps of those who perhaps will take me for their adversary upon account of my particular opinions in matters of Religion. On the contrary, I have no where taken more care or pains than to touch their sores with a gentle hand, always remembering that lesson of the Antients, *That we ought so to speak of our Enemies, as if we were to be Friends again some time or other.*

I therefore relate only bare matters of fact, submitting them to the judgment of my Readers; or else recite the several opinions of both parties, or of other men whose writings are in every body's hands, and to which each may give as much credit as he shall think fit.

But if you Gentlemen happen to meet here with things contrary, or not entirely conformable to what other Writers of those times say of them, I beg that my faithfulness and sincerity in accounting for those events may not be called in question; for I sometimes found myself obliged to recede a little from their paths, which is to be understood particularly with respect to that known writer of Memoirs, on whom one of your late brethren, the Reverend *Abraham van de Korput*, formerly Minister of *Gieffemienkerk*, a very industrious Author, in his Life of *Melancthon*, passes this censure, That ¹ *he was used to listen to idle tales, rather than the true relation of things: That he stufed his writings with trifles, and seldom considered what he said.* From whence you may judge, how far one may depend upon all those other writers that follow him almost every where in the accounts they give of the Ecclesiastical differences.

¹ *Korpus's Life of Melancthon, p. 597.*

Neither would I have you too readily suspect what is related in this History from the books or papers of those who were parties in the cause, or some way or other concerned in these events; but use the equity of the aforementioned *Korput*, who giving an account of the imprisonment of *Peucer*, *Melancthon's* Son-in-law, from his own papers, obviates the suspicion of partiality, under which he lay for that reason, in the following terms: 'No body that we know of, has in our days ever found fault with what that famous and learned Gentleman *Hugo de Groot* (or *Grotius*) has recorded in his Apology, concerning his imprisonment and the rest of the proceedings against him, on account of its being writ by himself; since the discreet Reader may sufficiently observe in it, that, laying aside all passions, he relates what befel him there without fraud or artifice; notwithstanding we live in such an age, which has but too sharp eyes to censure every thing that is published by those who are of different sentiments in matters of Religion or Civil Government: We are not now speaking of the motives of his imprisonment, whether, for instance, they were founded in justice or not, (for that comes under another consideration) but have only quoted this as a late example to support what we have advanced, viz. that a relation of past events is not necessarily to be suspected, because it is written by a person to whom the things are said to have happen'd; especially if it appears from all the circumstances, that he had God before his eyes, and that Truth was the mark at which he aimed.

But I have for the most part appealed to firm Testimonies and positive Facts; and not only to written Manifestos, to Petitions, Propositions, Conferences, Letters, and other memoirs of good credit (extracted from the books and respective papers of both parties, and of neutrals too) but also to the public Registers and Journals of the States, and Synodal Acts; in the very words of which, as far as I could, I have endeavoured to account for transactions, to the end that I might avoid all reproaches of partiality. And I will venture to affirm, that I have as little spared the infirmities of my friends and of their patrons, as the crimes of their enemies. History must not conceal Truth, though never so unacceptable; if she does, she will find herself maimed in her best members.

For the sake of this *Love of Truth* (to which I shall always be ready to yield, especially if any one can convince me that I have acted against it) I earnestly intreat you Gentlemen, that none of you set yourselves to the perusing these events, without first examining himself, whether he be sufficiently divested of all kind of prejudice and ill will, which usually corrupt or bias our judgments. Let the blind favour for our friends, and the too quicksighted aversion for our enemies, give place here to the sincere desire of discovering and learning Truth. If you meet with any thing that is not agreeable to you, do not therefore too rashly reject the whole work, but cast your eyes upon other parts of it, which, being well considered, may perhaps afford you

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* See *Korput's* account of *Peucer's* Imprisonment, at the end of *Melancthon's* Life, p. 827.

more satisfaction. Weigh with attention whether the things which seem to be contrary to your opinion, are not *truly* related; or whether they be not of the same nature with such as you find in other Authors, and read without any aversion or disturbance; and that even in books which are now published with the knowledge or permission both of the subordinate and supreme powers. Consider also with your selves, whether what is published first of all by me, would be so disagreeable, if it had dropt from the pen of one of your own Brethren or Collegues whom you loved and esteemed. Here you will be convinced, if you weigh all these transactions, not by piecemeals, but all of them together, in the balance of discretion, what blame belongs to one or t other party.

When therefore Truth discloses herself in this Work to both parties, let it serve to open the eyes of all that are partial, to the end that by discovering the mistakes of their friends, they may be the more easily induced to pardon the faults of their enemies, and mutually or jointly to mend all that can be amended.

This History may likewise contribute to acquaint you and all your brethren, with what some great Divines, pillars of the church of Christ, and shining lights of the *Reformation*, proposed and recommended to the contending parties in former times; how they exhorted them to prevent the *Schism* at the beginning, and to heal it during its progress. So many things, incidents, discourses and advices which do here sufficiently demonstrate the indecency of quarrelling, the mischief of separation, the possibility, necessity, and usefulness of peace, are doubtless worthy to be considered.

I would therefore recommend it to the consideration of your selves and your brethren upon this occasion, whether the reading this History, and the reflecting upon the principal contents of it, should not stir up all Christian Teachers to a more serious attention to such things as at proper times might contribute to the peace of the Church: a matter that has been so long wisht for by the best and wisest men; and of which we ought not altogether to despair, since the heat of zeal is much cooled in the minds of many; and that the counsels of impartial persons, which were too hastily rejected when our divisions ran highest, will be now more easily listened to than formerly.

And though this meets with obstacles from many, and particularly from those who either would not, or could not own the assemblies of the *Remonstrants* to be such with whom they could safely maintain communion; yet I am bold to hope, that these obstacles would not be so great, nay that they might possibly disappear, if men (after attending to all the peaceful counsels of the Gospel) would, among other things of the same tendency, be pleased to consider in what manner that peaceful Divine *Franciscus Junius*, of blessed memory among the *Reformed*, comported himself above seventy years ago towards the *Romanists*, and towards the other sects of the *Reformed* or *Protestants*, which then differed more from the church in which he taught, than the *Remonstrants* differ now from you. He gave a sufficient proof of his peaceable temper towards the *Romanists*, when he address himself

to the well known *Peter Charron*, in these Words: 'The imagination which people often entertain, as if we differed from each other in the highest degree upon all points, is the cause that nobody will hearken to any terms of peace which another proposes. However, in this at least we all agree, to wit, That we allow the Scriptures to be the Word which proceeded from God. And upon this common foundation, we ought to do so much for the present and future good of Christendom, as to try whether by our agreement in this one fundamental point, we might not proceed a great deal further, and by being charitably inclined towards each other, might not bear with one another in matters of Ignorance and Error, since we are all learners in the same school of Christ.' In another place, says he; At this very time the poor Christians which live among them (the *Romanists*) seeking Christ in the communion of his Church, have communion with us, and we with them in one Head and one Spirit; for which reason we endeavour to promote and fortify that little life which remains in them, according to the will of God.' And again he says: 'We are in one and the same house and family, (he means the *Protestants* and *Papists*, as appears from what went before) which is called the Catholick Church; but in order to our sanctification, we are obliged to keep one apartment to ourselves, that we may not be infected by them, in all other matters remaining always brethren and friends from the bottom of our hearts and inclinations.' Then discoursing of the differences between the *Reformed*, and those of the *Ausburg* confession, he adds: 'That they agree in the main and essential points of Faith.' But to that objection, That the contending parties make the contention much greater, he returns the following answer: 'Those who rage and foam thus, are people of a distempered spirit; will you give any credit to them? We pity them, and whisper them in the ear when we have an opportunity, that they should not cry so loud, and that it does not sound well. Does it follow from thence, that they are such adversaries as differ from us in fundamentals, because there are some brain-sick people among them, who being excited by the heat of their passions, cry out, as one may say, nothing but fire and murder? --- He further says: 'That we should learn from the examples of *Jerome* and *Austin* (who, as appears by their Letters, did not always agree in their Opinions) that no disagreement in Doctrine, either did or ought to make a Division, unless it related to Fundamentals; and that in other matters we should bear with one another, waiting till God vouchsafes to open the eyes of those that are in error, as *St. Paul* has also commanded.

It were likewise to be wished, that those who are so averse to peace with the *Remonstrants* would reflect upon what *Peter du Moulin*, the Son, writ a few years since upon the subject of Christian peace and communion. ² 'Instead of enquiring, says he, about that wherein we differ, and being offended at it, we should do much better to consider

¹ F. Jun. Amiab. Confront. Lib. III. Cap. IV. p. 421. ² P. du Moulin le fils, en son Traite de la Paix de l'Ame. Liv. V. Ch. VII. p. 498.

consider wherein we agree, and to thank God for it. If any one should bring us news, that there was a great Kingdom or Country discovered in the *Terra Australis Incognita*, and that the holy Scripture and the Apostles Creed, or the Twelve Articles of our Faith, and the Four first Councils were received there, it would undoubtedly be no small satisfaction to us, and those people would questionless be very dear to us, though they happened to differ from us in several points of doctrine built upon this common foundation: Why should we not therefore bear with our friends and neighbours, and our own countrymen, who agree with us in so many fundamentals, who worship one and the same God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; who embrace the promises of the Gospel by Jesus Christ; who do their utmost endeavours by the love of God and exercise of good works to honour their maker, and to attain to the kingdom of heaven? And a little after he adds in the words of the Psalmist, *Psal. lxxxv. ver. 10. 'Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other.* Truth cannot be established without Mercy, nor Righteousness without Peace. If we destroy Charity to preserve the Faith, 'tis the same thing as if we threw down the Roof of the Church to prop the Walls. We have found by the experience of a hundred years, that it is impossible to bring about a general change of opinions by wars and disputes. Let us not therefore contend any longer, unless it be in praying for one another, and let our disputes be, who shall shew most love and moderation. The *Danube* and the *Save*, falling into the same channel, run thirty leagues together without mixing their waters: Our differences will not suffer us perhaps to mingle with each other, but let us not however forbear walking together. Let us run quietly in our common channel, and let us aim at the same end of our course, which ought to be, **the Publick Peace, and the Honour of God.**

I leave you now to consider, Gentlemen, how far these words of *Du Moulin* and *Junius* are applicable to the disputes that have arisen with the *Remonstrants*, and to the dislike of their persons. And whether these and the like exhortations ought not powerfully to incite us, not only to the laying aside all hatred, but also to the inflaming our love, and to some nearer coalition, or at least restoration of peace.

And though there is little hope of a perfect union and reconciliation in the Church by a peace consisting in an entire uniformity of opinions with respect to the points in debate, yet it may be considered whether we could not arrive at peace in general, by allowing some diversity, and by a mutual toleration with regard to non-fundamentals, and obscure and dubious matters, each side enjoying the freedom of proposing its opinions with temper, discretion, and for edification, and modestly defending them. But if it should not be thought proper to act thus in one and the same church or congregation, let it be then further considered, whether for the present there may not be some agreement and renewal of brotherly love, made and maintained in two different places; allowing each party, till God shall bring them to greater harmony, to meet separately as it were (if I may use the words of *Junius*

nus again) in two several apartments of one house, the Church; where one might chiefly adhere to that body of the community, or that part of the church, in which one might expect to find the most useful Truths, the strongest inducements to Piety and Charity, and the greatest aversion to all Force upon Conscience. It is probable, that whilst we trod these paths, some expedients might be found to smother our disputes, and to revive peace.

But there are some who will allow of no diversity with respect to these and other controversies; but insist, that we must subscribe to all their opinions, before they listen to any kind of Ecclesiastical friendship.

And yet these perhaps may be of another mind, if they reflect upon what that famous Light of the Church, *Calvin*, says in his writings: ' That it may have been observed at all times, that even those who ' have not been wanting in any exercise of Piety, nor in treating the ' mysteries of Godliness with reverence and moderation, have not ' however agreed in all points with each other; since God has never ' yet vouchsafed so great favour to his Ministers, as that each of them ' should be endowed with a perfect and absolute knowledge; which ' has been doubtless for this reason, *viz.* to contain us first within the ' duty of Humility, and in the next place to excite us to Brotherly ' Communion.

They should likewise attend to what the very Learned *D'avenant*, one of the Members of the late Synod of *Dort*, says, speaking of the communion of Christians at the Lord's Table: ' As by this mutual ' communion we do not profess or pretend to have all of us attained ' to a perfect knowledge in Divine Things, or to an equal degree of ' it; so neither do we testify or declare, that there is an entire agree- ' ment among us in all the principal points of Theological Doctrine, ' or that we are absolutely of the same opinion in all controverted ' matters. If the communion of Christians could not subsist among ' them but upon such hard terms, *Peter* and *Paul* would scarce have ' been able to have lived in the same communion, and the church of ' *Corinth* would certainly have been torn in pieces; neither should we ' easily meet with any Divines of name in our times, that could safely and with a good conscience meet together at the Holy Communion.

They may likewise read in the forecited treatise of *Junius*, how he chastises the *Romish* church, who arrogates to herself alone the title of *Catholick*, according to her maxim of *All or Nothing*; because she will be the Mistress without conforming to any thing which she does not approve. What he observes upon this domineering temper, is very pertinent, and deserves to be heard. ' The true Catholic Church ' (says he) speaks the following language: *Something here, and All in ' Heaven.* The tyrannical maxim of *All or Nothing*, does only prevail ' in that False Church, which fancies herself to be the *Catholick*. The ' Truly *Catholick* Church knows the weakness of her children, and ' bears

¹ *J. D'avenant* Episc. Sarisb. in Epist. ad *J. Duræum* script. p. 61. See also *Gessel. Hist. Eccl. Tom. II. p. 646.*

' bears with that little they have. The Pretended Catholick thinks of
' nothing but herself, and is a meer She-Wolf, that nourishes a wolf-
' ish breed, since she will endure nothing but what she likes. How
' can such a church say: *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that*
' *trespass against us?*

If even those who are so much against tolerating any diversity of opi-
nions, and who think all the differences they have with other sects to be of
almost equal weight, would look upon their own churches, and those of
their perswasion; they would be forced to confess, that men do not al-
ways build upon that foundation which is Christ, gold, silver, and preci-
ous stones, but sometimes likewise wood, hay, and stubble. They cannot
help bearing with weak members, and people of different notions, even
among themselves. Are there not also in and out of *Holland*, noted Preach-
ers and famous Professors, who disagree about several, and, in their
opinion, very weighty matters too; and who contradict each other, not
only in Publick Churches and Schools, but likewise openly and vio-
lently in Print? And yet by the wise management of the most mo-
derate of their brethren, and the good order of their superiors, they
mutually bear with each other in one church, and join in the same
communion. These persons now, and all that are of their temper,
(whose quarrels are hinted at, not by way of reproach, but with grief
and lamentation for the wounds of the Church;) ought to reflect,
whether they be not as much obliged to put in practice that expedi-
ent with respect to others, which they must use among themselves, in
case they are willing to avoid at every turn new divisions and schisms;
viz. *Mutual Forbearance*, notwithstanding any remarkable diversity in
points not fundamental.

But perhaps some will say, this is not sufficient to obviate all diffi-
culties; and that there are several others which render men averse to
all accommodations: For instance; some think, that the opinions of
the *Remonstrants* about the *Five Points*, are not to be tolerated: that
Mutual Forbearance, as used and exercised in their assemblies, opens
a door to all other sects and errors: that they (the said *Remonstrants*)
arrogate too great a power to themselves, by pretending to judge
which points are fundamental, which are tolerable, and which not;
at the same time ranking among the *Tolerable*, not only Errors, but
Heresies: that their opinions are condemned by an Ecclesiastical Sen-
tence of many eminent Divines, both foreign and domestick: that
their numbers are now too small to be treated with; nay, that they
ought to be crusht as a Faction raised against the Government.

But on the other hand, they who take the part of the *Remonstrants*
answer, first, That their greatest adversaries must either allow their
opinion with respect to the *Five Points*, to be tolerable, or they must
condemn many of the greatest Doctors of the former and latter ages,
who approved, confest and taught that opinion, or at least tolerated
it in one another: and that they must even blame the famous *Calvin*
himself, for owning *Melancthon*¹ in his letters (whose notions about *Prede-*
stination the *Remonstrants* look upon to be the same with theirs) for a

¹ Calv. Epist. Ep. 147 & 179. col. 181, 211.

dear and worthy brother: and the learned *Beza* too, who at the conference of *Montbeliard*¹ offered the *Lutherans* (they being of the same opinion) the Right hand of fellowship.

To the objection of the great extent or latitude of their toleration, they answer: That they thereby set open their doors no wider than all the eminent Doctors and Propagators of the *Reformation*, who always maintained, that the necessary Articles of Faith are few and plain. They observe in the works of ² *Du Moulin* the following expressions: 'The sum of Religion consists in two branches, viz. *Doing well and Believing well*. We find the substance of the first, in the Law of God; and of the second, in the Symbol, or Apostles Creed. Many men have attained to salvation with even less knowledge than this. *Jonas* did not preach so much to the *Ninivites*, and yet the Lord *Jesus* bears witness of their conversion. They know that the learned Professor *David Paraeus*, in his *Eirenicon*, divides the foundation of our Faith and Salvation into four principal parts: the first is the Ten Commandments; the second, the Apostles Creed; the third, the Lord's Prayer; and the fourth, the Sacraments: adding, That they who have received and faithfully practised these things, will doubtless be saved, though they have never heard of the rest of the disputes of Divines. They hear *Joseph Hall*, that excellent *English* Bishop, in his discourse about *Moderation*, speaking thus: ³ 'I know no book so necessary as that *De Paucitate Credendorum*; that is, of the small number of things we are obliged to believe; and there is no article so necessary as that *We need not believe more than the Symbol of the Apostles*.' It will be replied perhaps, that we understand more largely, and extend farther the words of these Divines, than they meant them; but then it is to be considered, whether the consequences which the *Remonstrants* pretend to draw from them, do not naturally follow; and whether those Divines who thus spoke and wrote, could limit their opinions and views within more narrow bounds, without contradicting themselves.

Where therefore Divines lay down so few things for Fundamentals, it will be much easier to persuade people to receive those few than many, and by that means the door of the Church will be opened the wider to let in many. Those Divines therefore think, a peace with the *Remonstrants* ought not to be refused on account of the latitude of their Moderation. They likewise declare, that they are not willing to admit any into their communion, whom God excludes from Heaven in his Word. If therefore they can be convicted by the same Word that they tolerate too much in their churches, they will own themselves bound, and be always ready to lessen and contract their toleration so far as the Scripture, the only rule of Faith and Manners, shall require.

They have not, they say, assumed any authority to themselves of distinguishing the necessary Points from the rest, any otherwise than according to the plain directions of God's word, and according to the rule laid down above twelve hundred years ago by *Vincentius Lirinensis*, one

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¹ Repos de T. de Beze aux Actes de Conf. de Momb. 1587. ² Moul. Rep. à du Perron. Lib. I. p. 184.

³ The Second Part of J. Hall's Works, p. 880.

of the ancient Doctors of the Church, in which all Christians have agreed, namely: *That we ought carefully to retain in the Christian church, that which has been believed by all men, at all times, and in all places.*

The objection, That the opinions of the *Remonstrants* are condemned and rejected by many great Divines, gives them a handle to ask, whether in this case people ought to make use of Humane Authority, or that of Synods, which, as they have been composed ever since the Apostles times of men who every one of them in particular were liable to *err*, might likewise *err* united or in general; or at least be too obstinate, too rigorous, or too violent in their judgments and condemnations? This happened so often in ancient times, that the very learned *Peter Martyr* says upon that account: 'That the votes in the Councils were not weighed, but numbered; by which means it happened, that the smaller and better part was frequently overcome by the greater and worse.

Might not the Patrons of *Remonstrancy* appeal likewise to a vast number of eminent Defenders of their opinions? Imagine only to yourself, will they say, such a Synod where the first *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, *Justin* the Philosopher and Martyr, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Hilary*, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, *Epiphanius*, *Ambrose*, *Jerom*, *Chrysostom*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Theodoret*, *Primasius*, and *Theophylact* presided; where also the Lights of these latter ages, *Erasmus*, *Melancthon*, *Bullinger*, *Erasmus Sarcerius*, *Cruciger*, *Latimer*, *Hooper*, *Hemming*, *Holman*, *Peter Baro*, *Gellius Secanus*, the *English* Bishop *Lancelot Andrews*, *John Overall*, and other Divines of their sentiments might give their votes: in such a Synod, they trust, their cause would not be condemned; nay, they think, that if they might afterwards have appealed to that very assembly in which they were formerly condemned, matters would rather have been disposed for peace and accommodation than determination or decision; and that many persons, after the abatement or extinction of their first animosities, looking more narrowly into the points in controversy, would have had a quite different notion of them, following therein the footsteps of the very learned *English* Divine, ² *Thomas Goade*, Rector of *Hadleigh* in *Suffolk*, who after the departure of *Joseph Hall*, was sent to the national Synod at *Dort* by the King of *Great Britain*, but who since embraced and openly defended, after diligent examination, the very opinions which he had assisted in condemning, without being on that account excluded from the communion of the *English* church.

And as for the smallness of their numbers, it is not to be thought that those Ministers who discharge their office with a pure conscience, will reproach them on that account; for they know that we are not to consult flesh and blood, or any worldly interests in our deliberations for promoting the peace of the Church; and that the number of communicants in any sect is no proof of the truth or justice of a cause. 'Tis true, their assemblies are not so great in the towns of *Holland*, as those of

¹ P. Martyr in prim. lib. Reg. Cap. XII. p. 97. ² See the little Treatise called *Stimulus Orthodoxus*, five *Goadus Redivivus*. A Dissertation concerning the Necessity and Consistency of Events, &c. London printed for W. Leake, 1661.

of your churches: but neither will you, Gentlemen, deny that they consist for the most part of the chief among the Burghers and Natives of the country, the descendants and relations of those brave *Hollanders* who formerly governed this Province, who were very instrumental in introducing the *Reformation*, and who sacrificed their lives and fortunes for the general liberty.

It should likewise be considered, whether when you seriously weigh all those things that may tend to promote the peace of the Church, you ought not also to have regard to so many other Christians who subscribe to the opinions of the *Remonstrants*: for if ever there could be any coalition made with them and their Pastors upon equitable terms, what a door might that open to much greater unions with many noble churches in *Germany*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*? All those of the confession of *Ausburg*, that are reasonable, moderate, and lovers of peace, especially the disciples, friends, and followers of the gentle *Melancthon*, and the peaceful *Calixtus*, would not be able any longer to baffle those among you, who in imitation of *Duraus*, that indefatigable labourer for the peace of the Church, invite them to peace and brotherhood, with that objection or evasion of the people of *Wittenberg*, *Strasburg*, and *Sweden*, who declared, *That you ought to make peace, or unite yourselves first with the Remonstrants, who (as they said) were condemned for doctrines which they themselves likewise maintained.* Yea, they were of opinion, *That the Remonstrants differed in fewer points from you than they did; and that you could not be hearty in your offers of peace to those of the Ausburg persuasion, whilst you so ill treated the said Remonstrants.*

By the like bands of peace, or some reasonable accommodation, you would possibly unite the hearts of many of the most learned Ministers, Professors, Bishops, and others of the chief Dignitaries of the church of *England*, (who openly approve the sentiments of the *Remonstrants*) more closely to your church, which might be a general benefit to the cause of *Reformation*. But this argument will carry with it much more weight, if you would be pleased to observe what has been published within these few years in *England*, agreeably to the principles, and in justification of the opinions of the *Remonstrants*; to wit, the books of the very learned Dr. *Hammond*, and especially his treatise about the *Fundamental Points*, and his *Annotations on the New Testament*; the History of the *Five Articles*, by Dr. *Peter Heylin*, Chaplain to King *Charles the First*, and his Letters: the Sermons of Mr. *Anthony Farrindon*, the book of Dr. *John Pearson* upon the *Twelve Articles* of the Creed; besides the writings of *John Goodwin*, of *William Chillingworth*, of Bishop *Jeremiah Taylor*, of Bishop *Gunning*, of *John Hales* of *Eaton*, of Dr. *Laurence Wornack*, Prebend of *Ely* and Archdeacon of *Suffolk*; of Dr. *Thomas Pierce*, formerly President of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford* [since Dean of *Sarum*] and several other learned persons, Clergymen and Bishops, who have shewn their inclination to the *Remonstrants*, or their opinions, in divers publick pieces. This will further appear by the extract of a Letter writ by an eminent Divine some time ago, to one of the *Remonstrant* party, which being translated from the *Latin*, runs thus:

THERE is certainly a very great conformity between the doctrine of our church and that of the Remonstrants; and it is possibly much greater between the private opinions of considerable numbers of the sons and members of the church, and those of your communion. For our Articles are so framed, that the followers of Calvin think them as much in their favour, as the Orthodox believe them to be on their side: which, I judge, was so done upon mature deliberation; since we lay a greater stress upon Peace and Unity, than upon a few Truths that are not so entirely necessary to be known. Neither should I be very averse to some such proposal as this, viz. That instead of determining the Five Points, the following article should be agreed upon: That no Christian should feed himself with vain hope, or believe he could be saved without conforming his life seriously and sincerely to the commands of Christ. This alone would satisfy me. As for other opinions, I would leave every man to his own liberty. But I deplore your fate, and am sorry that your innocent assemblies, which are as pure as any others, should be still so unworthily treated. But you ought to wonder at it the less, since Divine Providence has so ordered it, intending doubtless to reserve what is most beautiful and perfect, to honour and adorn the last ages, which possibly are nearer than we imagine----- What affects me most in all the Books and Treatises you have sent, is, That I discover such great diligence and heartiness among you in labouring for common peace and union; and that you make more account of brotherly love, than of crabbed and uncertain opinions; and that you exclude none from your communion who embrace that ancient, simple, and truly Apostolical Faith, and join with it a good and sober life----- There is nothing in the world I more desire, than to see the Remonstrants, and the followers of Calvin, and even the whole church of the Reformed, united in one and the same body (though differing from one another never so much in many opinions not necessary to salvation) and knit firmly and mutually together by that only spirit of ardent affection, by which alone we can be assured that we are true and living members of Christ. And for this very reason it seems to me that your sect is the most to be esteemed of any, because it carries away the Palm, or rather the Olive Branch from all others, preferring a virtuous and peaceable life before the most subtil and mysterious notions.

From this Letter it appears, that such a peace was no less desired in England.

As to the charge of their being a Faction in the State, the Remonstrants think they have the greatest cause imaginable to complain of the injustice of it. They will publickly show that the word **Faction**, by which is commonly understood a number of seditious people, who endeavour to disturb the Government, forming great parties to that end, is not less applicable to any sect among Christians than to them; it having ever been their professed opinion, that a man cannot be a good Citizen, much less a Christian, unless he submit to those Magistrates that are in the seat of Government, and are in possession of the Power, in whatever they command (let them be who they will, and let their rule be never so rigorous) provided it be not incompatible with the will and worship of God. It is, they say, one of the fundamental maxims of their society, That Religion is not to be propagated by Arms or Tumults; nor Persecution to be opposed by any outward force.

To this they think themselves bound by their Lord's command, who said to *Peter*, * *Put up again thy sword into his place.* They say with *Erasmus*, that even truth itself is displeasing to them, if it be *seditions*. The profession and practice of that nonresisting opinion, signed and sealed by the primitive Christians with whole rivers of their blood, ought, as they think, to obviate all suspicion of their being *Factionous*; and in case any among them ever appeared to oppose this doctrine either in word or deed, he has been censured and reprov'd both in their sermons and writings.

But perhaps I detain you too long, Gentlemen, upon these objections, which induce some people to believe, that the breach that has been once made, can never be healed. Excuse it, I entreat you Gentlemen; it being done only to open the eyes of some, and to set their duty in a more clear light before them; especially those who are the Ministers of the Prince of Peace, and who are bound to preach, to seek, and to pursue peace. Did even the most contentious among them but conceive how important and how necessary that duty is, they would soon acknowledge with the great *Erasmus*, that **Christianity cannot subsist without Peace, and that no peace is to be attained without Charity.** Let us then practise this Charity, the most necessary point of Religion, and the surest characteristick of true Christianity. Then will Prejudice and Ill-will vanish before it, and every one of us will be disposed towards Peace.

Upon the occasion of inscribing this History to you, Gentlemen, I thought it my duty to lay these things before you; and there remains nothing more now, than for you to consider of what may most contribute in present and future times towards the peace and establishment of your own, and the rest of the *Reformed* churches.

If after so many disputes and quarrels, and books published *pro* and *con*, there could but be some kind of christian peace, or a better understanding settled by the means of Charity, the band of perfection, it would soften by degrees the minds of both parties, and their adherents, and dispose them to discover in the light of the Gospel, the good qualities of their adversaries, which, through the blindness of prepossession, they are not able at present to discern. The eyes of Reason and Discretion, which *Hatred* has closed in many men, *Love* would open again. We should discover in each others assemblies more good, and less evil. The pulpit would no longer eccho with slander and reproaches. All those deep, unscriptural, dangerous, harsh, and shocking manners of speaking, at which so many weak persons are offended, would be no longer heard in sermons. Then should we lay aside our old animosities, and unanimously join all our strength in approaching nearer and nearer to each other; and should in time agree in many things, as it was in the times of the Apostles, when it was said of the Church, *They were of one mind and one soul.* Or did we but agree in all necessary matters, though there should still remain some differences in unnecessary points, yet peace might be maintained, mutual mistakes, weaknesses, and errors might be tolerated, we might embrace one another as brethren, and christian communion might be promoted among all faithful and honest Christians that worship
God

* 26 Matt. 52.

* *Erasm. Epist. Lib. I, Ep. II, col. 7, E.*

God with a pure heart. Then should we at last be sensible, *How good a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.* Such a holy peace, without which none shall see the Lord; such spiritual friendship, the mother of which is Charity, the nurse of which is Truth, its schoolmistress Moderation, and its guide Prudence; would be like the precious ointment upon *Aaron's* head, and like the dew upon mount *Hermon* and *Sion*. The God of Peace, and Christ the Prince of Peace, would pour out his spirit, grace, and mercy as a healing and wholesome oil, and fruitful dew upon such a peace, and render it fertile in all kind of good. The Commonwealth would likewise reap the benefit of it; for friendship and charity would extinguish all jealousies and fears; and by how much the more concord increased, by so much would the land grow the more powerful. Every man honouring the Government next to God, would more chearfully hazard his life and fortune for his country, praying fervently that God would vouchsafe to bless our just and necessary arms, to the end that this nation being as in old times, a bulwark of Liberty, and a harbour for Exiles, may always set its face against all Tyranny, and be ever open to all poor Refugees.

But if the wickedness of men and times should not yet permit us to join in any church-peace or agreement, yet I trust that this labour will not be altogether in vain. If the abovementioned reflections and arguments have not force enough to contribute towards peace, they may perhaps tend to mollify the hatred of some people, and lessen their aversion; that so, if they be not disposed to live in peace with the *Remonstrants*, they may at least suffer them to live quietly and peaceably among them, without grudging them, much less depriving them of, the common liberties of their country, purchased with so great a share of their dearest blood and treasure.

I likewise hope, that many among you, Gentlemen, will do your utmost, to the end that the ungovernable and immoderate zeal of those who want Charity, may be tempered and restrained by Discretion; and that those who are the most peaceful and religious, and who are fully convinced what love a Christian owes both friends and enemies, may find their duty here. The more the world abounds in Uncharitableness, the greater reason have the best men to do all that lies in their power towards promoting Love and Peace; being assured, that the God of Peace and Love will not forget their labour of love. Thus will their own consciences, convinced of no neglect, be their reward in this life; and in the next, eternal joy and peace, by which the remembrance of all worldly discords and divisions will be blotted out for ever.

I conclude with most hearty wishes, that God Almighty may grant both you and me those endless blessings; to whose protection recommending you, I remain,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most Faithful Friend and Brother,

July 25, 1674.

Gerard Brandt.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
AND OTHER
Ecclesiastical Transactions
IN and ABOUT the
LOW-COUNTRIES.

BOOK XVII.



A**F****T****E****R** the account of the foregoing events, I proceed to those AN^O DOM.
1600.
times, which are by so much the more difficult to be described, by how much nearer they approach to ours. For, as some who were formerly too warm in Church-disputes, bent their endeavours to nothing so much as to excuse or palliate all their mistakes; so many of their Posterity and Successors have nothing more at heart, than that the actions of their Predecessors should be represented ill or well in History, according as they contributed either to their own damage or advantage.

Hence it is, that an impartial writer can hardly escape without blame; nay, though all such as were the principal actors of these extravagancies, and their whole posterity were extinct, yet should we find some, who through the conformity of humours and manners, would fancy to themselves, that the exposing the faults of others was an indirect reproach of theirs. The very mention of other mens good qualities would offend some, since the representation of virtuous actions before the eyes of the vicious, seems to accuse them of the contrary. For which reason, the History of Ecclesiastical Differences, with their causes, progress, and effects, is attended with the highest inconveniences; especially from those in whom there remains any of the *old leaven*, and who being too much blinded by their passions and prejudices, are hindered from fairly enquiring into these matters; or else having but one ear always turned to, and open for those whom they affect, are deaf on the other side.

AN^ODOM. 1600. The men who are usually averse to that freedom of speech so peculiar to Truth, are ever contriving how they may stop her mouth.

However, the reflecting upon all these obstacles has not been able to hinder me from proceeding in the work I had begun. The love of Truth, which seeks to discover itself, and to be seen and heard, has got the upper hand; and I am resolved to proceed, in full hope and confidence that I shall continue this work with so much impartiality, that the most moderate at least of all communities shall meet with no occasion of offence, but much rather with lessons of moderation and discretion in the business of Religion.

But, before I enter upon the relation of those Ecclesiastical Controversies, Quarrels, Schisms, and the sad Consequences of them, some transactions are to be premised, which partly afforded matter for the following evils, together with others which happened about the same time, or a little sooner; as also the proceedings of some who endeavoured to prevent them, who bravely opposed them, and actually delayed them for some years.

In the beginning of the year 1600, the first of that Century in which we now live, there occurred a new instance, of how great moment the States of the *United Provinces* thought the Liberty of Religion, whilst they endeavoured by their interposition and recommendation to divert the Magistrates of *Cologne* from persecuting the *Reformed* of their City; though about the same time some of the Ministers in *Freeſland* attempted to bring over the *Anabaptists* to the Church by rigorous and hard treatment.

An Assembly of the Reformed disturbed at Cologne.

At *Cologne*, on the 13th of *January*, in the evening, about seven a clock, the Burgomaster *Hardenraedt* disturbed a Conventicle of the *Reformed*, seizing upon the Minister *John Burgois* and some others, and imprisoning them in a place called the *Tower of the Franks*: The names of the auditory were likewise set down, and all of them afterwards condemned to a fine of fifty Gilders each, which was levied by force upon those who did not readily pay it: severities which had not been exercised in more than twenty years before: And, whatever the States and Prince *Maurice* writ, or whatever arguments they used for releasing the Minister and other persons, it was all in vain: The Magistrates of that City, in answer to these applications, charged the said Minister and others, with seditious practices; saying, *That they had instituted a kind of Magistracy in their secret assemblies, in order to incroach upon and usurp the Temporal Power*: But the States and Prince represented in a second and third letter which they writ upon the same occasion, how little ground there was for such an accusation; adding, *That the zeal which instigates a Christian to address to God in the way of his Religion, was the cause of these good peoples coming together, only to hear his divine word*: It is (continued they) a great mistake to call that *Uproar or Sedition, which is only an Ecclesiastical Polity, consisting in the choosing Elders and Deacons to take care of their Poor, to comfort the Sick, and to exercise other works essential to a Christian church, and which in no sort invades the authority of the Civil Magistrate*: they therefore intreated them for the third time to discharge the Minister: They kept him, notwithstanding all this, in prison till the second of *August*. The Clergy of this country, stiled that affair a meer force upon conscience, and were of opinion that the Popish Magistrates offered violence to truth by interposing their Temporal Power in the matter: Which made others the more admire at what was then doing in *Freeſland*, seeing they there made use of the very same methods to maintain what they conceived to be the Truth; as if Truth had not strength enough to subdue Falshood, and could not keep her ground, without the help of worldly might.

The Frisian Clergy inclined to persecute the Anabaptists.

However, the zeal of the *Frisian* Clergy, exerted itself more and more, in order to convert by force those whom they conceived to be in error.

Goswin Geldorp, and *John Bogerman*, Ministers at *Sneek*, repaired to the Conventicle of the *Anabaptists*, arm'd with the authority of the Magistrates of that Town, on the 13th and 24th of *February*, and 16th of *March*, in order, as they pretended, to instruct the simple: But their exhortations were so displeasing to some, (so their own account has it) that they could not proceed for the noise and outcries of the people, who could by no means endure, that the Ministers should intrude themselves after

¹ Bor. Lib. XXVII. p. 5, &c. Uitemb. p. 311. ² See their Preface to Beza's Tract about punishing Hereticks, p. 5, 6, &c.

after such a manner into their Assemblies: for they said, there had been disputing enough about their doctrine in several places; for which reason they would not enter into any new conferences with these Gain-sayers, much less would they hear them preach: Upon this the preaching of the *Anabaptists* was forbidden on the 5th of April, and a certain Fine set upon those that should presume to teach among them; which to avoid, their Teacher (after some experience of the Magistrate's intention) kept away from their meetings: The people however did not forbear coming together: The Ministers thought this a good opportunity to bring them over in the absence of their Teacher; but this effort, after several attempts, was found to be vain, as was likewise another conference with *Peter van Keulen*, the Teacher of the *Anabaptists*: But the Magistrates who were present at it, declared, man by man, *That, observing Van Keulen's trifling and unscriptural expressions, they were more and more confirmed in the Truth, and were therefore resolved to go on in what they had begun, and not to tolerate any other than the pure doctrine of Christ, which through God's Grace was publickly preached among them; neither would they regard those childish arguments drawn from the example of their neighbours, who sometimes betrayed their own impotence or cowardice in asserting the honour of God.*

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¹ About the same time, that is, upon the 1st of April, O. S. one *John Jacobs* (a Teacher among a particular sect of *Anabaptists*, who from him were called *John Jacobs's People*) residing at *Harlingen*, was cited before the Court of *Freesland*, and examined upon twelve Articles which he was accused of maintaining and teaching. Some of them he denied, others he owned; of the latter sort were the following: *That if any one was excommunicated by the congregation, he must shun other apostates before he might be re-admitted; as also, That the people of his sect should not weigh their butter and cheese at Kollum, because the woman who had the benefit of the scales or stillyard there, had married a man whom he had excommunicated.* He owned likewise, *That he had exhorted his people to oppose Infant-Baptism by all kind of means; and, in case it happened that one only of the parents was of his sect, and the baptism of the children could not be otherwise prevented; that then the best way would be to remove them out of the power and way of those that were for such a sort of baptism.* He was asked whether he would not forbear the teaching and practising these things? To which he answered, He could not recede from them: The Court was of opinion, that this would be of very ill consequence; that it tended to great confusions and disturbances of the common tranquility; that it was incompatible with divine, natural, and civil laws; that continual quarrels among married people would necessarily result from the doctrine of *Avoiding* one another; that a diminution of the publick privileges would follow from the business of *Kollum*; and that the hiding or carrying away of children, might render them uncertain and unknown to their own parents: for all which reasons they banished him for ever from *Freesland*. Many were of opinion, that there were political reasons for treating him in this manner; but others thought, that this was the high road to persecution, which no reasons could justify, and which tended to the great prejudice of liberty.

A certain Teacher among the Frisian Anabaptists examined, condemned, and banished.

² At *Midelburg* in *Zeland*, the liberty of conscience which had obtained in these countries was vehemently opposed by *John Seuw*, a Minister, in print; who, among other things, in the Preface to his description of the Duty of the Civil Magistrate, maintained: *That it was the business of the Government only to take care of the externals of Religion; but that it could not be done, unless all outward exercise of false doctrines and heresies was prohibited and prevented.*

John Seuw, a Zeland Minister, writes against the Toleration of different Religions.

³ In *Holland* some of the Ministers endeavoured to precaution themselves yet farther against those of their own order. They of *Harlem* were for having it proposed in the approaching Synod: *Whether it were not adviseable that all Church-Officers should renew their subscriptions of the Confession and Catechism yearly, since, as they were informed, there were some people who, though they had subscribed when they first entered upon their office, yet shewed plainly enough afterwards, that they had changed their opinions.* This was looked upon by some to be a very rash and imprudent proposal; for if this should be done, it might call in question, as they thought, the Faith and Sincerity of all the Clergy, and would daily sow the seeds of division: That it would be neither for the advantage of the State nor Church to set up an In-

A proposal of certain Ministers in Holland designed to be made in the approaching Synod.

A

quisition

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A Synod at
Harlem.

Religious As-
semblies with-
out assistance of
Ministers, con-
demned.

Jacobus Ar-
minius is re-
quested to un-
dertake a Con-
futation of the
Anabaptists.

His Reflections
upon it.

His Letter to
Uitenbogart
on that Sub-
ject.

quisition against misdemeanours that did not appear; and that is was the way to drive people who intended no ill, to publick disunion. Thus would there be a foundation laid for a new kind of *Inquisition*. Accordingly they dropt this matter; whether they did not think it ripe enough yet, or whether they hearkened to the advice of those who opposed it, is uncertain.

At the same time the Clergy of *Harlem* formed another project, *viz.* to unite both the Synods of *North* and *South Holland* together, which caused some, upon the rejecting of this proposal, in the Synod holden at *Harlem* in *June*, to think that some of the Ministers to avoid the imputation or appearance of being negligent in church-affairs, made it their study day and night to distinguish themselves by proposing something or other to the Synod; but that the words of the Apostle might be justly applied to them, *Continue to preach, exhort and teach*. Others considered the proposal of such a union of the two Synods, as a proper means for augmenting the power and authority of the Clergy, and for adding more weight to their Ecclesiastical Decrees.

In the said Synod it was considered, at the motion of those of *Enkhusen*, how they might in the most edifying manner prevent the holding of Conventicles (as they stiled them) by persons who were without an office, and had no Call, and in which there was singing of Psalms, praying, and expounding of Scripture. The Synod declared, that *Such a procedure was diametrically opposite to the Word of God and Church Ordination. That it was the ready way to disturb the peace of the Country. That therefore the Clais in whose jurisdiction this happened, should do its utmost to oppose and prevent it. And in case the said Clais could not hinder it, application should be made to the Ministers of Enkhusen, to Samuel Bartholdus and one of the Elders of Horn, who were commissioned by the Synod for this matter: However, it was not intended to hinder such a small number as five or six from meeting together to confer about the Word of God.*

From these last words of the Synodical Resolution, it seems as if it was particularly levelled against the great numbers who frequented these conferences; for better order and more edification might be found in a small company. Mention was also made of the Conventicles, or little separate Meetings of *Cornelius Wiggerts* at *Horn*; and the Deputies of the Synod were directed to keep a strict eye over them, and to consider of the most proper means by which they might be suppressed with edification. It was further moved in the said Synod, to collect all the arguments of the so called *Anabaptists*; and that *James Arminius*, at that time Minister in *Amsterdam*, should confute them from Scripture, according to the commission which he, with the approbation and at the request of the *South Holland* Synod, had taken upon him. He was intreated here to execute the said commission, which he also undertook. But the thing had its difficulties: for some of the Clergy, as he thought, were not well satisfied with him; and they suspected him particularly upon the point of *Predestination*, which he did not teach according to the *Geneva* system. He likewise doubted, whether this burden was laid upon him with a good intent. But if they did it only (as he writes to his friend *Uitenbogart*) to extort from him his own sentiments and opinions about some of the controverted points, he was resolved they should miss their aim; for he did not think, that his refutation of the *Anabaptists*, would oblige him to declare his whole mind about the doctrines of *Predestination* and *Free Will*. In the said letter, in which he freely opens his heart, we meet with these words: *I am now wholly taken up in considering matters which relate to the point of Regeneration, and earnestly long to discharge my thoughts into your bosom. But above all, I beg you to admonish me when you judge that I depart too far from the common doctrine of our people, not so much in the exposition of some Scripture Texts, as in things relating to Articles of Faith. I shall not be in haste to lay my papers before others, till I know how agreeable they may be to them. The caution you have instilled into me, I carry always about me; for my heart is extremely set upon promoting the peace of the church, through God's grace; but neither am I less indefatigable in searching into, and establishing Truth. No day goes over my head, nay, I will venture to say, (without vanity be it spoken, for you know me) no hour, without ruminating on the matters in which I am employed; and I esteem every thing harsh and unpleasant in comparison*
with

¹ From the Acts of the Synod.

² Epist. Eccles. p. 122. al. 107. 2^a Ep. 52.

with the sweetness of this work: I look upon all the time which I do not bestow upon this labour, as lost; God grant (well may I say so) that I do not over-do it! For one must keep a mean even in this, to the end that other duties of Religion be not interrupted, which are of greater importance.

¹ The business of translating the Bible, which had been begun by the Heer Van Aldegonde, was likewise debated among the Clergy at this time. Arminius and Uitenbogart were of opinion, that the famous Johannes Drusius, Professor of the Hebrew tongue, was the fittest person for such a work, and used great endeavours to bring it about with the States-General of the United Provinces. ² But the Synod and its Deputies made interest for Arnoldus Cornelius and Wernerus Helmichius, and strove to hinder Drusius (who, as some said, would have the jealousies of uncharitable people to encounter in his way) from being employed in it; which succeeded accordingly.

A Debate concerning a new Translation of the Bible.

³ In this same year happened the battle of Newport in Flanders, where the Spaniards were beaten, upon which followed some overtures for peace on their side. For which purpose the Archduke allowed the States of the Spanish Netherlands to send Deputies to Bergen-op-zoom, to try whether they could come to an understanding with each other. On the part of the United Provinces it was proposed, That the other Netherlanders should first send away the Spaniards, and then they would be contented that every thing should remain in statu quo, and that a Free form of Government should be erected, under which every one, whether Protestant or Papist, might enjoy the exercise of his own Religion. The other side were for making peace, without shaking off their master. ⁴ The Archduke and Dukes, Albert and Isabella, endeavoured by the means of Don Francisco de Mendosa, Admiral of Arragon (who was taken prisoner by the Hollanders in the abovementioned battle of Newport,) to bring things to a treaty, transmitting to him for that purpose a written Commission, in which their Highnesses said: That although the point of Religion was attended with many difficulties; yet they hoped some expedients might be found sufficient to remove them; and that they were content to make such concessions therein, as were in any sort possible and practicable; being very sensible, that Religion was not to be imposed upon any man by force and rigour, but to be embraced freely and with choice.

The Spaniards being defeated in the Battle of Newport, solicit for a Peace.

In one of the propositions made by the Admiral it was said, that the United Provinces should do homage to the Archdukes, with a salvo to the rights and privileges of the land. And further, that every one in the said Provinces might enjoy the Religion he had embraced, or which he was inclined to choose, to the end that the Roman Catholicks might enjoy the liberty of their conscience, as well as others, provided they lived peaceably under the Government.

The Proposals of the Spaniards with regard to Religion.

The States were of opinion, that the terms proposed by Mendosa could not be accepted, and particularly that the article about Religion was unchristian; because, said they, the Roman Catholicks being again admitted to the exercise of their Religion within the United Netherlands, the other Religion might easily be supplanted. From the foregoing proposal and this answer it may be observed, that the States of these Provinces would, upon expelling the Spaniards, have agreed to such conditions as they otherwise refused. The Spaniards seemed inclinable to yield a little as to the point of Liberty of Conscience; but their words and actions did not agree, as their own Subjects felt to their cost: ⁵ For Peter Motte, a Silk-Weaver of Mouwau, was imprisoned at Lisle on account of the Reformed Religion, and then whipt and banished, and returning contrary to his sentence, was afterwards hanged. Anthony Moreau of More, a village near Courtray, being taken up on the same account, and cast into the Bishop's prison at Tournay, after withstanding many assaults of the Jesuits, was suffered to die there of hunger and other inconveniences, and in January following he was buried out of the town under the Gallows.

This year the church of these Provinces and the Reformation suffered no small loss by the death of Martin Lydius, Professor of Divinity at Franeker, but born at Lubbeck; a person well read in all kind of authors, ⁶ and such a lover of peace, that he spared no pains in composing the differences among the Clergy. Few of his Writings

The Death of Martinus Lydius.

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¹ Epist. Eccl. ib. Ep. 51.
² Epist. clariss. virorum à Gabbama 1663. edit. p. 375, &c.
³ Grot. Hist. IX. p. 402 Meteren. Lib. XXII.

⁴ Bor. Lib. XXXVII. p. 55, &c.
⁵ Hist. of the Reformed Martyrs, f. 505.
⁶ Uitenb. Hist. p. 314. Life Chap. II. p. 15.

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things saw the light. Some of his manuscript Discourses on the 101st Psalm, and upon the Prophets *Nabum* and *Malachi*, are in the hands of his Grandson *James Lydins*, at present Minister of *Dort*; together with a justification of *Erasmus*, clearly proving his discretion and good temper in matters of Religion.

There also died in *May* this year, the Countess of *Nieuwenaeer* and *Meurs*, Widow of Count *Adolph*, late Stadtholder of *Utrecht*, a Lady that was exceeding zealous for Religion, and such a favourer of the Malecontents of *Utrecht*, formerly known by the name of the *Confistorians*, that she would not go to hear those Ministers that were called by the Magistrates after the departure of *Leicester*, and the restoration of the lawful Government: nay, she sent several times for persons from abroad, to preach at the Court where she resided, and among others one day, for a certain Minister of *Gorkum*, whom she had invited on purpose, who preached before her to an auditory of between two and three hundred Burghers; and there was likewise a collection of alms. But the Senate or Council being of opinion that such proceedings would bring contempt upon the Established Church, and that great disorders might arise from such sort of meetings, resolved to signify to the Countess: 'That' she 'should forbear the same for the future, since the Council did not think fit to suffer' it: and they desired her, that if she would have any preaching at the Court, she 'would be pleased to make use of the City Ministers, and not invite any stranger or' 'foreigner, in order to prevent all uneasinesses: they being certainly informed, that' 'the Ministers that were invited from other parts, did nothing but create divisions and' 'factions among the people. At the same time they offered her all other tokens of' 'their favour, service, and respect; assuring her, that they had no other views but' 'to preserve the publick tranquillity as far as possible.

Johannes
Ursinus, a
Minister of U-
trecht, is de-
posed, but call-
ed to the Mi-
nistry at Am-
sterdam.

² Among those Ministers who had been called to *Utrecht* by the Magistrates, was also *Johannes Ursinus*, who being discharged by them about the end of the foregoing year, and ordered to quit the Town, was in this present year called to the Ministry at *Amsterdam*. This deposing him in one place, and calling him in another, was interpreted by many in a good or bad sense, according to each man's private opinion. *Ursinus* fell into disgrace with the Government of *Utrecht*, because of the warm and zealous opposition he made against the Call of one *Johannes Bergerus*. Some think too, that it was for his not sufficiently owning the authority of the Civil Powers in the choice of Ministers, which was practised at that time at *Utrecht*; and his contending for the Rights of the Church in that matter.

A Letter of the
Scout of U-
trecht to
F. Junius
concerning it.

In a certain Letter of the Heer *Nicolas van Zulen*, Lord of *Zevender*, Scout of *Utrecht*, written to *Franciscus Junius*, we find, That when the Magistrates were about to call the abovementioned *Bergerus*, upon several good certificates produced in his favour, together with several others, he (the said *Ursinus*) raked in all corners for matter to blacken him: but that after a full inquiry at the place where he had lived, there appeared nothing against him but groundless stories, or quarrels that had been composed or reconciled, together with further testimonials to his honour; and that nevertheless *Ursinus* and one more endeavoured to put a stop to his Call; nay, that even he alone, when all the rest of the Ministers and Elders were of opinion that the said Call might proceed, and when they gave the new Minister the right hand of Brotherhood, still persisted in refusing it, together with one Elder who afterwards concurred with the rest: it was therefore conceived, that all this tended towards a quarrel with his fellow Ministers, and renewing the old troubles in *Utrecht*: that all methods had been used to make him change his mind: that he had been exhorted by the whole Senate of the City, both with hard and soft words, not to let himself be over-

come

¹ Bor. Lib. XXX. p. 55.

² Some think, that the Government has no right of removing Ministers, or Ecclesiastical Persons, from their Offices: But let us hear what *Grotius* says upon this head. The right of removing this or that person from his Ministry in this or that place after his Election, though it may likewise be vested in others, yet ought ever to continue in the hands of the Government. Accordingly *Solomon* ejected *Abiathar*, lest the Priest of God should misbehave himself. That the Bishops of *Rome* have been deposed more than once by the Imperial Authority is allowed even by *Bellarmin* himself. This matter may be easily proved. For if the Civil Powers have a right to banish a person from the City or Province in which he lives, they must necessarily have a right to discharge a person from his Office in this particular City or Province: For the one includes the other; and he that has authority over the whole, must have it over a part. And the Government can do this, not only by way of punishment, but also by way of precaution: for instance; when a Minister is drawn in by the people, in order to raise tumults, and which perhaps may be without his fault too. For if Governments had not such an authority, they would want the power of securing themselves. They are mistaken therefore, who imagine, that Election and Deposition necessarily belong to the same person. For the Civil Magistrate may not only prohibit publick acts, but also private ones, to which the persons are not by him elected, such as Merchandizing, Hiring &c. *Vid. Grot. de Imp. Sum. Pot. Cap. X. Sect. 23.*

come by his passion and obstinacy: that the Gentlemen of his own profession had done their utmost by admonitions and intreaties to bring him to reason and to his duty: that upon several Council days there had been a full account given of his perverseness by those that had sat with him in the Consistory as Elders, and who by virtue of their office were bound to disclose it: that therefore nothing more could be done, but that the Government, without further pleading the matter with him, or putting themselves en compromis, ought to make such seasonable provision as was necessary for securing the publick peace of the City, and for the preservation and edification of the Church, at least of the best and soundest part of it. Besides that it was not only the Magistrates of Utrecht, neither were they the first, who (cutting off all cavils, exceptions and appeals, especially during the civil or domestick war) had been forced to use such uncommon methods, upon account of several political reasons: though they wished at the same time that this instance might be the last both in their City and elsewhere; and that Ministers would abstain every where from such proceedings, and by their own good examples contribute towards preserving peace both in Church and State; and they also hoped, that this misfortune might be a lesson to Ursinus, to behave himself more friendly and prudently in his Ministry in other places.

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This is the tenor of the Scout's Letter: But in certain Letters of *Franciscus Junius*, addressed to the said Scout, and which I have perused, we meet with this account of the matter: 'That *Ursinus* was turned out of his place, because he refused to stain his conscience to the dishonour of God and prejudice of the Church of Christ, by a rash and hasty imposition of hands upon a person suspected of ill practices. It is, says he, a Divine Command, that *Those who are called to the Ministry should be blameless, and have a good testimony even from those that are without.* Now if a Minister do not testify this, and insist upon it, as often as the Call of any person is agitated in the Church, such a Minister is unfaithful to God and his Church. It may possibly be objected, that this is true in the main, but that *Ursinus* had no reason to look upon *Bergerus* to be such a man; or that it was unjust that the Consistory should expect more of any man who produced before them good testimonials of his Life and Doctrine. Who else is obliged to give proofs of his worth, but he whose cause is discussed? This is what *Ursinus* required of *Bergerus*. Indeed, he that requires testimonials from another, does him no wrong; but he that does not produce them when he can, wrongs himself. If he could have done it, why did he not produce them to the Consistory? And if he did not, was there not great reason to suspect him? I know your Worship will say, that he communicated them to you. But why did he not do it in the Consistory, to which the cognizance principally belonged? I beg of you to consider the following arguments: *First*, That nothing can be more hurtful to the Commonwealth than the interfering of Jurisdictions, or the mingling and confounding those Tribunals that have the peculiar right of hearing such and such causes. Why then did he bring his case before the Civil Magistrate, and pass by the Ecclesiastical? *Secondly*, That there are many sorts of testimonials; there are favourable or partial testimonials, which are the pest of the publick, and are abhorred by all good men; and there are civil testimonials, whereby it is certified, that such a one has behaved himself unblameably with respect to the Society in which he lived; that he has not done or committed any thing that rendered him obnoxious to the Civil Powers: but there are likewise Ecclesiastical testimonials, that are necessary to prove the piety of the Ministers to the edification of the Church. In these, two things are required: *First*, That the bearer of them has done nothing worthy either of Civil or Ecclesiastical censure: And, *Secondly*, that he has a good report even from those that are without. This last ought to be particularly demanded of such as would be admitted into the Ministry. But *Ursinus* knew he could not produce any such. God did not require in this case that we should wait till formal witnesses should arise against any one, but that he who sought to be received, should have a good report from those without as well as from those within. But this man had not so much as the testimony of those that were within. If any certified in his favour, they could certify no more than what they had seen themselves; but that could not efface what others had further seen or known. Suppose, for instance, that the first

A Letter of
Junius to the
Scout on the
same subject.

AN^o DOM. 1600. had seen nothing but a white garment, but that the latter had discovered a great many spots in that garment. God requires, that we should set a greater value on the sacred service of the Church, than to suffer it to be performed in such a spotted garment'—— He concludes with saying, ' Though *Ursinus* had been somewhat mistaken in his manner of acting, for he is a man; yet equity required that he should have been more gently treated.

In another Letter we find these expressions: ' Consider a little what it is to bring a person into the Church, whom we do not sufficiently know; and to thrust out another of known virtue, and sound in life and doctrine.' After this expulsion, *Ursinus* immediately removed to *Amsterdam*, where they accepted of his apology, and forthwith admitted him to the pulpit; and after a trial of some months, the people being pleased with his gifts and abilities, his Call, with the consent of the Magistrates, was approved. Soon after, at the Synod of the Province of *Gelderland* holden at *Arnhem*, it appeared that the testimonial given to *Bergerus* was false and unjustifiable, and accordingly the person who furnished him with it, was punished with Ecclesiastical censures, and ordered to acknowledge his fault. Nay, *Bergerus* himself behaved so irregularly at *Utrecht*,² as some relate it, that the Magistrates were obliged at last to discharge him. As for *Ursinus*, he continued at *Amsterdam* to the day of his death, which happened in *December 1620*, without reproach; except that he was a little too violent for his own sect, and against those that could not come up to all the opinions of *Calvin* and *Beza*.

Beza's Book in defence of Persecution is translated, and recommended by the Frisian Divines.

The following year, endeavours were renewed to persuade the Magistrates at *Sneek* in *Freeſland*, that no other sects ought to be allowed the liberty of Religion besides the *Reformed*. And *Beza's* Discourse of *Punishing Hereticks* was translated from the *Latin* into the *Low-Dutch* language, and published with a Dedication and Recommendation of it to the Magistrates, by *Goswin Geldorp* and *John Bogerman*, Ministers of the said town. In the Preface, (which also related what had past the year before, between the Ministers of *Sneek* and the *Anabaptists*) there were the following expressions: ' That God had made it a duty incumbent on the Magistrates to defend the true Religion, and oppose the false with all their might. It was, they said, a poisonous notion, that the Government ought not to trouble it self about Religion, but to leave the Ministers to propagate it by themselves as well as they could by Ecclesiastical methods. And yet, as pernicious as such an opinion was, it was very agreeable to many, who found their account in a Political, (as they termed it) but Unchristian and Unlawful Peace, whereby every man, according to them, was to be allowed the free exercise of his Religion; to the end, forsooth, that no discord might arise between countrymen and fellow-citizens. This, said they, is making Peace with Satan.' They likewise maintained, ' That there ought to be but one Religion allowed.' And as for that objection, That this would be lording it over mens consciences, they replied; ' That this was the means to restore to God, to whom it belonged, the dominion of consciences according to his command; seeing they only attempted to execute the Divine commands by Divine methods. But that all those who endeavoured to introduce any other than the True Religion, were really the persons that arrogated to themselves the Empire over Conscience; and that was what they would fain prevent.' To the objection, that by these means, viz. by restraining False Doctrine by outward force, and the punishment of Hereticks, they would suffer the loss of Trade and Manufactures, because those that were accused or suspected would leave the country, it was answered: ' That it was the way to obtain the Divine Blessing on their trade; but that though they should be in danger of losing all their trade by executing such a noble work, and by obeying the commands of God; yet would it be better to enjoy a small estate with a good and quiet conscience, than to possess countries and towns abounding in trade, with remorse of conscience and a trembling soul—— Is it not, said they, a sad thing, that Trade is to be now promoted by a toleration of Heresies, and perversion of Souls? Must Satan now, instead of God, direct our commerce?' In the conclusion, ' They blest God, that he had awakened the Magistrates of *Sneek*, and excited them to perform their duty in these matters agreeably to his commands, and with all their might to defend that doctrine in which they hoped to live and die, and

and to hinder all publick seduction of their people: which was the chief occasion of dedicating to them that incomparable book which they had translated.

Not long after, the Magistrates of *Sneek* published an Order, whereby the *Papists* and *Anabaptists* were forbidden to meet and preach, and whoever let them houses for that purpose, were to forfeit twelve Guilders for the first offence. One of the latter sect, named *Barent Jacobson*, transgressed the said Order, and suffered Preaching in his house, and withal refused to pay the fine, saying to the Magistrates: *You do not know us so well as your forefathers knew ours; for in the time of the Spanish persecution they used to hold their private assemblies in the same wood, and so near together, that they could almost hear each other. If they were to come again into the world, how would they stand amazed at the rashness of your treating us in this manner? Why do you call yourselves Reformed, while you thus persecute your neighbours?* Upon this they sent their Officers to distrain his goods, which he suffered them to do with a chearful countenance; insomuch that one of them said to him, *What! are you still inclined to be merry?* To which he replied: *Whoever abandons his goods for Christ's sake, shall receive a hundred fold, and hereafter eternal life. I can never carry my goods to a better market, and why then should I not be merry?* Having taken his bed, that was worth forty Guilders, out of his house, they could meet with no body that would buy it, so that the Officer that seized it, put it to pawn for eleven Guilders, intending to restore it to the proprietor, after having deducted his charges; but *Jacobson* would not redeem it, because it was taken out of his house against his will. Upon which it was sold for more money, and the remainder (after the fine and the charges were deducted) was offered him; but he refused it, saying: *What shall I do with it? Shall I purchase the field of blood?* Afterwards the Magistrates treated him a little more gently.

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A Placard
published at
Sneek in
Freeland, a-
gainst the Pa-
pists and Ana-
baptists.

On the seventh of *September* the Magistrates of *Groningen* published a new Order by toll of bell, concerning Religious matters; in which it was said: **That they prohibited the exercise of all other Religions besides the Reformed. So that whoever should presume to rent his house or ground to the Anabaptists or Papists, or any other sects, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Laws of their City, for the use of their Meetings or Ministers, should forfeit for every such offence the sum of ten Dollars, as should likewise the Persons that presumed to preach there, or else be confined to Bread and Water for the space of fourteen days. And if they offended the third time, they were to be banished from the City, and the jurisdiction thereof. And all the people that were found at such meetings, should forfeit for each offence 2 Dollars. Whoever was discovered to Rebaptize any person, should forfeit 20 Dollars, and upon a second conviction be put to Bread and Water, and condemned as above. Unbaptized children should be incapable of inheriting ——— None should be admitted to any publick or private office, but upon solemn oaths. He that refused to take an oath, should be punished according to law. All that lived with women in concubinage, and without lawful marriage, should be punished as whoremongers, if they did not marry according to the Ecclesiastical laws, within the space of a month. Whoever married incestuously, or within the forbidden degrees, or suffered themselves to be joined in matrimony out of the Reformed church, should not enjoy any advantage thereof, nor inherit any estate, neither should their children be legitimate: Besides all which, they should be punished according as the case deserved.**

Another Placard to the same effect, published at Groningen.

This Order of the Magistrates scandalized many, and especially the *Anabaptists*, who said, that when the Magistrates of *Groningen* were *Papists*, and subjects of *Spain*, they (the *Anabaptists*) lived quietly, and were connived at: that the former Magistrates had used much more moderation in matters of Religion, all the time of their government; but that the *Reformed* had hardly been seven years at the helm, but they inclined to the side of severity: that the shaking off the *Spanish* yoke tended to the liberty and advantage of many, but to the hurt and servitude of the *Anabaptists* of *Groningen*. These were their complaints, which were published to the world in several books, and opposed by such others as took upon them to justify the persecution of Hereticks. But as earnestly as some contended for the executing these Orders, they were never put in practice heartily; so that those poor people escaped with the fright, and were not much incommoded.

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The Ministers of the *South* and *North Holland* Synods, or their Deputies, had of late presented several Remonstrances to the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, containing complaints of several abuses, and praying that the same might be redressed and obviated for the future. These papers were referred to the Lords of the High and Provincial Councils, to draw up their opinion in writing concerning them, and deliver it when called for. From the advice of those Courts, we may pretty well deduce the substance of the said Remonstrances, which I have not been able to procure; it runs thus:

Advice of the High and Provincial Councils, occasioned by a certain Remonstrance of the Clergy.

The President and Counsellors of the High and Provincial Councils of Holland, having seen the Remonstrances presented at several times to the Lords the States of Holland and West-Friesland, have according to the Order of the said States requiring their advice, subjoined the same as follows; and first with respect to

I. PRINTING.

That the Placard of 1589 be renewed, and promulgated every where; and that such Commissioners as therein are mentioned, be every where appointed, and all Printers sworn; and that all Printing in the open country be prohibited. That moreover the Officers be charged diligently to take care that no scandalous books, whether printed in or out of these Provinces, be publickly vendued; and if they discover any such, to seize and confiscate them, and that the Booksellers be punished according to the discretion of the Judges. And,

II. SCHOOLS.

That the aforesaid Placard be likewise renewed with respect to this article; and besides, that Letters be written to the Magistrates of Towns, to intreat them not to slight the service of the Clergy, but to make use of them as well as others, for Schoolmasters and Ushers, and, as far as may be, to take care that all Directors of Schools be provided with a competent maintenance.

III. SUNDAYS and HOLYDAYS.

That a Placard be issued to forbid haunting Publick Houses, Tennis-Courts, Plays, Dances, or other Diversions on Sundays or Holidays, during the time of Divine Service; and that a certain fine be set upon the transgressors.

IV. About MARRYING UNBAPTIZED PERSONS.

That no man nor woman be allowed to enter into the state of Matrimony, nor be married either in the Church, or by the Magistrate, who is known to have never been baptized.

V. A Form of a Placard about DIVORCES, or SEPARATIONS, &c.

And whereas a Man or Woman being lawfully joined in wedlock, according to the ordinance of God, may not forsake one another, nor be separated or divorced from each other for any cause, save for such as is allowed in the Holy Scriptures, nor without the proper cognizance of the ordinary Judge; and whereas we are certainly informed that some married persons have presumed lightly and rashly to separate and part from each other without any preceding cognizance of the ordinary Judge; and that it has been attempted by some to bring into practice a certain kind of Matrimonial Avoidance, under pretence of difference of Religion, or otherwise; from whence have arisen great and scandalous distractions, to the ruine of families, and many troubles and vexations among the good subjects of this land: We being desirous to provide against the same, do hereby interdict and prohibit all voluntary or forced Separations, Divorces, or Avoidances between Man and Wife, unless with the previous cognizance of the cause by the ordinary Judge; upon the penalty of two hundred pounds Flemish (forty Groats being counted to the pound) to be forfeited by that person who without previous cognizance of the ordinary Judge shall separate from or avoid the other; upon the supposition that the separation be made by the consent of both the married parties.

And in case such Separation be made against the will of either of them, then the person that separates from the other, shall be imprisoned, and put to bread and water, for the space of fourteen days the first time, and the second a month, and the third discretionally; and shall also suffer corporal punishment, according as the Judge shall direct.

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And it is hereby further ordained, that all persons besides the ordinary Judge, that shall presume to promote, abet, or encourage the aforesaid Separations, Divorces, or Avoidances, or be consenting to the same in any sort whatsoever, directly or indirectly, or shall receive into their houses such separating persons, or otherwise assist in harbouring or concealing them, shall each forfeit the sum of three hundred Guilders, at the rate of forty Groats per Gilder; which fine shall be applied in the manner following, viz. One third part to the Informer, one third to the Officer that shall put this Placard in execution, and one third to real objects of Charity, to be distributed by the Magistrates of the place. And those who are not able to pay this fine, shall be punished by Whipping, Banishment, or otherwise, for an example.

Nor shall this hinder the parties concerned, from bringing their actions of damage and costs, against all such persons as have had any hand directly or indirectly in making, ordaining, or countenancing such Separations or Divorces, without cognizance of the ordinary Judge; or in receiving and harbouring them in their habitations.

That this Placard be duly published.

That no Marriage be publickly solemnized but in the Church or Stadthouse, and in villages, in the place where justice is wont to be administered. And that no other way of marrying be deemed lawful.

Moreover, that the Marriage be solemnized by the Magistrate after the following manner:

There appeared before the Schepens of the town of— *A. B.* as Bridegroom, on the one part, and *C. D.* as Bride, on the other; who, as they acknowledged, had willingly and without compulsion plighted their troth to each other by hand and mouth: the aforesaid *A. B.* giving accordingly to her, his Faith as Husband, and by virtue of these presents taking her for his lawful Wife; and she the said *C. D.* giving to him her Faith as Wife, and taking him accordingly for her Husband, Lord, and Master; mutually promising not to separate from or forsake each other, neither for better nor worse, nor upon any account whatever; but always to live together in good agreement, love and affection in the band of Matrimony, as Man and Wife, honestly and piously, according to the Divine institution. And all this as long, and until the time that death shall dissolve their present marriage. In testimony whereof, they have solemnly called upon and prayed to Almighty God, that he would bless and prosper their said marriage with his Holy Spirit.

Done in the presence of the Schepens of the abovenamed place.

VI. Concerning A D U L T E R Y.

That the laws of the land relating to Adultery be strictly put in execution; and that the Magistrates be authorized and impowered to proceed by arbitrary and corporal punishments against such persons who being of low condition, shall not be affected with the marks or notes of infamy; and that the fines be appropriated to the Officers of Justice, for the better encouragement of prosecutions.

VII. Concerning C O N V E N T I C L E S.

That the Placard of the ninth of March, 1539, and the additional one of the fifth of July, 1594, be strictly observed; and that it be declared by way of explanation, that among the several sorts of Superstition therein mentioned, Pilgrimages shall be comprised as Transgressions; as also the merchandising or selling of Indulgences, Images, and such like Popish Trumperies.

VIII. Concerning S P I R I T U A L J U R I S D I C T I O N.

That no person, of whatever state or condition he be, whether native or foreigner, do presume to bring into these Provinces, or divulge or put in execution any Mandates of the Pope or See of Rome, or of any Bishops, whether they be Indulgences,

B

Excom-

A^N D O M. Excommunications, Absolutions, Dispensations, Collations to Benefices, or to perform any other act of Spiritual Jurisdiction; and if he do, that he forfeit for the first offence five hundred Guilders, and suffer banishment the space of seven years; and for the second 1000 Guilders, and be banished for ever. And that whoever shall have obtained for himself the like Dispensations, Absolutions, or Benefices from the See of Rome, do forfeit the sum of 200 Guilders. And besides, that the Placard of the fourth of April be strictly observed.

IX. Concerning M U R D E R.

That all the former Placards made against Murder, and particularly those of the seventh of October, 1530, and 1544, and that of the thirtieth of January, 1545, be strictly put in execution; and that it be further ordained, that the Inns or Publick Houses where any Murder has been committed, be suspended from their trade for the space of one whole year, or according to the discretion of the Judges; and that the Host, or any of the Guests that were present, do each of them forfeit the sum of twelve Guilders, unless they be instrumental in delivering the Malefactor into the hands of justice. That all Publick Notaries be prohibited to receive any attestations in the matter of Murder, or any other criminal affair, on pain of nullity and suspension from their office, and, if they repeat their fault, of deprivation and correction; but that the informations be given only before the Judge where the fact was perpetrated, or where the Witnesses inhabit. And lastly, that the Officers be obliged immediately to view the dead body, and before it be interred, to take in writing all proper and necessary evidences, and to keep the same very carefully.

X. Concerning the GOODS of the CHURCH.

That Letters be sent to all the chief Officers of villages, requiring them to make Inventories of the Goods belonging to their respective Churches, which shall not be let or set to farm otherwise than by a publick outcry; and that there be annually chosen honest Churchwardens, who shall give a fair and publick account thereof at the year's end, in the presence of the Magistrates, Consistory, or any others that desire to be satisfied therein.

XI. Concerning B R O T H E L-H O U S E S.

Nothing to be altered herein, but only the Magistrates and Officers to be exhorted to do their duty; and not suffer publick houses to admit or harbour those that are expelled from other places.

XII. Of B E G G A R S.

That the Placard of the seventh of October be renewed, with such additions as may render it fit for the purpose, and capable of being put in execution pursuant to the original scheme, &c.

These Ordinances were afterwards transmitted to the respective Towns, and considered in their several Senates or Councils. At *Amsterdam* it was referred to a Committee of the Burgomasters and the Thirty-six, who made the following remarks, and offered their opinion upon them:

The Remarks of the Senate and Burgomasters of Amsterdam on the Advice of the High and Provincial Council, with regard to a certain Remonstrance of the Clergy.

As to the first Article concerning the Press, the Committee are of opinion, that the Placard of the ninth of March, 1589, should be renewed; and that persons be appointed in every Town to examine whatever is proposed to be printed. That all Printers do likewise, within a certain time to be prescribed to them, renew the Oath contained in the Placard; and that all Printing in the open Country be prohibited. And that it be moreover considered, whether it were not most proper that the said Oath should be tendered to the Printers by the Magistrates of the respective Towns, or such as they shall depute.

As to the second Article about Schools, the Committee think it may stand as proposed.

The third Article, concerning the observation of the Lords-day and Holidays, is likewise approved; provided that the Placard to be made about it, be communicated to the Magistrates before its promulgation.

As to the fourth, about Unbaptized Persons; since the Clergy do always scruple A^N D^O M.
1600. to join in Matrimony those who are known to be unbaptized, they are of opinion, that matters should remain as they are, and that it be left to the Magistrates to act with all prudence in the affair of Marriage. They also recommend it to be considered, whether those that are desirous to be baptized by a Reformed Minister, might not be so far indulged, as to have it done in the Consistory, after calling upon the name of God; whereby the scruples that some make of being publicly baptized in the Church, would be obviated.

Concerning the Divorce or Separation of married persons, the Committee approves the first clause of the projected Placard. And in case the separation be made by one of the parties against the will of the other, that then the person separating be summoned before the Magistrates, and required to return to his or her Spouse, on pain of a pecuniary mulct, or arbitrary correction.

That besides, instead of the third Article, it be ordained, that none shall presume without the cognizance of the ordinary Judge, to advise any persons, or require of them to abstain from cohabiting or conversing as Man and Wife, though for never so short a time, upon pain of being punished according to the discretion of the Magistrate of the place where the thing happens.

The ninth Clause is approved; and as to the contents of the tenth and eleventh, they are of opinion, that the former practice may be pursued, unless any fault can be shewn in the same.

As for the sixth head, concerning Adultery, what is proposed about it, is likewise approved; but at the same time it must be considered, what is the sense of the Civil or Temporal Law concerning Adulterers who are not in any Publick Posts; or whether all such shall be declared (as perjured people are) incapable; concerning which there have often happened disputes and controversies.

Touching Conventicles, which was the seventh Article, let the Placards that have been made, be well executed; but they need not be renewed nor explained.

As for the eighth Article, about Spiritual Jurisdiction, and the observation of the Placard of the fourth of April, 1596, the same is likewise approved by the Committee: and so is that about Murder, the Goods of the Church, and Brothel-houses. Only let the penalties against the keepers of Publick Houses, with regard to Murder, be moderated, and annexed to their proper Article, or else left to the discretion of the Judges.

And lastly, as to the twelfth Article, concerning Beggars, the Committee are of opinion, that the circumstances and constitution of this City are different from those of the other Towns of Holland, as well with respect to the Poor who arrive here first in great numbers, as with regard to the funds destined for the support and maintenance of the several sorts of them. But so far as the projected Placard particularly relates to Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars, who are both very troublesome and burdensome to the inhabitants, and ought not to be suffered, provided we could fence against them without prejudice to such as are real objects of charity: the Committee are of opinion, that in order to proceed upon good grounds, and to be able to make a true state of what may be wanted for the weekly support of such Poor, the Beggars and Vagabonds should be summoned to appear before some Commissioners within a limited time, and to make themselves and their children known to them; to the end that the idle and sturdy ones may be distinguished from the rest; and that it be then farther considered, whether, instead of letting them beg from door to door, there might not be so much collected by certain Almoners appointed for that purpose, as might not only be sufficient to support such of our own people as are in want, but also to be communicated to the transient Poor.

At the bottom of this Report it was writ:

The above Scheme having been examined by the Lords of the Council of Thirty-six, it was approved, and accordingly the Resolution was taken which is annexed to the eighth Article of the Summons.

Actum 25 die Augusti 1601. In my presence:

JACOB DE HAEN.

AN^o DOM. 1600. At the next meeting of the States, the opinions of the Towns were brought in, which, as they were briefly noted by one of the Gentlemen then present, I shall here subjoin, to the end that my Reader may be informed, what was the Sense of some of the Towns of *Holland* concerning these matters at that time. His account is as follows.

*The opinions of
several Cities
of Holland
with reference
to that Remon-
strance.*

Upon the Article of Printing, which is the first; some of the Members are of opinion, That only the Placard of the year 1589 should be renewed; because the word scandalous, expressed in that Article, appears to them equivocal. The Town of Gouda declares, it can by no means agree to such a Placard. Rotterdam is for revising the old Placard: Gorkum and Schiedam are for the same. The Brill would have the Placard be renewed, and Printing in the open country forbidden. Alkmaer and Horn are for renewing and observing the Placard: Enkhufen, Edam and Monnikedam likewise for renewing it.

As to the second Article, concerning Schools, some are for leaving it as it stood before; but Leyden scruples the using Clergymen for Schoolmasters, and especially the being obliged to it. Gouda will bear of no Placard about it, but act therein discretionally. Rotterdam has already taken care about it, and will admit of no innovations therein. Horn, Enkhufen, Edam, and Monnikedam adhere to the Placard. Medenblick has already done what is proper in that matter.

As to the third Article, concerning Sundays, &c. each is for doing what suits best with its peculiar circumstances.

As to the fourth Article, about Marriages, Dort approves it; but Leyden is of opinion, that it is a political matter, and therefore will not bear of any inquiry into it, nor of making new Placards about it. Gouda likewise refuses to submit to any Placard in that matter. Rotterdam has regulated the business of Marriages, and does not think it proper to inquire into those of Baptized or Unbaptized persons. The Brill admits none to be married unless they be Baptized: But Alkmaer does not think it practicable. Enkhufen is for leaving it in statu quo, without making any alteration. Monnikedam and Medenblick are against the Article. Those of Purmerent think, that some of their people will scruple it.

As for the business of Divorces or Separations, it is agreed, that they shall not be allowed, but only after Trials by Law; yet that no new Placard is wanting, but every Town may act as it thinks fit.

As to the Form of Marriage, the Town of Dort has a peculiar one, and will keep it. Harlem has a particular one for the Anabaptists. Delft has also a good one, which is made use of by all Sects, without any scruple; therefore they desire no other. Leyden has a good Form, and is besides of opinion, that every town should be left to its own. Gouda has a Form of its own, and will adhere to it. Rotterdam has a good Form; Schiedam the like. Alkmaer and Horn are for keeping their own. Enkhufen and Edam are for making a proper Form for the Anabaptists. Monnikedam and Medenblick have a good one.

As to Adultery, it is agreed, that that crime shall be more severely punished than is exprest in the preceeding political regulations.

As for Conventicles, that the law shall stand as it does, but be better executed.

Thus far the Paper abovementioned, from which it seems as if the advices of some were past by. Nor did the Assembly come to any resolution about these matters. But the next year, the Deputies of the Synod prest the States to it again, adding some other Articles to their Petition, and when they delivered it, they said: That they did not doubt but God would prosper more the affairs of the country, if good resolutions were taken as to the matters which they (the Clergy) represented to them.

The Consideration of it put off.

But most of the Members opposed it, and so the consideration of it was put off.

¹ In the ensuing Synod of North-Holland, it was resolved, that their Deputies should prest again for the dispatch of these matters, and that the Ministers should labour the point with the respective Magistrates of the Towns: and yet they could never fully compass their ends; only there was something done in time upon some of the Articles.

¹ See the Acts of the Synod of North-Holland, holden at Horn, 1602. Art. 9.

In the Synod holden at *Amsterdam*, about the end of *June* this year, the case of AN^O DOM. the so named *Brownists* was debated, and after considering the Ten Reasons for their Separation, related in the foregoing book, it was judged and declared: *That they were to be accounted Schismaticks.* In this Assembly there were likewise some resolutions taken in prejudice of the *Lutherans*. It appeared (as the Journal of the said Synod has it) that the *Martinists*, *Ubiquitarians*, *Flaccians*, and such like Sectaries, were much increased in the Country, discovering great animosities, and freely venting their reproaches against the *Reformed* church: 1600.

The Deputies of the *South-Holland* Synod consulted those of the *North*, about what course should be taken; and it was resolved, That the Ministers should lay before the Magistrates an account of the places where the *Lutherans* met, with reasons for suppressing the Conventicles, and putting a stop to the railings of those people. But when the Magistrates of *Woerden* endeavoured to gratifie the Clergy on that head, the *Lutherans* applied themselves to the States, representing their grievances, and praying to be supported in their privileges. The matter was brought upon the stage in the month of *May*, 1602; but the Nobles were of opinion, that nothing should be done in it at that time, but the Petitioners be exhorted to go home, and to live in peace and obedience. The towns of *Dort* and *Harlem* agreed with the Nobles. *Delft* was for maintaining them in their privileges, provided that their Ministers took the oaths of Fidelity to the Government. *Leyden* was of opinion, that the Petitioners were the best Patriots of the State, and that they ought to enjoy the fruits of what was formerly conceded to them. *Amsterdam* voted as the Nobles; *Gouda* as *Leyden*. *Rotterdam* said, it would be of dangerous consequence to deprive the Petitioners of their Privileges. *Gorkum*, *Schiedam* and *Schoonhoven* agreed with the Nobles, as likewise *Alkmaer*, *Horn*, *Enkhusen*, *Edam*, *Monnikedam*, *Medenblick*, and *Purmerent*. So that the storm raised against the *Lutherans*, blew over without any damage.

A Synodical Decree against the Lutherans. The Magistrates of Woerden endeavour to suppress their meetings. The Opinions of the Nobles and Cities of Holland, with regard to the case of the Lutherans.

Before this, the Ministers of *Woerden* had represented to Prince *Maurice*, by *John Uitenbogart*, Minister at the *Hague*, that a certain Company of *German* Soldiers, which had lain there in Garrison the winter before, had been the principal cause, or at least were partly the occasion, that the *Flaccians* (for so they stiled the *Lutherans* from their warm Champion ² *Matthias Flaccius* of *Illyria*) raised up their heads again, and promoted new divisions and quarrels about Religion. They therefore begged his Excellency, that the said Garrison might be changed the next winter, which he accordingly agreed to. Afterwards the *Lutheran* Minister of *Woerden*, *Arnoldus Glaferus*, was personally summoned to the *Hague* by the Court of *Holland*, where he was long detained.

In *January* following, some Deputies of the Church of the *Ausburg* Confession addressed the Committee of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, by a petition in writing, that their Minister might be discharged, and permitted to return with them, giving security for his appearance when required. But the Committee did not think fit to do any thing in the matter, but only to let them know, that they might return, and rely upon it, that nothing should be further done, but what should tend to the benefit, peace, and tranquility of the State, and particularly of the town of *Woerden*. What was afterwards resolved by the Court of Justice against the *Lutherans*, as also the fresh attempts of the Clergy, may be gathered from what is recorded in the books of the States and their Committees concerning it, the sum of which is as follows:

‘ There appeared at the Assembly of the Lords the States of *Holland*, *Arnoldus Cornelius*, and *Bernardus la Faille*, Ministers of *Delft* and the *Hague*, as deputed by the Synod, in order to acquaint them, that they had been frequently intreated by those of the Church and Magistracy of *Woerden*, to represent to the Lords the States, the scandal which was occasioned to good and sincere minds by the too publick exercise of Religion performed by those who indeed called themselves of the *Ausburg* Confession, but who were not so; forasmuch as our Religion, which is stiled the *Reformed*, has a greater conformity to it in the matter of the Lord’s Supper, and in other points. They therefore prayed, that the Resolution or Sentence formed by the Court against one of their Preachers, might be put in execution; *tion*;

A Representation and Request of the Deputies of the Synod, in opposition to the Lutherans, presented to the States of Holland.

² From the Annotations of the Heer Hooft. ² J. Cam. vita Melanc. p. 279, &c. Korput’s Life of Melancthon, p. 526, 538, 700.

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tion ; and those of the aforesaid Confession, living within the said town of *Woerden*, be prohibited to receive any other Minister in his stead, and he hindered, as far as possible, from exercising that Religion. The said Deputies moreover alledged, that there ought likewise some care to be taken in other towns, where the said Religion was also practised, particularly at *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*; to the end that the Religion which alone is publickly allowed in the *United Provinces* (as being the True Christian Religion) might be the better maintained, and all offence removed; requesting the due attention of the States to these matters.

A Petition of
the Lutherans
of *Woerden*
to the said
States.

The considera-
tion of their
Case is ad-
journed.

Against this, some of the inhabitants of *Woerden* likewise gave in a written Petition to the Lords, praying, that they might be protected in the exercise of their Religion according to the Confession of *Ausburg*, duly granted them by several resolutions in the years 1579 and 1580. This their Petition, with the Pieces relating thereto, were read in the Assembly of the States, on the seventh of this Month; and after many debates, nothing more was resolved, but that it should be further adjourned, to the end that it might be more maturely considered, and that all the Members might deliver their opinions. It appears, that after this the said *Arnoldus Glaferus*, the Lutheran Minister of *Woerden*, again petitioned to be re-established or tolerated in the exercise of his Ministry; for the States of *Holland* had in the foregoing *September* given directions that their Committee should summon before them the Magistrates of *Woerden*, and enquire, whether during the suspension of *Glaferus* any other Minister of the same persuasion had officiated among the Lutherans of that Town? And in case he had, that (seeing the said *Glaferus* had given sufficient proofs of his moderation and prudence, and probably there might come a worse in his room) they should consider of the matter with the Provincial Council, and with their advice agree upon some expedient that might tend most to the peace and concord of that Town, and give least scandal to the Church; and that they should make their report at the next meeting of the States.

The Luthe-
rans of *Woer-*
den complain
to the States.
The Resolution
of the States.

Not long after, several Burghers of *Woerden* returned to the States, complaining that contrary to former promises made them, not only by them the said States, but by his late Excellency of happy memory, they were interrupted in the exercise of the *Ausburg* Confession. Thereupon the States came to a resolution in *December*, That, according to their former Order, this matter should be adjusted by an amicable agreement, and that therefore the Committee of Council should once again summon the Burgomasters and Governours of the Town of *Woerden*, in order to impart to them the good intentions of the States, and to charge them with the execution of them.

The Proceed-
ings of the
Committee of
the Council on
that Subject.

Their Resolu-
tion.

On the 30th of *December*, in the year 1603, (into which I shall pass only for the connexion of these affairs) some of the Magistracy, deputed by the abovementioned Town, appeared before the Committee according to their citation by order of the States; and they were asked, Whether they had not bethought themselves as yet of some expedient for complying with the request of their fellow-townsmen of the *Ausburg* Confession, which was a matter of no small importance? They answered, No. Upon which, after a long conference not only with the Deputies of *Woerden*, but with the Minister *Glaferus* and the persons deputed from his congregation, the Lords of the Committee signify'd to both parties, That the designs of the States had always been, and still were, to force no man's Conscience; and accordingly, that he the said *Glaferus* should be connived at in proceeding with all peaceableness, discretion, and good manners, to teach and preach in his Conventicle at *Woerden* as formerly; however, with as little scandal and offence to the Members of the Reformed church as possible: for which purpose he was to regulate his religious worship accordingly, and to appoint the exercise of it at an hour different from that of the Reformed; viz. that in Summer, from the first of April to the last of October, he should begin in the forenoon at seven a clock, and in the afternoon at five. And in Winter, from the first of November to the last day of March, at eight and four; or, according as the season of the year and the day-light would permit. The Deputies of *Woerden* were ordered to make this report to their Principals, and to see that the matter were accordingly adjusted with all convenience and unity among the people. And in case they, or the Magistrates should meet with any obstruction in the exercise of their authority, and should desire any assistance on that account, they should be maintained and supported by the States of the Province. The Minister *Glaferus* and his associates were required

required to conform to this resolution, and so to behave themselves, that no complaints might be brought against them; for in case any such thing should happen with just grounds, the States did not intend to proceed in so gracious a connivance, but actually to withdraw it, and to put the town of Woerden upon the same foot with the rest of the towns of Holland and West-Friesland, where no other Religion, besides that of the True Christian Reformed, was allowed.

After this determination was made, both parties returned home, without having any copy of it.

In the year 1602, to which I return from this business of *Woerden*, the States-General of the *United Netherlands* brought a great army into the field, with the design of making an irruption into *Brabant* and *Flanders*, in order to raise the siege of *Ostend*. Besides, they had a much greater project in view: There were sent Letters Patent in the name of the States of these Provinces to the Prelates, Princes, Counts, Lords, and Gentlemen of the other enslaved Provinces, representing to them the intentions of the Spaniards, which were (they said) to bring them all to their utter ruine, under the yoke of Spain, that so they might tyrannize as they thought fit over the consciences, bodies, estates and privileges of the inhabitants; exhorting them therefore unanimously to shake off the said yoke, and to join their arms in asserting their common liberties, or to strengthen the cause by their contributions. And as for the security, for want of which many good men were in pain, and kept at a distance, the States of the *United Provinces* promised solemnly to the other States in the following terms: ¹ *Your Excellencies may order and appoint such a disposition in matters of Policy and Religion as you shall think best; and we beg you to be easy and satisfied, and not to imagine that anything to the contrary is intended, or will be attempted by us.* They subjoined their friendly intreaties, to lay aside and forget all former mistrusts, misunderstandings and animosities, and to receive and embrace upon this foot the present opportunity: adding, *That this was the way to attain, without much trouble, the two greatest blessings of human life, Peace and Liberty.* The Letters containing these matters, bore date the seventh of June; but there did not appear, according to the judgment of some, a sufficient zeal for the Protestant Religion, by offering to allow the *Romish*. Nevertheless, there was nothing attempted against the *Spaniards* by those of the subjugated Provinces, whether it was that they distrusted their own power, or ours. Many had too much love for Popery to mingle themselves with its sworn enemies. Neither were any artifices omitted to inflame their zeal; for which purpose the *Romish* Priests filled their heads with new Miracles.

² About this time there was great talk about the Miracles ascribed by the Papists to the Virgin *Mary*, and her images at *Hall* in *Hainalt*, and at *Scherpenheuvel* in *Brabant*: The famed *Lipsius* himself seems to have believed them, describing them in his eloquent *Latin* style, thereby to confirm, as by a pledge, his reverence for the *Romish* Religion and its Images: But others on the contrary maintained in writing, that it was all a spiritual cheat, and a trick to draw money out of the Laymens pockets, as had been frequently experienced; and that most of the things, which were pretended to be miraculous, were either fortuitous or natural events. And since likewise the ancient Sorcerers, especially those of *Egypt*, *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and other propagators of Paganism, confirmed their doctrines by wonderful works, they added, that we ought from thence to deduce this conclusion: *That men ought to give credit to such miracles only, which united their minds to One God; but not to such as tended to gain their dependance upon other protections, and which corrupted Religion by the forbidden superstition of Images.* ³ However *Lipsius* did yet more than write; for we see at this day a silver medal hanging by silver chains near the image of our Lady at *Hall*, with an inscription in *Latin* verse, acknowledging the recovery of his health, which (as the verses import) the Virgin *Mary* granted to his prayers, and for which he offered her the medal.

As for the *United Netherlands*, all the images, which had been thrown out of the churches, continued still banished from thence: ⁴ nay, it so happened at *Horn* in *West-Friesland*, not long after the book in defence of Images was published by *Lipsius*; that

¹ Meteren. Lib. XXIV. p. 482. Grot. Hist. Lib. XI. p. 421. Grot. Hist. Lib. VII. p. 329.

³ Vita Lipf. Aub. Mir. p. 39, &c.

⁴ Vel. Chron. van Horn. Lib. IV. p. 276, &c.

AN^o DOM. 1602. that the Magistrates of that place having caused a noble Stone Monument to be made by the famous artificer *Henry de Keiser*, at the charge of the town, in honour of Doctor *Peter Hogerbeets* (a man of eminent learning and virtue) on account of the services he had rendered to the publick, and the said monument being adorned with imagery about the borders of it; the giddy people got together, and would not suffer it to be set up over his grave in the church, crying out, *If it be set up, we will break it to pieces immediately.* And they carried the dispute so far, that it had like to have come to an insurrection. They were forced therefore to leave out the imagery, and to alter the work to the satisfaction of those zealots. Which made some say, *That we had passed from blind superstition to a stupid preciseness.*

A Tumult at Horn, occasioned by the setting up a Monument adorned with Imagery.

Pictures defaced at Alkmaer.

Some years before this, one *Cornelius Goldsmith*, a Churchwarden at *Alkmaer*, shewed his zeal against Images after a yet different manner: He went one night into the Great Church, in company of a certain *Brabander*, named *Jacob Mustard*, and another stranger, one *Mark Blauwerwer*, and with some black dye expunged the fine paintings of the seven works of Mercy, which hung then at the West end of the church, and the pictures of the Prophets upon the pulpit. The next day the black daubing was discovered; but the Burgomasters caused it to be immediately washed off, before it grew dry, and saved the painting. But the Churchwarden was discharged from his office.

The Deaths of several learned Men among the Reformed, viz. Taffin, Trelcatius, and Junius.

In this year 1602, remarkable likewise for Dearth and Pestilence, the churches of these Provinces lost several eminent Lights of the Reformation; such as *John Taffin*, formerly one of the Ministers of the *Walloon* church at *Antwerp*, after that, Chaplain to the Prince of *Orange*, then Minister of the *Walloon* church at *Harlem*, and lastly at *Amsterdam*, where he died in the month of *May*, and in the 73^d year of his age. He was, as has been said elsewhere, of a good family, and Brother to Monsieur *du Pré*, the States Agent at the Court of *France*; and was much regretted on account of his learning, moderation, and experience in affairs: But some observed certain blemishes in his character, occasioned by his too great zeal against the *Anabaptists*, in some papers which he published in the year 1589, concerning the *Incarnation* of *Christ*, *Infant-Baptism*, the *Duty*, *Authority*, and *Power*, of the *Magistrate*, and *Swearing*. These seemed to be some sparks of the heat of that age, against which he himself inveighed upon other occasions. It was this Gentleman who advised the Minister *Uitenbogart*, that since he lived at the *Hague*, he should endeavour to gain and keep the favour of *John van Oldenbarnevelt*, Advocate of *Holland*, for the advantage of the Church; telling him, *that the Clergy had formerly cultivated too little correspondence with the Advocate, notwithstanding that all things passed through his hand; and that it was in his power to do great services to the Church.* His Books concerning *Repentance*, in opposition to the *Corruption of Manners*, had been published seven years before, and on account of the many edifying lessons they contained, were read with great benefit. His Motto was, *A Dieu ta vie, en Dieu ta fin*; that is, *To God thy life, in God thy end.*

On the 28th of *August*, *Lucas Trelcatius*, Professor of Divinity and Minister of the *Walloon* Congregation at *Leyden*, was hurried out of this world by the Plague. He was born at *Erin* near *Douay*, in the year 1542; Having been maintained at school in *Douay* by his Aunt, Abbess of a Nunnery there, and afterwards sent to *Paris*, he there exercised himself in Languages and Sciences under the famous *Johannes Mercerus* and *Petrus Ramus*, by which means he discovered the superstition and abuses of the *Romish* church. But upon that occasion he lost the usual assistance of his friends; which loss was made up to him by some Merchants of *Lisle*, upon condition that he would officiate as a Minister to their persecuted church. Whilst he followed his studies at *Paris* and *Orleans*, there arose a new storm of civil commotions which drove him over to *England*, where with his Wife, whom he had married at *Sancerre* in *France*, he got his bread by teaching school, at the same time exercising himself in Theological matters: From thence he was called by those of *Lisle* (making use of their right) to the service of the church of that town: Upon which he departed with his Wife and four Children for *Antwerp*, where he past his examination in Divinity, and being judged fit for the Ministry, was sent away to *Lisle*. The badness of the times would not permit him to stay long there; wherefore

fore, by consent of the people, he went to *Brussels*, and served the *Walloon* church there about six years, till the surrender of the City to the *Spaniards* in the year 1585. Retiring from thence to *Antwerp*, he was detained there by the siege for the space of eight months. Being afterwards called by several churches, he would not choose any of himself, but referred it entirely to his brethren, lawfully assembled in a Synod, knowing how scandalizing and prejudicial a thing it was for Ministers, by their private intrigues to render themselves suspected of levity or self-interest. The Synod appointed him to the *Walloon* church of *Leyden*, where he served for about seventeen years. In the second year of his Ministry, his great Learning procured him the Professorship of Divinity in that University. His diligence, zeal, piety, and other virtues exerted in both functions, are highly extolled in a Funeral Oration made over his corpse by *Franciscus Junius*. He left ten children behind him, among whom, his son *Lucas Trécalpius*, junior, who was his successor in his office.

¹ A few weeks after him, on the 23d of *October*, the said *Junius* was visited with the Plague, and died in three days, to the great loss of the University and the Reformed Churches, in the 57th year of his age, being born at *Bourges* in the Duchy of *Berry*, on the first of *May*, 1555. With what zeal, prudence, and danger he promoted the business of Reformation in this country (that being the most remarkable part of his life and actions) has been already shewn in the foregoing books. After his departure from the *Netherlands*, he resided some time in the *Palatinate*, and exercised his Ministry about *Heidelberg*; after which, he took a journey into *France*, to visit his Mother and his Friends. Returning to the *Palatinate*, the Elector sent him to the Prince of *Orange's* Camp, at the time of that unfortunate expedition over the *Maese* in the year 1568; upon which occasion he continued three days without meat or drink, and could get nothing but a few green herbs the third evening. In *Kempen* he had like to have been frozen to death; in *Lorrain* he had his Horse stolen from him; and there was hardly any kind of troubles which he did not undergo. He therefore resolved to retire to *Germany*, though there was great danger in attempting it: but the Prince of *Orange* detained him, much against his will, for the benefit of his Ministry. Returning afterwards to his congregation in the *Palatinate*, the Elector would have sent him again to the Prince, refusing to hear of any excuse; but by the bite of a Dog, an accident for which he thanked God, he was kept out of the war. He afterwards preached at a place called *Schonaw* till the year 73, when the Elector ordered him to fix at *Heidelberg*, that he might employ himself in conjunction with *Emanuel Tremellius*, in translating the Old Testament out of *Hebrew* into *Latin*. In the year 78 he went to *Newburg*, where he preached fourteen months. The year following, he was sent to serve the church of *Otterburg*: there he stayed till the year 82, and was called from thence to the School at *Nieuwstadt*, and from thence in 84 to the Professorship of Divinity in the University of *Heidelberg*. In this post he continued till the year 91, when his private affairs called him to *France*; but before he came thither, he stopt at *Leyden* in his journey through the *Netherlands*, and was so well received, that in the year 92 they chose him to the Professorship of Divinity, where for the space of ten years till his death he continued a great Light of Learning and Piety. The famous *Joseph Scaliger* preferred him to all other Divines for his accurate judgment. ² It is recorded of him, that he was a very acute Disputant in matters of Religion, being able with great dexterity to use the arguments of his adversaries against them, or, as I may say, to turn their own Cannon upon them; though he did it commonly after a very gentle, civil, and friendly manner, attacking the *Papists* themselves in his writings, with much more temper than many of the *Protestant* sects treat one another in our days, though differing in trifles only. In the business of *Predestination* he endeavoured to defend the opinion of *Calvin*, by rendering it a little more palatable; for he did not hold, that *Predestination* regarded mankind either antecedently to the Decree of their Creation, or consequently to their Creation on the Foresight of their Fall; but only that it regarded Man already created, so far, as being endowed by God with Natural Gifts, he was called to a Supernatural Good. ³ Upon which occasion *Jacobus Arminius*, then a Minister at *Amsterdam*, entered into a conference with him by writing, endeavouring

A farther Account of the Life of Junius.

His Opinion concerning the point of Predestination, and Conference with Arminius.

¹ Meurs. Athen. Bat Lib. II. p. 163.

² Grot. Hist. Lib. V. p. 266. & Epist. ad G. J. Voss.

29 Sept. 1629.

³ J. Armin. amic. cum Fr. Jun. collat. Lugd. Bat. 1613 edit.

AN^O DOM. 1602. deavours to prove by certain conclusions, that the opinion of *Junius*, as well as that of *Calvin*, inferred the *Necessity of Sin*, besides other absurdities, and that therefore he must have recourse to a third opinion, which supposed Man not only as Created, but as Fallen, to have been the object of Predestination. *Junius* answered his first Letter with that temper which was peculiar to him, but seemed to hammer out of the several opinions concerning Predestination, one of his own, which, as *Arminius* thought, contradicted every one of those he defended. That answer being copied by some of his family, was dispersed afterwards among the Students, though it was otherwise stipulated at first, and it was said, that perhaps it might be printed. This induced *Arminius*, who had intended otherwise to have broken off the correspondence, to draw up a Reply to the Answer of *Junius*, and to send it him. But *Junius* kept this last paper till his death, full six years, without ever returning one word in answer to it: Whether it was, that he scrupled to stir this matter any farther, fearing lest it might occasion quarrels and contentions in such suspicious and uncharitable times; or whether it was, that he found himself prest too home, and, as the friends of *Arminius* think, knew not what to say to some of the points of his Reply. Afterwards, in the year 1608, his works were published at *Heidelberg* in two Volumes, but the papers he exchanged with *Arminius* are not there; nor are certain Answers to several Questions delivered by him *extempore* at his own house, a little before his death, and taken by the pens of some of his Scholars. Those Answers, of which I have seen the Copies, contain some notions and positions very remarkable, and which deserve well to be considered, being to the following purpose:

His Answers to
several Questions.

Whether the
Jews may be
tolerated among
Christians.

To a question concerning the *Jews*, he replied, ' That they ought to be tolerated among *Christians*; First, Because they are poor ignorant creatures, and that *no man living ought to be extirpated from the earth on account of Religion, since Faith is the gift of God, and since all men are by nature our brethren*. Secondly, That although the Body of the *Jews* is in general rejected by God, yet it is not to be inferred from thence, that the particular Members of that Body are not to be tolerated among *Christians*; for the Church must be gathered out of both. Consequently they are to be tolerated, not only on the account of *Nature*, but of *Grace*. From their unfruitful works we ought indeed to abstain. There is much said about their Synagogues; but there is nothing to be found in them that so greatly wounds the reputation of Religion.

Whether, and
how far Erroneous
Sects may be
allowed the
Exercise of
their Religion.

To the question, *Whether, and how far we ought to allow erroneous sects the liberty of Religion*, he made this reply: ' This question much more concerns the Statesman than the Divine; and if the matter were to be simply regarded, exclusively of Political or Humane considerations, it would not be lawful to allow liberty of Religion to erring sects; because the Church ought not to confirm and strengthen such an evil, but is much rather under the obligation of bringing all Christians into the holy communion of the Gospel: yet this question never occurs simply, but is always cloathed with Political circumstances and limitations; therefore no certain rule can be given, on account of the variety of circumstances. Truth, Charity and Prudence ought however always to be considered in this matter. Truth, to the end that such care may be taken of it, as at the same time to shew our perpetual hatred to False Doctrine and Lies. Charity, in order to the exerting our utmost diligence to secure the Pious, and to bring back the Erroneous as much as possible into the way of the Doctrine of Salvation. And lastly Prudence, in order to observe and lay hold of all the opportunities of declaring the Truth, and of exercising our Charity towards those that are in Error; who will much sooner be brought back to the Truth by a holy Prudence, Forbearance and Meekness, than by unseasonable Rigour, which tends rather to drive them from Christ, and to harden them in their Errors, as often happens by a forward inclination to Persecution, into which ignorant men run headlong, fancying, that by so doing they shall acquire the name and praise of Martyrs.

To the question, *Whether the Church should bear with Plays, either Comical or Tragical, especially with such as are borrowed from holy writ*; *Junius* answered to the

the following purpose: 1. *Plays and Publick Spectacles* are of themselves of an indifferent nature, and neither good nor bad; neither can it be said, that they are forbidden to Christians: Nor ought we to think certain bodily exercises altogether useless to the education of youth; yet such diversions, however tolerable they may be in themselves, were not used in the church of Christ, where people, through the grace of God, heard the publication of the Divine Word, to the building up of the body of Christ; neither has Christ commanded us to *Play*, but to *Preach*. Even the Dignity and Authority of Scripture would become ludicrous, and Sermons contemptible, if these things should take root in the Church; for which cause, if people ought not to meddle with Plays upon common subjects but with great circumspection, much less should they allow Plays, the plot and contents of which are taken out of the Bible, and which particularly concern matters of Religion and our Salvation: Yet there may come a time in which Necessity may require that these means be used for edification of the people; inasmuch that they may not only become tolerable, but even serviceable too; as it really happened in the Reign of *Julian* the Apostate, when *Gregory Nazianzen* introduced into the Schools the Tragedy of Christ's Sufferings, and such like pieces, that he might elude the Prohibitions of that Emperor. And after this manner it was brought to pass on occasion of the just judgment of God, that the Gospel, which by reason of the tyranny of men could not be preached, was insinuated into peoples minds by the contrivance of the Pious, under the species of Plays. But these were uncommon accidents, from whence no laws can be framed, or which, as the Lawyers love to speak, cannot be drawn into consequences.

AN^O D^O M.

1603.

Whether
Stage-Plays
may be suffer-
ed.

2 It is likewise related of *Junius*, that he was against proving the deep point of the Holy Trinity any otherwise than from Holy Scripture. It was, as he thought, a fault in *Mornay* and others, to pretend by arguments from Nature, and *Platonical* testimonies (and commonly not much to the purpose) to establish a thing which ought never to be drawn into a dispute against *Atheists*, *Heathens*, *Jews* and *Mahometans*; for we should refer them all to the Holy Scriptures, to the end that they may extract from thence such things as, without a Divine Revelation therein contained, they can never learn of themselves.

In the year 93 he writ that famous *Irenicon*, called, *The Peaceable Christian*, which when it first appeared, and some copies of it were delivered to the Deputies of the States, was highly commended by them; but that which was most of all to his praise was, that he himself was that very *Peaceable Christian*; a title which did full as justly belong to him, as the names of the *Divine*, of *Chrysostom* or *Golden Mouth*, the *Acute*, &c. which were titles given to certain Doctors of former ages, on account of their Gifts or Learning, which, without a *Peaceful Disposition*, are either empty or hurtful. And now I am speaking of that book, I cannot omit something that has been related to me by his youngest Son, *Franciscus Junius*, a man of note among the Learned, who himself heard it from the mouth of *John Polyander*, at that time Minister of *Dort*, and since Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*. In a company of *French* Divines, among whom this *Polyander* was one, the following question was put to *Junius*, viz. *If you were to lose all your writings, but had it in your power to save one, which of them would you wish to keep?* He answered: *The Peaceable Christian; for the rest of my books I writ as a Divine, but this as a Christian: A judgment which tempts me to transcribe some of the Doctrines of that Golden Irenicon (too little read, and less practised) into this work.*

A Character of
his Treatise,
entitled the
Peaceable
Christian,
with an Ex-
tract of several
remarkable
Passages.

He taught then, 'How great forbearance must be exercised in the church: Even as to Facts, and Material Things, about which we may be justly more concerned than about Circumstances, (such as Customs and Ceremonies, that are not conformable either to our opinions or manners) those, he thought, should be considered in private persons, and even in churches too, in such a manner, as that all quarrels with those churches might be prevented; as far at least as they were really Churches, and had something of Christianity in them; though they were polluted with many

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' evil

¹ *Franciscus Junius* seems here to be more indulgent to Theatrical or Stage-Plays, than some of the Reformed Divines of the present age, who explode them much more rigidly, without admitting that any good use may be made of them. But let our Readers consult upon this subject the answer of Professor S. Episcopius, upon the Forty-third Question of his Scholars, in the first Volume of his Works, p. 45. b. See likewise concerning the Use of Stage-Plays, the First Part of this History, Lib. III.

² Grot. Epist. ad Voss. cal. Jan. script. 1638.

AN^O DOM.

1602.

evil works, and favoured of nothing more than impiety and injustice. Perhaps (it is his own expression) this or that person, may all of them, may be corrupt, yet as long as there is any order or discipline among them, as long as there remains the external figure of a Church, (that is to say, whilst the Holy Scriptures are owned and revered by them, and the actions of the members of such Churches are directed to this end, viz. that the people may have the Word of God declared to them, and they on the other hand may address themselves to him in Prayer, and render him the highest honours with Thanksgiving, and for the same purpose hold Religious Assemblies) so long, says he, you ought to abstain from censuring and condemning such meetings, and refusing to allow them the name of a Church: Or, if you do it, let me tell you, Christ did not do it, nor the Prophets in the ancient church of the Jews, (for when *Elijah* did it, he suffered a reprimand from God) neither was it done by the Apostles in so many Christian Churches, the great corruptions of which they well observed; and yet prudently and charitably healed the evil they found in them, as much as possible, without rashly and unseasonably rejecting the churches themselves. But what is to be done, if the assembly err with respect to the acknowledging and receiving the person sent to them? If they will not own the Minister of God's Word lawfully set over them? Or, if they receive him for lawful, who is appointed unlawfully? And lastly, if one church be set up in opposition to another, whether through an Heretical zeal, or love of Schism? These indeed are troublesome accidents; yet ought we not presently to condemn those who to the great prejudice of Christianity are thus spiritually diseased; just as if such people, who in those respects reject the ordinance of God, were already and entirely rejected of the Lord. God is not so hasty in his judgments: for first, though they reject the Ordinance of Christ without reason, yet do they not reject all the Ordinances, but only the Discipline of this or that Church, or even of many Churches: For that they do not entirely reject the whole, appears from hence, because they retain some sort of Government in their Assemblies. Besides (which is chiefly to be considered) they retain the external form of a church, that is, the Word of God, the Holy Scriptures; and since they retain and respect these, they ought not to be condemned, as if they had entirely apostatized from the Universal Church. For which reason the Orthodox Fathers did indeed manfully fight with the Spiritual Sword of God's Word against the Heretical Churches; but however, they did not absolutely deny, that such Assemblies were likewise Churches, neither did they utterly reject their Ministry, nor ever maintain that the Sacrament of Baptism received among them, ought to be renewed in the Orthodox Churches, provided the Essence of it remained among them. For they rightly judged, that these humane frailties, though very great, were not sufficient to destroy the truth of God. But what is to be done, if they indeed receive and hold the Scripture (which is that external form which is stamped upon the Church of God) for the surest foundation, but yet do not receive it in a due manner? In this case it is to be considered, *First*, Whether they allow the Scripture to be a Divine Fundamental Rule of Faith and Manners: *Secondly*, if they grant this, whether they own all the contents of Holy Scripture, that is, whether they embrace those Doctrines which are revealed in the Scripture? For in the first place, if they retain the Scripture, then do they preserve that external form which God has impressed upon his Church, and which he has commanded to be so highly honoured, that every church that retains this form, ought to be accounted the church of God, with respect to its Call. And this is what the Apostle means when he says to the *Romans*, Chap. iij. Ver. 1, 2. *What advantage then hath the Jew? Or what profit is there of Circumcision? Much every way: chiefly because, that unto them were committed the Oracles of God.* For from hence we are clearly instructed, that they to whom the Oracles of God are committed (though they be mostly Unbelievers) do yet retain that privilege or advantage, not for their own sakes, but thro' that wonderful faithfulness of God, which their unbelief cannot render null or of no effect, whilst he vouchsafes to wait for them with long suffering. This external form is impressed by God, when he commits to us his Holy Word; and they who retain that Word, must be esteemed, so long as they do retain it, to retain the principle of that form which God has impressed: just as one does not scruple to receive an old worn piece of Money, as long as there remains any face or figure upon it. — And it cannot be

be otherwise, but that those who retain the Holy Scripture, will at the same time admit, at least in part, the contents of it. — In this matter there are many degrees to be observed. For as great as the distance is between the perfection of this duty, and the lowest degree of imperfection that approaches nearest to an entire alienation from and desertion of God, so great a number of degrees may be supposed between Men or Churches, who receive the Scripture and the contents of it. But these degrees are not to be counted, since one receives one part, another another, one more, another less, one clearly and purely, another confusedly and impurely. And in another place he says: ‘Some retain the substance of Scripture and its contents, with respect to Fundamentals; others retain it after such a manner, as to recede very far from the Fundamentals. By *Fundamentals*, or, as we commonly express it, by the *Fundamental Articles of Faith*, we understand those, without which the Christian Faith cannot subsist; such as is the Article of a God, which is the foundation of our salvation, and the immutable object of our belief: They therefore that retain the Scriptures, and those wholesome Fundamentals, though their Faith do not appear so plain with respect to some particular points, yet in respect to the external form which God has impressed upon it, they must be esteemed to be in the church of God: For such as our opinion is of a particular Member, such ought it to be of the Body of the Church: We have compassion on the Members that are weak in the Faith, and with good reason; why not then on the Body too, which is no less weak and feeble? As long as the Soul remains in it, it lives; and as long as there is life, it is animated by the Soul: But those who depart from the foundation, and boast themselves in the flesh upon the letter of the Scripture, may justly be esteemed no part of the Church of Christ: But here again there are several things that deserve our attention: as, Whether those who retain the foundation, retain it purely or corruptly; if corruptly, then how far such corruption extends itself: if the corruption be very great, then it ought to be considered, whether the Faith be evidently corrupted by them, or whether the corruption be only inferred by their adversaries by way of consequence: for in these cases we should act very cautiously and tenderly, to the end that the good, how little soever it be, which they have attained to by the grace of Christ, be not lost through our passions and animosities.

AN^o DOM^o
1602.

The Opinion of Junius concerning such as hold the Fundamentals of Religion.

And even with respect to those who with so much levity and injustice too, break the bands of Christian Brotherhood and Unity, our Author thus proceeds: ‘In case Fraternal Unity be so strong by nature, that no human power can dissolve it, but that brothers remain always bound and linked together by the natural ties of consanguinity, which Tyrants themselves are not able to break; as *Dionysius of Sicily* freely confesses, *That he could break his own laws, but not those of nature*: And again, If the civil fraternity arising from the union of certain human callings or professions, can produce such an effect among men, as to bind them strongly to each other; as was practised by the prudence of the ancient Romans, with greater application than among other people, upon their being chosen brothers or companions into any common administration or service, as their Writings and Histories inform us: certainly then we may well say, that that brotherhood, which does not result either from Natural or Political Laws, but proceeds immediately from a Divine Institution, the institution of Grace; is of much greater force to bind or unite us to one another, and to keep us so united. I cannot therefore sufficiently wonder at the boldness of those who so little value this great privilege of brotherly friendship, instituted by God, by the Divine Power, by methods entirely divine, that they make no scruple of disclaiming others for their brethren; or if they acknowledge such a brotherhood in general, yet when they come to particulars, they are of quite another opinion, and declare that this or that man, this or that church, has no fellowship or brotherhood with them. If it were a natural bond or obligation, nature itself would convince them, that they have no power to annul its laws at their pleasure: if it were of human institution, their consciences would inform them, that this social law cannot be dissolved but by the same authority by which it was made; for it is a vulgar maxim, *By whatever means any covenant is made, by the same it is to be dissolved*: But now (good God!) what do I hear? No man can dissolve the obligations of nature, neither can human compacts be annulled by the particular act of one of the parties; and yet may that fellowship

Spiritual Brotherhood not rashly to be broken.

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How we ought
to carry it to-
wards such as
seek to break
the bands of
Christian Bro-
therhood, or to
cause a Schism.

which the Divine Law of Grace has made, be broken at our pleasure? O deplorable madness! if any one suffers himself to be transported by it, he must needs have first rent himself from God and Christ, even before he thinks to cut off another: For who has ever hated his own flesh? or what member will take pains to maim its own body? He is therefore no longer of Christ's body, that endeavours to cut off any member from Christ. And yet alas! this evil is the common distemper of our age, which prevails to such a degree, that almost all of us *presume to know, to judge, and to condemn, the actions of our brethren, and boldly to rob them of their reputation and credit.* Neither do we scruple to rage against Men, Churches, whole Provinces, and Powers appointed by God, with Excommunications and Anathemas, (as if we had an Absolute, Royal, nay, Divine, Authority for so doing) notwithstanding they adhere to Christ; only because they are not just of our mind in all points. Nevertheless, dear brother, our covenant remains still, it remains still with me, but the strangeness (it grieves me to say it) is on your side. But if you will estrange your self from me, you must first become an alien or stranger to Christ, in whom we are brethren. As for me, I neither will nor can do it, because Christ has assumed me into his brotherhood, and has likewise made me your brother in himself. If you will tear the brotherhood to pieces, I will do my best to join it together again; and if you unrip it, I will sew it up again; if you throw it down, I will raise it; if you renounce it, Christ will confirm it, and I with him; if you will not hear it, good men will hear it, and so will the Lord, before whose presence I have a hearty concern and pity for your weakness. Moved with compassion, whatever I cannot mend, I will bear with: but however, in bearing with you, I carefully endeavour these two things; the one is, patiently to wait for the healing of this your deplorable weakness, from the Lord; and the other is, to embrace all opportunities to assist and to raise you up out of charity, in hopes that God will sometime or other make use of my labour for your salvation. For why should not we bear with one another, even in the business of Religion, as we do with those whom Anger, Hatred, or the like passions, have deprived of their reason? If such misfortunes happen among brothers, they are and continue to be brothers notwithstanding. I should therefore do very ill, if, because you will not be my brother, or refuse to discharge the duty of a brother, I should fall into the same fault. I will not therefore add my sin to your folly; but entirely retaining all that understanding which God has given me, promote your recovery according to my duty; or at least, if I can do no more, deliver my own soul in the sight of God and man.

These peaceful lessons teach us the worth of that man, and withal, the loss which the *Reformed* churches suffered by his death: For they were soon sensible of their loss, when, being deprived of his wise counsels, they fell into those confusions, divisions, and miseries, through the foolish heats of their Teachers, with which they have been plagued for many years.

The End of the Seventeenth Book.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN and ABOUT the
LOW-COUNTRIES.

BOOK XVIII.



AFTER the death of *Junius*,¹ the University of *Leyden* was at AN^o DOM. 1602. a great loss how to fill his place with a worthy successor. If they turned their eyes towards *France*, there were hardly men of Learning sufficient to supply the Schools of the *Reformed* in proportion to their wants. In *Germany* there were few Divines of name. *Pezelius* could not be called by reason of his great age; and *Grynæus* was likewise above 60 years old. *Paræus* seemed to be too much tied to the *Palatinate*. *Piscator* was looked

The Curators of the University of Leyden seek to fill the Place of Junius with a worthy Successor.

upon as one of the fittest; but his most useful days were past too. Besides, the Curators of the University were not much inclined to a foreigner. They therefore sought for a *Hollander*, who being acquainted with the State of his Native Church, as well as with that of Christendom in general, and being sensibly affected with the difficulties it laboured under, would heartily concur in healing the wounds of schism, as much as lay in his power, so far at least as consisted with the preservation of Necessary Truths.

At last they cast their eyes on *Jacobus Arminius* of *Ouderwater*, at that time one of the Ministers of *Amsterdam*, and whom we have frequently had occasion to mention in the preceeding Books. They accounted him a person of good judgment and understanding, very learned, eloquent, and a lover of peace and piety. ¹ *Antonius Thysius*, who was at the same time Professor of Divinity at *Harderwick*, endeavouring to promote his Call, styled him, *A Light of the Netherlands, born for the good of the Universities*.

They cast their Eyes on Jacobus Arminius.

Divers of the Clergy apprehended some danger in the choice of this Gentleman, and represented it to the Curators. They thought, he was not sound enough in that doctrine which most of them had espoused, and that he doubted of some points which they judged to be of very great importance; that he indulged his reason a little too much, suffering it to wander farther than it ought, and meditating innovations in Religion. These suspicions were entertained by some, but contradicted by others, according as every one thought they knew him, or rather, as they loved or hated him: For *Arminius* had already had for some years past, controversies with several Ministers, by whom he had been suspected: The account he gives in a familiar Letter of his own behaviour, and of what happened on that account, deserves well to be recorded; the rather, because what men commit to writing in the way of a friendly correspondence, is less guarded, and makes a clearer discovery of the truth of their conduct and inclinations than can be found in premeditated apologies, which are intended

Objections made against him.

¹ Uitenb. Hist. p. 314.

A^N D O M. tended to be published in their defence. ¹ 'Tis in a Letter to *Uitenbogart*, in which he says to him: *I do all I can to infuse into others the truths I know, and to enquire into those that are unknown to me; as also to penetrate further into those which I think I know, and to support and corroborate them with solid reasons. This I do in silence and hope, bearing in the mean while with the unseasonable zeal of some people, and with an almost intolerable heat, till God shall deliver me from such troublesome men, or grant them the spirit of prudence and moderation to qualify their indiscreet and ungovernable zeal. And I think I have just cause to charge them with a zeal that is destitute of knowledge; for I see that they busy themselves least of all with that which they ought to have most at heart, and which in great measure consists in an inquiry after Truth. This proceeds from their fancying that they have already attained to Truth; and such an imagination is so strong in some men, that they will immediately pass a judgment even upon the weightiest matters, and which they have never considered, with such an authority as cuts off all contradiction, to the great hurt of the Church of Christ, and to the entire defeating of Truth.*

Gomarus opposes his Call.

Among those that endeavoured to keep *Arminius* out of the University of *Leyden*, was also *Franciscus Gomarus*, a Professor of Divinity in that City; who informed the Curators, that *Arminius* had sufficiently discovered himself by certain Sermons upon the seventh Chapter to the *Romans*, and by those important controversies that had been agitated between him and the late *Junius*, who likewise had an ill opinion of him: He added further, that he had heard the same from Ministers worthy of credit; and at length, being urged to say from whom, he named *Peter Plancius*, one of the Ministers of *Amsterdam*: To this it was replied, that some indeed had been of opinion, that *Arminius's* Exposition upon the VIIth of the *Romans* inclined a little to the doctrines of *Pelagius*, ² but that he had shown the contrary; besides, that the disputes between him and *Junius* ended in a friendly manner, and that *Junius* had ever since lived in friendship with him.

As do the Synodical Deputies.

The Deputies of the Synod, hearing that the Curators were satisfied as to the accusations brought against him, and that they still designed to call him, but that the Government of *Amsterdam* refused to discharge him; began in earnest to oppose the Call; ³ nay, they intreated even *Uitenbogart*, his friend, to assist in it: But, after he had heard their arguments, he declared his opinion, that there was no reason for opposing *Arminius*; and that it was not proper to exclude such a man upon groundless suspicions: Upon which some body cried, *We ought to be on our guard, even when there is no danger*: But *Uitenbogart* answered, that this maxim was not very Christian, and referred him to what *Paul* says, *Charity thinketh no evil*, as what much better became the mouth of a Churchman. It being likewise urged by another person, that *Junius* had been much offended at the last answer of *Arminius*, in the written conferences between them upon the head of Predestination; *Uitenbogart* said, *He could not believe it, having since then heard him speak very much in praise of that Gentleman*: It is nevertheless certain, said one of the Members of the Synod, that *Arminius* is at variance with us; and, if it be not about Fundamentals, it is at least in matters relating to them; which is indeed tolerable in the Church, but not in the Schools, where people are at liberty to dispute, and by which means the least novelty may occasion a Schism: To this *Uitenbogart* answered, *That liberty in indifferent things ought neither to be entirely banished from the Church nor Schools: That there had always been, and would be, diversity of opinions in matters of Religion, and even in very weighty things, yet without occasioning divisions in the Church:—That it was well known that Junius did not agree in all things with Sohnius at Heidelberg, nor with Gomarus at Leyden; but that nevertheless they maintained peace with each other.*

A new Accusation against Arminius.

After this, the Synodical Deputies applied again to the Curators, begging them to take care that the peace of the University might be preserved. They address themselves likewise in the beginning of *March*, 1603, to the Heer *Oldenbarnevelt*, the Advocate of *Holland*, renewing their former accusations, to which one of their company added, that *Arminius* had said in a Sermon, *That God had not yet given the Romish church a bill of Divorce*. In answer to which it was proved from a printed book, that *Junius* had

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¹ Epist. Eccles. p. 119, &c. al. 100, b. Ep. 51.
² Life of Uitenbog. Book V. p. 54.

³ The rise of the Church-differences in the Netherlands, writ in Dutch by Uitenb. p. 9.

had said the same that *Arminius* was accused of, and confirmed it with arguments too, without having ever been blamed for it.

Some days after, *Wernerus Helmichius*, one of the Deputies of the Synod, and Minister at *Amsterdam*, fell into a discourse with *Uitenbogart* about the business of *Arminius*, and upon that occasion said something concerning the **Absolute Decree**, calling it the *Doctrine of the Church*: to which *Uitenbogart* replied, *That it was by no means the doctrine of the Church, but only that of some particular Churchmen, and that he did not approve of it.* *Helmichius* said, he thought that those who were of the contrary opinion might be tolerated in the Church, provided they held their peace. Upon which the other answered, *That not those who rejected the Absolute Decree, but much rather those who maintained it, stood in need of a toleration.* And when *Helmichius* told him, that there were people at *Amsterdam* who had great matters to alledge against *Arminius*, if he pursued his design, *Uitenbogart* returned the following answer: *That these reflections were repugnant to Truth and Charity: That he perceived they were bringing tyranny into the Church, which he was resolved to oppose: That some of the Reformed talkt as if they could not err, and as if all things were so well regulated in their church, that there was not the least defect in it; and therefore that they would not tolerate those who differed from them in the least tittle: That if a man had any doubts or scruples about some points, he must immediately pass for a Heretick: From whence it proceeded, that a certain person had not scrupled to charge Arminius with Heresy; which could not but occasion many divisions and inconveniences; but that however they would at last miss of their aim, and that therefore they ought to act with more moderation.* He said to *Helmichius* further: *I wonder at you particularly, who being but lately called to Amsterdam, can have had no knowledge of what past there relating to him (Arminius) before your arrival, who may therefore sit down in peace, and keep yourself out of the scrape, and yet choose to engage yourself so deeply, and carry it so unfriendly to your Colleague. This I did not expect from you; and I am the more troubled about it, because both Arminius and you are two of my best friends.*

1602.
A Discourse between W. Helmichius and Uitenbogart, concerning him.

And between Uitenbogart and Gomarus.

The same day *Gomarus* and *Uitenbogart* had likewise some discourse about *Arminius*, the former maintaining, that his Sermons upon the *VIIth* of the *Romans* contradicted the doctrine of the Church. *Uitenbogart* ask'd, which of the Articles of the *Confession*, or of the *Catechism*? Upon which *Gomarus* replied: **That the Doctrine of the Church was to be judged of, not only from the Formularies, but likewise from the consent and harmony of the Clergy.** The other rejoined: *Such expressions are founded upon a Popish bottom; and for my part, said he, I own no other agreement of the Clergy, as to doctrines, but what appears in our Confession.* *Gomarus* likewise said, that the *Decree of Predestination* might be treated of with moderation, and that *Arminius* might be tolerated, in case he behaved himself with temper: though he did not question but he could prove plainly enough, **That God is just, though he should ordain any one to punishment without regard to Sin.** After some high words had past between them, *Uitenbogart* spoke to him in the following manner: *What he (Gomarus) did in this matter, Arminius ascribed not to him, but to others who set him on: That Arminius had resolved not to accept of the Professorship, before he had friendly conferred with him (Gomarus) about these scruples and difficulties: That he desired above all things to live in amity with him, and rather always reject any employment that should be offered to him, than give occasion to troubles: there were troubles enough already every where, We ought therefore to follow peace.* Saying further: *That he made no doubt but Arminius would give him entire satisfaction in all points.* These soft words were answered in a no less friendly manner: *That is (said Gomarus) what I desire beyond all things in the world, and then shall he be a most agreeable Colleague to me: I will bear and allow all that I can with a safe conscience.* The discourse was closed by *Uitenbogart*, with these words: *People cannot be exactly of one opinion in every point, but yet they may preserve Charity and Piety. You yourself did not agree with Junius in all things.*

In another conference, one of the Synodical Deputies made use of the following expression: *The design of the Laity is to condemn Calvin's opinion of Predestination, and then they will trample upon the neck of the Church.* ¹ To which *Uitenbogart* replied:

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¹ Uitenb. Journal on the 25th of April, 1603.

A. N. D. O. M. 1603. *If that opinion be true, let it be approved; if false, let it be rejected.* From all these circumstances it was easy to observe, upon what point matters turned on each side.

The Curators in the mean while kept their ears open, as well to *Arminius* as to his accusers. But his Apology turned the scale. They became of opinion, That the Clergy had nothing to do in the choice of Professors: That such matters were wholly of their own cognizance: That there had been Professors before in the University of *Leyden*, who in the business of *Predestination* (for which they seemed so much concerned) had not followed the notions of *Calvin* and *Beza*, as for instance, Professor *Holman*. They therefore came at last to a resolution about this Call. *Arminius* was discharged by those of *Amsterdam*, upon condition that he should enter into an amicable conference with *Gomarus*, at which the Deputies of the Synod should preside, to the end that all jealousies might be obviated. The rest of the conditions were of no great moment. In the stipulated conference he satisfied *Gomarus* so well in the main, that both sides continued quiet. Some say, that in order to get his dismissal from the people of *Amsterdam*, he went round to all his brethren in the Ministry, and solemnly promised them, that he would not mention any of his peculiar notions, or things that were inconsistent with the *Netherland* Confession and *Heidelberg* Catechism, either publicly or privately, but reserve them till the meeting of the national Synod: ¹ Thus *Triglandius* relates it in his Church-history, with the addition of divers other circumstances to the prejudice of *Arminius*; which, as he says, he met with in the Protocol, or Register, of the church at *Amsterdam*, referring to the very page or leaf of the book. But others think, that the faith of the said Register is to be suspected, on account of the influence and authority which some, who were no friends of *Arminius*, had in the Consistory about the time of his departure, and afterwards.

Arminius is called to the Professorship.

Scandalous Reports of him.

But the love I bear to Truth obliges me to say here, that I have been informed by a very good hand, that some of the things alledged against him are not to be met with in the Protocol abovementioned; and that such as do occur there, are not related so fully, nor in such a manner; whether it were that this Author gave too easy credit to the person who pretended to make the extract, or whether he was misled by any other means: insomuch that one cannot depend upon such copies, especially when produced to the prejudice of any man. But as for the *Confession* and *Catechism* that are in use in these Provinces, ² *Arminius* declared, that he neither did nor would teach any thing contrary to those Formularies of Peace and Unity; but in keeping himself within those bounds, he was of opinion, that he was not obliged to follow the particular sentiments of some of the Clergy, or any human authorities.

He is dismissed from Amsterdam with very honourable Testimonials, and enters upon his Office at Leyden.

Arminius entering afterwards upon the Divinity-Professorship at *Leyden*, after having received very ample testimonials from the Classes of *Amsterdam*, acquitted himself so well in his Lectures, and other parts of his office, that he won the hearts of many. *Janus Doussa*, the Heer of *Nortwijk*, famous in those days for his Latin Poems, writ a copy of verses in praise of *Uitenbogart*, at the end of which he says: ³ 'That whoever had at heart Piety, the love of Truth, or the business of Religion, were many ways obliged to *Uitenbogart*, and would always remain so; but yet more for his late services and merits, on account of the share he had in introducing *Arminius* to the University of *Leyden*.

⁴ The very learned *Joseph Scaliger*, who was not over lavish of his praises of others, calls him a very Great Man. But the lustre of his honour, and credit, which eclipsed that of others, had its shadow likewise in a short time, to wit, the hatred of some: but it is doubtful whether this planted the first root of aversion in the hearts of his adversaries.

At the end of this year there was a certain Remonstrance delivered to the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, on the part of the churches of this country, which I have not met with in any other language but *High Dutch*, and is to this effect:

' The

¹ Trigl. Hist. p. 287.

² Epist. Eccles. p. 295. &c.

³ Et sane fateamur hoc necesse est,
Omnes quæis Pietas, Amorq; Veri,
Aut res Religionis ulla cordi est.
Istoc nomine nos UITENBOGARDO
Esse, ac perpetuum fore obligatos:
Haud paulo tamen obligatiores

Recens ob meritum quod Aurafina
Doctorem Arminium scholæ dedisti.

The whole Poem is to be met with before the Life of *Uitenbogart*.

⁴ Vir Maximus. Vid. Excerpta ex ore Scaligeri, per fratres Puteanos, ab A. Ulacq; Hagæ Com. 1666. edit. p. 9.

• The Deputies of the churches of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* do most humbly
 • represent to your Honours, that many years are elapsed since the said Deputies,
 • together with others of their Brethren, being several times appointed thereunto,
 • have notified to your Honours the manifold irregularities, abuses, injustices, and
 • extravagancies that have been openly committed in the land; together with their
 • hearty requests, that your Honours would make use of your authority in finding
 • out means for promoting piety and reverence to Religion, to the end that God's
 • wrath and indignation may be averted from the nation, and his grace and blessings
 • poured out upon it. But whatever instances the Representers have made year after
 • year, they have hitherto been of little effect; neither have these abuses and con-
 • vances decreas'd; would to God we could not say, they are rather increas'd. 'Tis true,
 • your Commissioners returned a favourable answer in the month of *November*,
 • 1590, relating to the reformation of such abuses, &c. Your Honours have like-
 • wise sometime since transmitted the opinion of the Lords of the High Provincial
 • Council to the respective Towns. But the Representers, after having waited with
 • longing for the fruits thereof, have not found (the Lord help us!) that any thing
 • has been done in these matters: and forasmuch as all the things we have com-
 • plained of, tend to the dishonour of God, to the hindrance of the edification of
 • the Christian Churches, and to the prejudice of our Country; the said Repre-
 • senters do once again, being thereto compelled by their conscience, and by virtue of
 • the trust reposed in them, earnestly apply to you, and lay before you the duplicate
 • of what has been formerly presented to you by others relating to the same matters,
 • and of the kind answers made by the Lords of the Council abovementioned; and
 • we do most heartily wish, that your Honours would please to take the premisses
 • into your serious consideration, and bring matters to a good and happy end. And
 • particularly your Representers cannot omit renewing their admonition to your
 • Honours, that the so called *Catholicks* do daily propagate the exercise of their false
 • Religion in all parts of the land, and for that purpose make use of Priests educated
 • in Popish Schools and Universities, and among our enemies. That there likewise
 • spreads itself throughout the country, and creeps from house to house, a certain
 • *Jesuitical* pestilence, by which the good people are not only perverted from the
 • true Religion, but likewise seduced from their Allegiance to the present Govern-
 • ment. This is certainly, as your Honours cannot but know, a thing that tends to
 • the destruction of our country, and which opens a door to the *Spanish* tyranny and
 • *Inquisition*, which will be the more enlarged, particularly by admitting Papists
 • and their adherents to Publick Offices and Places of Trust, whereby the Interest of
 • the Protestant Religion will be weakened, and that of the Papists, by such con-
 • vance and toleration, greatly strengthened. Add to this, that the *Flaccians* and
 • *Ubiquitarians* do with great licentiousness keep open Conventicles, where it is well
 • known, that they not only inveigh and declaim with great bitterness against those
 • of the *Reformed* Religion, but also teach and give out, that these Provinces are in
 • rebellion against their lawful Sovereign, and have unjustly withdrawn themselves
 • from the Government of the King of *Spain*; besides that which likewise happened,
 • as your Honours may remember, some years ago by your Order about a Minister
 • at *Woerden*. Neither can you be ignorant of the designs of the abovementioned
 • Sect, from the instance of what befel the Chancellor *Crellius* at *Dresden* last year,
 • as well as from other examples: And accordingly their assemblies, and the exer-
 • cise of their persuasion in some of the principal towns, as *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*,
 • *Woerden*, and elsewhere, are very dangerous and hurtful, not only to the Church,
 • but also to the State: for all which reasons the Representers having nothing so
 • much at heart as the welfare of the land, beseech your Honours that you will be
 • pleased timely to provide against these evils.

A^N° D^O M.
 1603.
 A Remon-
 strance of the
 Clergy of Hol-
 land to the
 States of Hol-
 land and
 West-Frees-
 land, com-
 plaining of se-
 veral Abuses,
 as also of the
 Romanists
 and Luthe-
 rans.

This Remonstrance, or Representation, had no effect; and indeed some of the
 Clergy look'd upon the affair of the *Lutherans* with a different eye. Yea, the Sy-
 nod of *South-Holland* holden at *Woerden* in the year 1604, thought fit to facilitate
 matters towards a peace with the *Lutherans*, of which, in the Registers of that
 Synod, we find the following minute: ' Forasmuch as the Synod is met at this
 ' place, where there are many *Ubiquitarians*, it is thought fit, for certain reasons,

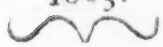
The Synod of
 South-Hol-
 land at
 Woerden,
 endeavours a
 Reconciliation
 with the Lu-
 therans.

D 2

that

A^N° D^O M.

1603.



that the President *Franciscus Lanſbergius*, and *Adrianus van den Borre* should, before the breaking up of the Synod, repair to *Glaſerus*, the Preacher of the *Ubiquitarians*, and acquaint him with the occasion of the Synod's meeting here; and that they would be glad to discourse him a little, since he is not of those narrow sentiments, as if there could be no coalition between his people and ours: but in hopes that the same may one day happen, ¹ as it has already in *Poland* and *Prussia*, it will be proper to lay aside all bitterness, and that they should treat us, as we will them, with temper and civility. ² And this the abovementioned Deputies shall let him know after such a manner, as to make him sensible at the same time, that we are much dissatisfied with the Libel of *Philip Nicolaus*; and finally shall so discourse and treat with him, as the present occasion shall require. This was done accordingly; and he the said *Glaſerus* promised to behave himself with moderation, as far as might consist with a good conscience.

Remarkable
Words of the
Advocate of
Holland to
the Deputies of
the Synod, with
regard to the
Lutherans.

Some relate, that the Deputies of the Synod said to him as follows: *That they on their part were disposed to a Christian Communion, and did by no means desire to exclude those of the Augsburg Confession out of it.* However, we find in a certain Journal of *Uitenbogart*, that the Deputies of the Synod being with him on the 25th of October, 1604, at the *Hague*, told him, that they had discoursed the Advocate of *Holland* about the *Lutherans*, and that he said to them: *You are a strange kind of people; you bear harder upon those that differ but little from you, than upon those who differ much.* And to the rest of what they proposed, he answered sometimes with a nod and sometimes with a single word only. This displeased the Deputies, who talked likewise with *Uitenbogart* about the business of the *Lutherans*, and a certain humble Petition which they had presented to the States (perhaps in justification of what they were charged with in the Remonstrance of the Clergy the foregoing year) back'd with the recommendations of the King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Brunswick*, and the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and desired his (*Uitenbogart's*) advice. He then advised them: *To press the Lords the States to lay hold of this opportunity, by returning an answer to the said Princes, and exhorting them to an union with our people; at the same time representing to them how ill the Reformed had been used by the Lutherans, to the end that they might restrain the railing accusations of the latter.* ³ He likewise said to them, discoursing the same day about a certain difference with *Piscator*, *That there could never be any hopes of Union, unless the Ministers, being all of them obliged to adhere to Fundamentals, were allowed some latitude in matters that were not Fundamental*

The Lutheran
Meeting at
Amsterdam
shut up.

There was also some trouble this year with the *Lutherans* at *Amsterdam*: their Conventicle, or private Meeting, was shut up for some days, and they were forbidden to assemble. What was the occasion of it, does not appear to me with any certainty: some affirm, that *Peter Plancius*, by long importuning the Magistracy, had obtained such an order, having charged the *Lutherans* with procuring ⁴ *Philip Nicolaus*, a Minister of *Hamburg*, to write and publish a certain book against him, which overflowed with gall and bitterness. That book was levelled against a Sermon which *Plancius* had preached the year before in the Old Church upon *Ascension-day*, a short ⁵ abstract of which being made and signed by him, was dispersed about the country, warmly maintaining, *That it was plain from the doctrines of the Ubiquitarians (so he calls the Lutherans) that they partly obscured and called in question many Articles of the Catholick Christian Faith, and partly denied and renounced them, notwithstanding they declared in words, that they entirely believed all the said Articles.* Others are of opinion, that the furious declaiming of some of the *Lutheran* Teachers at *Amsterdam*, not only against *Plancius*, but others, induced the Magistrates to make them sensible, by suspending their Meetings, that they ought to use with modesty the liberty which was granted them of professing their Faith, and publicly exercising their Religion; and that although some zealots should treat them a little too harshly, they ought not to mind it, but to adapt all their words and actions, particularly in the pulpit, *to the correcting mens manners, and not to the imbittering of their minds.*

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. IV. p. 34. D. Blond. Actes Authent. des Egl. Ref. p. 55.

² The Apology of the Evangelical Churches against P. Plancius, printed at Hambourg in 1604.

³ Epist. Eccles. p. 149, 156, 167. Uitenb. Journ. 21 Octob.

⁴ Phil. Nicol. Account of the Misfortunes of the Evangelical Churches at Amsterdam, printed at Hamb. 1604.

⁵ The said Abstract is added to Phil. Nic. Defence of the Evangelical Churches in Holland against Plancius, p. 507.



FRANCISCUS GOMARUS.

¹ But now we come to the origin of a controversy, which concerns us somewhat more nearly: On the 7th of *February* this year, the Professor *Arminius*, when it came to his turn to read to the Scholars upon the doctrine of Predestination, had drawn up certain *Theses* or Positions differing from the opinion of *Calvin* upon that head: This, he thought, it was free for him to do; the rather, because it was well known, even before his being called to the Professorship, that he was not of the same sentiments with those of *Geneva* and others in that point: He also affirmed, that his scheme contained nothing new, but had been taught by others before him; and likewise, that it was not inconsistent with the Confession of the *Netherlandish Churches*; judging, that people might believe and teach differently with regard to this and other doctrinal points, without condemning each other for that reason, or dissolving the band of unity; and even that whilst men adhered to necessary truths, they ought to be allowed a moderate liberty of prophesying, in order to enquire into truth with edification; which would be the right way to avoid Schisms, to lessen the number of Sects, and to restore Peace to Christendom. In treating of and defending his positions, he is reported to have behaved himself very decently, without once naming or meddling with others of a different opinion, that he might avoid offence: But *Gomarus* his Colleague, a man of great learning, whom we have had occasion to mention frequently, look'd upon these matters with a different eye: About eight months after he advanced, though out of his turn, and contrary to the method that had been before agreed upon, several *Theses* about Predestination, diametrically opposite to those of *Arminius*; disputing on them partly out of zeal, and in defence of his own opinions; and partly, as it is thought, at the instigation of others.

A^N° D^OM.
1604.

Arminius holds a disputation in his turn at Leyden, on the point of Predestination.

Gomarus opposes him.

The difference between these two Professors consisted briefly in the following Points: *Arminius* was of opinion, That God, being a righteous Judge, and at the same time a merciful Father, had from all eternity made this distinction between the fallen offspring of man; that those, who should forsake their sins, and put their trust in Christ, should be absolved from their evil actions, and should enjoy everlasting life; but that the obdurate and impenitent should be punished: Besides, that it was pleasing to God, that all men should forsake their sins, and, having attained to the knowledge of the truth, continue stedfast in it; but that he compelled no man.

The true state of the Controversy.

Grot. Hist. L. 17, p. 5523 & d.

On the other hand, *Gomarus* maintained; That it was appointed by an Eternal Decree of God, who among mankind should be saved, and who should be damned: From whence resulted, that some men were drawn to righteousness, and being so drawn, were preserved from falling; but that God suffered all the rest to remain in the common corruption of humane nature, and in their own iniquities.

In consequence of these positions, *Arminius* charged *Gomarus* with making God the author of sin; and with hardening men in their rebellion, by infusing into their minds the notion of a Fatal Necessity. But *Gomarus* on the contrary objected to *Arminius*, That his doctrine tended to make men more proud and arrogant, than even that of the Papists themselves; and did not allow God the honour of that, which was of the greatest consequence; to wit, his being the author of a well-disposed mind.

But it may not be amiss, in order to illustrate matters, to trace this affair a little higher; and to shew, what the Primitive Christians, and the first Reformers, thought and taught concerning it; together with the rise of the disputes about it.

'Tis well known to those who have studied the writings of the Ancients, that all the Greek Fathers; and, among the Latins, all such as lived before St. *Austin*; were of opinion, ² That all those, which God foresaw would lead good and godly lives, were ordained to eternal life; or, as others have it, which God foresaw would believe and persevere: ³ From those writings likewise it appears, that the Primitive Christians ascribed Free-will to Men, as well in the receiving, as retaining, of doctrines; from whence also arises the justice of rewards and punishments: ⁴ Nevertheless they ascribed all to the goodness of God, through whose Grace the means of salvation were derived to us, and whose particular support we stand in need of in times of danger. ⁵ St. *Austin* was the first, who, after engaging in dispute with *Pelagius* and his followers, (for till then he had been of another mind) being transported with the heat of the quarrel, made use of the expression of Liberty or Free-

The Opinion of Arminius agreeable to that of the Primitive Christians.

St. Austin was the first who taught otherwise.

will,

¹ Uitenb. Hist. p. 323

² Voss. Hist. Pel. Lib. VI. p. 550.

ad Pelag. Dogm. p. 12.

Grot. Disquis.

³ Voss. ib. part. alt. Lib. VIII. p. 734.

⁴ Voss. ib. Lib. IV. part. alt. p. 441.

⁵ Voss. ib. Lib. VI. p. 571. Uitenb. Hist. p. 12.

AN^o DOM.
1604.

Who gained
many Follow-
ers in the
Western parts
of Christendom.

Which occasi-
oned great Dis-
putes among
the Monks.

The Opinion of
Luther,

And of Eras-
mus,

And Melan-
thon.

Calvin sup-
ports Luther's
Opinion with
new Argu-
ments, and
adds to it.

Beza and
others go far-
ther still than
Calvin.

Their Scholars
having imbi-
bed their Opi-
nions, are for
imposing them
on the Church-
es of the Ne-
therlands.

will, after such a manner, as to give the precedence to certain Decrees of God, which seemed to defeat the force of Free-will. But in *Greece* and *Asia*, the ancient and plain opinion was adhered to. ¹ In the West, though the great name of *Austin* brought over abundance to his sentiments; yet in *France* and elsewhere there were people that opposed them: In latter ages, when no Father was in greater esteem in the Schools than *Austin*, the *Franciscans* and the *Dominicans* had long disputes about the meaning of that Doctor, whilst they laboured for the best methods of reconciling such of his writings as seemed to contradict each other: ² And also the most learned among the *Jesuits*, who took no small pains to untie the knot with greater nicety, when complained of at *Rome*, could not escape a condemnation but with the greatest difficulty. But *Luther*, the chief of the Protestants, who came out of a Cloyster, that not only bore the name of *Austin*, but espoused his opinion; engaging in his cause, went about entirely to rase out what the latter had left remaining of the name of Free-will: ³ which *Erasmus* was so displeased at, that, though he approved of his other actions, or at least past them by in silence, yet in this he opposed him; and *Philip Melancthon*, *Luther's* assistant or second, was so far convinced by his arguments, that he corrected his former writings; and (as some say) prevailed so far on *Luther* himself, or at least (as plainly appears) on his followers, that they gave up their positions concerning those *Rigorous Decrees*, which exclude all conditions; yet so, as that they had still more aversion to the word *Free-will* than to the thing.

⁴ But *Calvin*, the leader of the other party of Protestants, who in this controversy adhered to *Luther's* first expressions; supported them with a new force of arguments; adding what *Austin* himself had not touch'd upon; viz. That *true and saving Faith* was a constant principle, and could not be lost; and therefore, that they, who were conscious to themselves of their having such a faith, were even now already assured of eternal salvation: Yet at the same time he did not deny, but that they might however fall into very grievous sins.

As harsh as this opinion seems to be, it was carried still higher by ⁵ *Beza* at *Geneva*; ⁶ and by *Zanchius*, ⁷ *Ursinus*, and ⁸ *Piscator*, in *Germany*: They went so far, as to teach in publick what others carefully avoided, maintaining, even that ⁹ *the necessity of sinning, proceeded from the First Cause*; (that is, from God;) which furnished the *Lutherans* with abundant matter to accuse their antagonists; and besides, new occasion of contention was given about the Lord's Supper.

¹⁰ The *Dutch*, at the beginning of the revolution in Religion, had their hands too full of other things to quarrel about these; so that, though they differed in opinions, they readily treated each other with equity: But when great numbers of young men coming from the University of *Geneva*, the *Palatinate*, and the country of *Nassaw*, had been appointed for Ministers of the churches in this country; these beginning to feel their own strength, thought it time to establish the notions they had learnt abroad, and give them the force of laws: To this end they endeavoured to exclude from the Ministry such as they knew differed from them in opinion, or to eject them if already admitted. They also complained to the States, that the contrary doctrines were publicly and freely taught in several places; as in *Gelderland* by *Anastsius Veluanus*, in *Friesland* by *Gellius Snecanus*, at *Utrecht* by *Hubert Dovehouse*, in *Holland* by *Holmannus*, *Clement Martenson*, *Herman Herberts*, and others: Neither did the congregations equally receive in all places the *High*, or, as some call it, the *Rigid Opinion*.

¹¹ About the same time *Arminius* writ, that many at *Amsterdam* were scandalized at the things which had been taught concerning *Predestination*; they being understood by very few, and rejected by most: That this was not strange, since the Clergy hardly comprehended what themselves said upon this subject, and were afraid their doctrine would meet with no credit, because, as they owned, it was so contrary to the common opinion, and as he (*Arminius*) thought, to the word of God too;

¹ Voss. Hist. Pelag. Lib. VI. p. 634. Casaub. ad Annal. Bar. Exercit. Lib. XV.

² Grot. Hist. Lib. XVII. p. 552. al. 553.

³ See the First Volume of this History, Book III.

⁴ In Instit. Lib. III. Cap. XXI, XXII, &c.

⁵ In Prælect. in cap. ix ad Rom. & in Lib. contra Castal.

⁶ In lib. de Natura Dei, in Miscell. Cap. II. p. 428.

⁷ In tract. de Provid. & Prædest.

⁸ In lib. contra Schafman, & in Resp. ad Dupl. Vort. Part. I. p. 10, &c.

⁹ Traité de la Cause du Peché, par D. Tolen. Ch. V.

¹⁰ Grot. Hist. Lib. XVII. p. 552. al. 554.

¹¹ Epist. Eccles. p. 163, 187, 263, 285.

too; of which he thought himself sufficiently assured, and should more fully make it appear as occasion offered. He afterwards complained, that his adversaries made use of the name of the Church, the better to promote their particular designs; as also, that they endeavoured to introduce their private notions for a Rule of Faith, pretending they agreed with the *Catechism* and *Confession*; whereas he thought they were not conformable either to the one or the other.

About this time also there was a design of proceeding to a second excommunication of *Jasper Koolhaes*; who had writ and published something in his own justification: The matter was brought by *Festus Hommius*, a Minister of *Leyden*, before the Synod of *North-Holland*, which was holden this year at *Edam*: The Ecclesiastical Sentence had been pronounced against him for some time past; and the last *South-Holland* Synod, approved of its being executed at *Amsterdam*, where he dwelt. The church of that city was ready to do it, provided that the *North-Holland* Synod, under whose jurisdiction she was, should think it adviseable; and that the excommunication were executed by a Minister from *South-Holland*: But the Counsellors, *Rombout Hogerbeets* and *Nicolas Kromhout*, who were deputed by the States of *Holland* to oversee the transactions of the said Synod; insinuated to them, that they would find no small difficulties in the matter: This obliged them to refer it back to the Synod of *South-Holland*.

A second Excommunication is designed against Jasper Koolhaes.

But 'tis prevented.

² In the *Spanish Netherlands*, the fire of Persecution was again raked out of its ashes: There lived without the gates of *Tournay* a certain Smith, whose name was *Nicolas van Soignye*: This man, being of the *Reformed Religion*, was thrown into the Bishop's Prison, for having eaten flesh in Lent: Whilst he lay there, the Clergy, and particularly the *Jesuits*, endeavoured to convince him, that he had been guilty of Heresy; but they could not prevail, for he told them, *he was a Christian, and ready to die for the true faith*: This his steadfastness so enraged them, that they let him end his days with hunger, thirst, and other inconveniences, in a dungeon; and then buried him under the gallows: This happened in *March*, 1605.

A Persecution in the Spanish Netherlands.

³ At *Aix la Chapelle*, the new Magistrates oppress the *Reformed* more and more, by hindring them in the exercise of their Religion, and using the deposed Magistrates with all kind of injustice and contempt.

In *Holland*, some of the Clergy, that were zealous for the *Reformed Religion*, as proposed by *Calvin* and his followers; endeavoured about this time to run down *Arminius*, and his opinions, in good earnest: *Johannes Kucklinus*, his Uncle by marriage, and Regent of the College, did all he could to keep the Exhibitioners of the College from frequenting the Lectures of *Arminius*; for which purpose he chose the hour of Eight, (the time when *Arminius* read) to expound the Articles of the *Netherlands* Confession; requiring the Students to be then present: However, *Arminius* procured an order from the Burgomasters, that he should put it off till the arrival of the Curators: ⁴ Some Ministers pumpt his Scholars with many questions, to discover their opinions; which he and his friends supposed to be done, in order to come at the Master: He complained, that they seldom opposed him with Scriptural arguments: He writ in one of his letters thus: *The principal arguments they bring against me are such as these: Thus all our Ministers have taught: This has always been the opinion of the Reformed Church: But I hear no body cry, Thus saith the Lord.* And the charge of Innovation was renewed at every turn. But he thought this was the shortest way of dispatching Truth, by accusing it of Novelty. Yet he could not but wonder, for what reason our Clergy should fall into the very same track, which the Pope and his people had walked in before; unless it was, that they hoped it might succeed better with them than with him. They attack'd, his opinions, he complains, in his absence, mostly in flank and rear, with stratagems and ambuscades: He particularly charges the abovementioned *Festus Hommius*, one of the most zealous sticklers for *Gomarus*, with this: He would sometimes let himself into a discourse with them upon these points. Being one day engaged in a dispute with *Hommius*, he answered all his objections so handsomely, in the presence of *Uitenbogart* and *Adrian van den Borr*, one of the Ministers of *Leyden*; that *Festus*, as he went away, cried, *Well, I will enquire into the truth*: ⁵ But afterwards he related,

Several of the Clergy zealously oppose Arminius.

² Hist. des Mart. impr. à Geneve 1619. f. 861.

³ Grot. Hist. Lib. XIV. p. 472

⁴ Epist. Eccles. p. 46, 192, &c.

⁴ Uitenb. Hist. p. 327.

⁵ Epist. Eccles. p. 287, 195, 236, 278. Uitenb. p. 435.

AN^o D^o M.

1604.

The Deputies
of the Synod
propose to enter
into a Confe-
rence with
him.

His Answer to
their Proposal.

His Proposal
to the Depu-
ties.

His Request.

The Consistory
at Leyden
seek to adjust
matters with
him by Con-
ference.

The Reasons
why Armini-
us declined a
Conference.

related, that, going home and humbly praying to God that he would vouchsafe to open his eyes, and shew him the truth; he perceived so much light and pleasure arising in his heart, that he fully purposed from thenceforwards to persevere in the received opinion: By that only means he thought himself assured of his being in the right.

Arminius had offered *Wernerus Helmichius*, a man of learning and reputation, to enter with him into an amicable conference and discussion of all the capital Articles of the Christian Religion, either privately between them two only, or in publick: But this was not liked: They chose to proceed in another manner with him, which they judged much safer: The Deputies of the *South* and *North-Holland* Synods, came to him on the 30th of *June*, informing him, that there was a report spread to his prejudice, and desiring to confer with him about it, to the end that they might either give him satisfaction, or bring the matter fairly before the Synod: He replied, 'That he did not think it convenient to enter into a dispute with them, because they came as Synodical Deputies, who were obliged to give an account of their negociations to their Principals: That therefore it was not in his power to engage in such a conference without the knowledge and leave, or even command, of the Curators of the University, under whose jurisdiction he was: That it was a very hazardous matter for him to venture the success of the conference upon the report which they should make to the Synod of it; since, if they should make an unfavourable representation, it would gain credit with most people to his damage, because it came from persons of so publick a character: Besides, their desire was without cause or reason; since he did not know himself guilty of having taught any thing either at *Amsterdam* or *Leyden*, repugnant to the word of God, or the *Catechism* and *Confession* of the churches of the *Low-Countries*: That he had not as yet been charged with any thing like it, nor should he easily be so, where the charge could be properly proved, and he convicted of it.' He declared nevertheless, 'That, if they would divest themselves of the quality of Deputies, and enter into a private conference with him; he was ready to grapple with them presently, but upon condition, that they should deliver their sense, and he his, upon each head; they their proofs, and he his; they their confutations of his opinions and arguments, and he his; in opposition to theirs: if they could come to a mutual understanding, the business would be done; if not, no account should be given of it, but the whole left to a National Synod.'

This offer was rejected, and they were about to part, when *Arminius* desired the Deputies to make the same offer upon the same terms to *Gomarus* and *Trecaltius* his Colleagues; since he had given as little occasion for their request, as either of them, of which he produced some proofs. They promised they would do it, and before they left *Leyden* they told him they had: A little before, those two Professors *Gomarus* and *Trecaltius* had said to *Arminius*, That they were apprehensive of quarrels and schisms; but he replied, *I am much more afraid of tyranny.*

The Consistory at *Leyden* had likewise deputed, in the month of *July*, Burgo-master *Brookhoven*, and Professor *Paul Merula*, as Elders of the Church, to talk with *Arminius*, and see whether the matter might be brought to a conference; but with this intent, that in case he should agree to their request, the other side should be also applied to; if not, then it should rest there: Therefore, when he declined their proposal for the like reasons as before, they remained satisfied: He acquainting them, That he could not think such a request reasonable; and that such conferences, if they were not managed by the direction and prudence of impartial and reputable persons, generally made a great noise, but were either of none, or of ill consequence.

Since then, *Arminius* gave the following reasons, why he had refused to engage in a conference with those 3 Synodical Deputies on the subject of his doctrine; to wit, 'Not only because he was not under the jurisdiction of the *South* or *North-Holland* Synods, nor could engage in any disputes with them, but by the consent of his Principals, the Curators of the University; but also especially because of the great inequality there would be in such a conference: First, Because they came armed with

¹ Armin. Declaration to the States of Holland, p. 2. Pref. Act. Synod. Dort.

² Trigland. Hist. p. 300.

³ These Synodical Deputies are styled by *Grotius*, *Russing Basters*, because they behave themselves, as if they

were the Synod itself; meaning, that they extend very far that general Commission of theirs, in taking care of the Church's Interest, on behalf of the Synod. Vid. Piet. Ordin. Holland. p. 113.

with the publick Authority, whereas he could only be considered as a private man; A^NO D^OM. 1605.
 and he was too sensible what a Back he has who is propt by a publick commission.
Secondly, Because they were three in number, and had, when they applied themselves to him on the last of *June*, two other Deputies of the *North Holland* Synod in their company; whereas he was all alone, without assistance, without witnesses.
Thirdly, They were tied to the opinions of their Principals, and absolutely obliged for that very reason, to defend whatever they knew to be the mind of their masters in the business of Religion; and consequently it was not in their power to admit of the arguments he might alledge, tho' never so strong and cogent, nor to allow them to be good. Therefore he could not expect from such a conference, the mutual advantage which both sides ought to propose to themselves. *Fourthly*, The report they were to make to their Principals, after the conference, would have been prejudicial to him in all respects, whether it had happened in his presence or absence. For if it had been in his absence, it might easily have come to pass, that either by the addition, omission, or alteration, of words, sense, or method, through mistake, weakness of memory, or partiality, a matter would have been related quite otherwise than it happened: And perhaps if he had been present, he would hardly have been able to prevent or correct it; for doubtless they would have given more credit to the Deputies than to him: And besides, this would have been an allowing the Synod a certain authority or power over him; which he thought they had not, nor could he, by vertue of his office, submit himself to them, without wronging those who were set over him by the Supreme Authority.

About this time, or somewhat earlier, the Classis of *Dort*, rank'd among the articles of grievances or difficulties proper to be discussed in the approaching Synod at *Rotterdam*, the following one: ¹ *That since disputes were risen about the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, the Synod should think of means to compose them as soon, and as conveniently as possible, to the end that Divisions might be prevented, and Unity preserved:* This article seem'd to be calculated and brought upon the stage, as some thought, to stir up those that were for the *Geneva* doctrine, against *Arminius*, and to prompt them to fall upon him in the Synod: But when the Curators of the University, and the Burgomasters of the City, of *Leyden*, discoursed the Divinity Professors about this proposition of the Classis of *Dort*, and ask'd them, *Whether they knew of any such differences?* *Arminius*, *Gomarus* and *Trecaltius*, after conferring among themselves, declared under their hands: ² *That they could have wished, that the Classis of Dort had acted a little more regularly in this affair. They believed indeed that there might happen among the Students more disputes than were pleasing to them; but they knew not of any difference among the Professors of Divinity, so far as related to fundamental points; and they would use their utmost diligence with the Students, that such kind of disputes might be lessened.*

This Declaration was signed not only by the aforesaid Professors, but likewise by *Johannes Kuchlinus*, Regent of the College, on the 10th of *August*: Many were surprized that *Gomarus* came into it, since he had set himself, above ten months before, to oppose *Arminius*, by his dispute about *Predestination*; and since this point seemed to be of too great weight, not to pass for a *Fundamental*: and he had been accordingly heard by many from the Pulpit, as often as he could get it to preach in, to use such a language as represented the difference to be very great: But others believe that he was at this time disposed to keep fair with *Arminius*: ³ And in a certain Letter, which the said *Arminius* writ to *Uitenbogart* the 7th of *June*, we meet with these words: *I am at peace with Gomarus, and think it will be sufficiently durable, unless he should lend an ear to him that seems to aim at nothing else than not to be found a false Prophet himself. I will, on the contrary, do my best to make my moderation and equanimity appear to all men, to the end that I may prevail both by the goodness of my cause, and the manner of treating it.* ⁴ And what is yet more, they say, that *Gomarus* himself complained, *That he was desirous to keep the peace, but the church, (for so he called those Ministers that stirred him up, and encouraged him to oppose Arminius,) would not let him be at peace.* ⁵ He was likewise of a temper somewhat cholerick and hasty; insonmuch that he was heard one day in an angry

¹ Præf. Aët. Syn. Dort, p. 2. Fert. Fun. Orat. on the Death of Armin.

² From the Regist. of the Univers.

³ Epist. Eccles. p. 189.

⁴ The Rise of the Differences in the Netherland Church.

⁵ Letters of J. Hales and W. Balcanquel.

A^NO D^OM. angry mood to burst out into these words, in discoursing with *Arminius*: ¹ *They say you are more learned than Junius*. This we do not mention to the reproach of the learned man; for to love one's honour, and to be zealous for it, is very natural; but only to show what it was that gave a handle to some to foment discord, that canker of the Church.

A Resolution
passed in the
Synod of South
Holland, re-
lating to the
Confession,
and the disco-
vering of sus-
pected Persons.

In the mean time a certain resolution was passed in the *South Holland* Synod, sitting at *Rotterdam*, in the months of *August* and *September*, which indeed had been formed long before, in the year 1580, but could not then be brought to bear; it imported, *That the Confession should be signed not only to testify the unity of doctrine, but also the purity or soundness of it: and if at any time there happened the least suspicion of a Minister on account of his principles, the Synod earnestly exhorted the Classis to which he belonged, to inquire into the matter, to the end that they might be fully satisfied concerning him.*

² Some were of opinion, that the design of this resolution about subscribing the *Confession*, was to defeat that which the States of *Holland* had taken, *viz.* to have it examined in a National Synod. It was also said, that the Synod ascribed to the *Confession*, a humane composition, what only belonged to the Word of God; that such a trial of suspected persons looked like the *Inquisition*, and was projected in opposition to *Arminius*, and those of his opinion.

This *Rotterdam* Synod directed their Deputies likewise to examine how matters stood between *Arminius* and his Collegues, and to consider what was to be done farther about them: Upon which it was asked, who should be the subjects of that examination? They could not be the Professors, because they had already declared their minds in writing to the Curators, to wit, in the paper they signed on the 5th of *August*: It must then have been made among the Students, which, as some thought, would be attended with its difficulties; for such an examination could hardly be without riots and tumults, by reason of the warmth and passion of young people on both sides.

Festus Hom-
mius proposes
certain Que-
ries by way of
Test.

³ *Festus Hommius* began upon this occasion to move something of the same nature in the Consistory of *Leyden*, on account, as he said, of the reports that were every where spread, about the differences of the Ministers: *It was, in his opinion, the duty of the Consistory to obviate such rumours; partly, for the good of the Church, and partly, that no reflections might be cast upon the Clergy without cause.* And that he knew no more proper method to dissipate and remove such rumours, than by some publick proof that all the Ministers had uniform sentiments about the articles of the Faith: For this purpose he had drawn up certain questions; which, if the Consistory would subscribe unanimously, *the disease would be healed: if any refused, it might be debated, and, upon conviction, they might be brought to agree to them: in short, he looked upon it to be the duty of the Elders to demand an answer to these questions from the Ministers; and for his part, he was ready to give it forthwith.* The Elders desired a copy of the paper out of which he had read the questions, in order to consider the matter more maturely; but he refused it, and yet urged several times that his scheme of entering into conferences, and examinations of mens doctrines, might be put in execution; ⁴ till at last, the Magistrates, apprehending further troubles, interposed their authority, and commanded the Consistory, and *Hommius* in particular, to lay aside that project.

The Project
disapproved
by the Magi-
strates and the
Curators of the
University.

⁵ Not long after, to wit, on the 10th of *November*, the Synodical Deputies laid before the Curators of the University, *Nine Questions* relating to the matters in dispute; praying, that the Professors might be commanded to answer them, and to express clearly their sentiments about them: The Curators replied, that there was hopes of holding a National Synod shortly, and therefore they judged it better to adjourn the said *Questions* till then, rather than to afford matter for fresh discord, by bringing them on the stage at present: Then they desired, that they themselves might be allowed to propose the *Questions* to the Divinity Professors, to hear what each of them would freely and voluntarily answer; but that request was likewise rejected.

¹ Dicunt te esse doctiorem Junio. Uitenb. Hist. p. 326.
² Trigl. Hist. p. 102. Rise of the Differences, &c. p. 15.

³ Epist. Eccles. p. 199.

⁴ Trigl. Hist. p. 299, & 305.

⁵ Præf. Syn. Dort. Armin. Declar. before the States.

¹ Some months before, the Prince of *Anbalt* came to the *Hague*, and sent for *A^N D^O M.* *Uitenbogat*, to propose to him a correspondence, which he wished might be established among all the *Reformed* Churches, for the sake of Peace: But *Uitenbogat* acquainted him, that it would be all to no purpose; unless they could agree upon one and the same Formulary of Confession, which might be drawn up in such general terms, as not to determine the particular differences about matters that were not absolutely necessary to salvation. ^{1605.} *A Conference between the Prince of Anhalt and Uitenbogat.* ² In speaking of *Predestination*, and the Confession of *Anbalt*, the Prince said, that *Beza* had given no satisfaction at the conference of *Montbeliard*: To which *Uitenbogat* replied, that he did not at all wonder at it; since he would not recede a tittle from what he had maintained. The Prince likewise complained, that many adhered more to the opinions of their Teachers, than to the holy Scriptures: This was also contrary to the mind of *Arminius*; ^{Contents of two Letters from Arminius to Uitenbogat.} ¹ who a few days before had written to *Uitenbogat*, That ‘he would be bound by the words of no master but one, to wit, *Christ*, and his Spirit in the Old and New Testament. He thought that people might live together in *Peace* and *Unity*, if they did not give too much place to jealousies and suspicions — That we ought to persevere in the inquiry after *Truth*, without neglecting the pursuit of *Peace*: and then God, as he verily believed, who was the only Fountain of *Truth*, would likewise grant a happy issue to *Peace*; which, if it were not such a one as we wished for, yet it would be, at least, such as we should have no cause to complain of.’

In another Letter, bearing date the 27th of *June*, he used the following language, which strongly expresses his opinion and judgment of the state of affairs: ‘How hard is it to promote *Truth* and *Peace* together in these unhappy times, when the minds of men are in so violent a ferment! If the consciousness of my own integrity, the judgment of many good men, and the apparent fruit which I observe to spring from my labours, did not give me some encouragement; it would scarce be possible to support myself under such a weight: But God be praised, who has given me courage, strength, and constancy; and so great a degree of contentment, whatever the event may be. O that we did but seriously employ our thoughts to the establishing *Peace* in the Church of *Christ*, and the amending our lives; that so we might once see an end of this troublesome and dangerous war! We seem to have returned to the starting-place of our course, whilst we thought we were arrived at the Goal, or at least were not far from it. God’s wrath is, without doubt, kindled against us. Hence is it that our implacable enemy has so much prevailed. I confess, we are not to judge of the justice of a cause by the success: And yet I can’t but think oftentimes, that possibly the mistakes or errors committed about several fundamental articles of Faith, may have given occasion to God to put a stop to the work of the *Reformation*; besides the capital cause of it, viz. very corrupt manners and vices, that have spread themselves far and near; and it may be justly suspected, that these are fomented by the errors and disputes about Religion. Certainly that true and sincere Charity, which is so often required of us, suffers no small damage by these disagreements; since whilst we are quarrelling with each other, we cannot easily distinguish between the dictates of Reason, and the transports of Passion; nor reflect upon that imagination of the Necessity of those Articles, that are in dispute; which is born, in a manner, with all that differ from one another. There does not appear any greater evil in the disputes concerning matters of Religion, than the persuading ourselves that our own salvation and God’s glory are lost or impaired by every little Difference. As for me, I exhort my Scholars, not only to distinguish between the True, and False, according to Scripture; but also between the more, and less, necessary Articles, by the same Scripture.’

Thus far *Arminius*: who likewise takes notice in the said Letter of the vehement proceedings of *Peter Plancius*, and the rest of his rigid adversaries: This *Plancius* thundered in his pulpit at *Amsterdam*, (so the letter expresses it) against the new *Pelagians*; whom he represented as much worse than the Monk *Pelagius* himself: His Passion transported him so far, that the most unexperienced could observe how much he extravagated; and that there was no connexion in what he delivered: Many were much displeased, among them several of the Magistracy; one of whom discoursing with a great stickler for him, about the Sermon above-mentioned; blamed him for

E 2

quitting

¹ *Uitenb. Journal* on June 16, 1605.² *La Reponse de Th. Beza aux Actes de Montbel.*

à Geneve, 1587, p. 25.

³ *Epist. Eccles.* p. 197, &c.

AN^o D^o M.
1606.

quitting the subject of his Text, and going out of his way meerly to gratify his rage and spleen: This example of his was afterwards followed by many others: and the disputes of this sort were transferred from the schools to the pulpits. That which was at first controverted for the most part in *Latin*, among the Students only; was now wrangled about in our Mother tongue, and in the hearing of the common people. Some did it out of hatred and ill will to *Arminius*; being unable to bear, that his opinions should be received by so many with favourable ears: some did it out of ignorance; some out of jealousy, and for want of charity; and lastly, some out of a well-meant concern for the established doctrine, and its preservation: Some made dismal exclamations in their sermons, that the *Netherland* Confession, sealed with the blood of so many Martyrs, was now called in question: others cried, that he (*Arminius*) was making a confused medley of Religion, and opening the door to all sorts of libertinism: to which the accused person, and some of his friends, made suitable replies: From hence arose the seeds and principles of greater divisions.

This year died *Arnoldus Cornelius*, a Minister at *Delft*, to the great prejudice of the Church, yea, of all *Holland*; for he was now become (tho' in his younger years people had other thoughts of him) very moderate, so as to stem the zeal of others; which he did thro' the privilege of his age, learning, and piety.

The States of
the United
Provinces
agree to the
holding a Na-
tional Synod,
on condition
that the Con-
fession and
Catechism be
revised.

Whilst these Heats increased in *Holland*, the Clergy earnestly laboured for a National Synod: The States of that Province had granted their petition to that end, in the year 1597, upon the terms already mentioned; but those of *Utrecht* had opposed it till now. Yet now, after many instances, they gave their consent, together with the other Provinces; (to obtain which, *Uitenbogart* exerted himself not a little,) but it was upon the condition which *Holland* had already prescribed; viz. That the *Confession of Faith* should be revised: To this was added, the revision of the *Catechism*, at the recommendation of one of the Lords of the States of *Holland*; and it was inserted in the Permission granted to the Ministers by the States General, on the 15th of *March*, 1606: For these two Formularies, as they conceived, agreed for the most part; the subscription was always required to both, and both of them administered matter of dispute: The Synodical Deputies were not well pleased with this condition; but they could not obtain the desired permission on any other terms: The States likewise ordered, the points, about which the Synod was to meet, should be delivered to them before they were communicated to all the Churches. After this, the Synodical Deputies sent copies of the resolutions which the States had taken, about convening a National Synod, to all the Churches of these Provinces, to the end they might be further considered.

The Resolution
of the North
Holland Syn-
nod thereupon.

In the *North Holland* Synod holden at *Harlem*, about the beginning of *June*, it was agreed, (with the good pleasure of the Classes) to conform themselves to the resolutions of the States with respect to a National Synod, on the condition of a *Revision*: But those Gentlemen had a regard to what the Deputies had communicated to them, viz. a verbal declaration of the States, that they did not intend to suffer any innovation or alteration in the purity of Doctrine as professed in this country, and as contained in the *Confession* and *Catechism*, by the said *Revision*: Yet they insisted, that such of the Clergy as the States designed to summon, in order to use their advice about the affairs of the Synod, should be exhorted by their Churches or Classes to be very cautious, and not to meddle with, or treat of any thing that might in the least tend to the prejudice of the pure Doctrine, or the good Order and Government of these Churches: They likewise desired, that the persons with whom the States intended to consult about the business of the Synod, might be appointed and sent by the Classes to which they belonged.

In this Synod of *North Holland* was likewise debated, the design of the States to summon the National Synod in their own name; and agreed to: yet in confidence that their Lordships would respect and own the Churches in the summons according to their quality, and leave the nomination of the persons that were to attend the National Synod on the part of the Churches, to the Classes and the other Synods. It was likewise moved here by the Synodical Deputies: Whether a Minister, suspected of maintaining Heterodox Opinions, being examined about it by the Classes, should not be obliged to declare what he thought as to the point or question about which he should

¹ Baudart's Memoirs, Lib. I. p. 9. Uitenb. Hist. p. 329, &c. Acts of the Synod of Harlem holden in the Year 1606.

should be interrogated? But the most voices were for leaving this matter to the AN^o DOM Classes themselves.

1 In the *South Holland Synod*, holden at *Gorkum*, it was agreed to address the States, that the words **Revision of the Confession and Catechism** might be softened, and others less shocking and offensive, substituted to them in the Letters of Citation. It was likewise thought proper, that all the Ministers who were under the jurisdiction of the said Synod, should be exhorted and required, and all the Professors of Divinity, and Regents of Colleges at *Leyden*, desired to peruse the *Netherland Confession and Catechism*; and if any of them should observe any thing therein, which he thought deserved to be considered, to impart it to the Classes, fortified with good reasons and arguments. They likewise deputed four of their number to communicate this their desire to the Professors at *Leyden*, to the end they might deliver their remarks to the said Deputies. These the Deputies were to conceal, till they were laid first before the Provincial, and then before the National Synod. To this Request, *Arminius* answered, That he thought himself bound to make such a perusal and examination; but as for delivering his Observations, in case he had any, he should think of that in its proper time, and do as he saw occasion. *Gomarus* and *Trecaltius* promised they would peruse the *Confession and Catechism*, not as doubting of any article in them, but only to comply with the design of the Synod. *Peter Bertius*, Regent of the *Dutch College*, promised likewise to make his Remarks. *Daniel Colonius*, Regent of the *Walloon College*, said he would act in this affair according to the determinations taken or to be taken by the *Walloon Synod*. 2 The said Synod meeting at *Dort* in the month of *September*, agreed to the above-mentioned request, and ordered, that although none of their body had any doubt concerning matters of Doctrine, yet all of them should consider those Formularies, and impart their Observations to the next Synod.

3 Those of the Synod of *Groningen* that met the year following, declared, That they could by no means consent to or approve of any **Revision or Alteration** to be made in the *Netherland Confession of Faith or Catechism*, by a *National Synod*; seeing that they had obliged themselves by an Oath, to maintain the same, when they took upon them the Holy Function. 4 There is mention also made of an Oath taken bare-headed some time before in the *Classis of Rotterdam*, in these words: I solemnly declare, in the presence of God, that I will adhere to the *Confession and Catechism*, as professed and preached in the Churches during the Persecution, or in *Holland* for above twenty years last past.

5 In this year, *Learning* had a greater loss by the death of the famous *Justus Lipsius*, Professor of History at *Louvain*, than the Reformation, which he opposed as violently in *Brabant*, as he had formerly defended it in *Holland*. He died on the 23d of *March*, in the fifty eighth year of his age. He was observed upon his Death-bed to invoke the *Virgin Mary* in the following words: O mother of God! assist thy Servant, who is now struggling with Eternity: forsake me not at this time, on which the everlasting salvation of my soul depends. When he was just expiring, he ordered his Wife to offer his Professorial Gown lined with Furs, upon the Altar in *St. Peter's Church*, to the *Virgin-mother Mary*. But it being thought improper for the Altar, it was disposed of, and the Money employed to the honour of our Lady. About a year before he died, he writ to that famous Historian *Thuanus*, and told him he had read his History, and that he was much displeased with it; the freedom he used in it not being calculated for this age; he therefore exhorted him to correct it, adding, I am very sorry that I could not warn you of it before its publication.

6 But what *Thuanus* writes about this to *Joseph Scaliger* is remarkable, to wit: *Lipsius* is much altered since he changed his habitation, and passed from *Leyden* to *Louvain*: I am the same I was before, and shall ever remain so; but shall always be ready, if God pleases, to correct whatever I have been mistaken in. He mightily exhorts me to make some correction, but he does not tell me my faults. I fancy he

¹ Act. Synod. Art. 41. Epist. Eccles. p. 213. Uitenb. 334, — 46, &c.

² Epist. Eccles. p. 221.

³ From the Report of John Walefius, deputed by the North Holland Synod to the Synod of Groningen.

⁴ Rise of the Differences in the Netherland Churches, p. 19.

⁵ A. Miratus in vit. Lips. p. 46.

⁶ From the French Letters writ to J. Scaliger, and published by Revius, p. 502.

1606.

The Resolution of the Synod of South Holland, with regard to the Revision.

A Request of the Synod to the Divinity Professors and Regents of the College at Leyden.

Their Answer.

The Synod at Groningen declares against the Revision.

Thuanus's account of Lipsius.

would

AN^O DOM. would refer me to the Inquisition. — But the judgment of Scaliger, in a Letter of his about this time to *Casaubon*, is not less remarkable: ‘ The Death of our *Lipsius* is (says he) doubtless come to your ears. And that it is a prejudice to letters as well as a concern to his friends, cannot be denied. I loved the man as my friend, and honoured him as a Promoter of learning. I am satisfied that he has repented of his inconstancy, in forsaking the *Hollanders*, who in a manner worshipped him as something more than humane; and going to a place where he was obliged to conform himself to the mind of others: which however was an evil that might perhaps have been surmounted, if those to whom he had enthrall’d himself, had not even made a jest of him. He has now experienced how easily men may be mistaken in their judgments. Instead of attaining to what he desired, he has obtained much less than he expected. For Ambition, his predominant passion, drove him to a change of his condition; to which concurred the superstition of an intolerable and burthensome Wife, who fomented his ambitious temper, and never left teasing him till she had brought him over. See now how far ambition has misled this our friend, since as I said before, he did not meet with what he fought for, but instead of that, brought upon himself the hatred and contempt of all men. Neither has he died richer, nor with more reputation there, than if he had staid elsewhere. He would certainly have acquired greater honour from all sides, if he had lived and died in *Holland*. Whereas now he has left no good name behind him with any Party.

1607.
Scaliger's
Thoughts of
him.

In the Year 1607, on the 23d of February, died at *Gouda*, *Herman Herberts*, an eloquent Preacher, and a man of good life. He was formerly a Minister at *Wesel*, and by way of loan, at *Antwerp*; afterwards, from the year 77 to 82, at *Dort*, and last of all at *Gouda*; where he preached up the opinion of a *Conditional Predestination* for several years, till the time of his death. He was born at *Grol* in the County of *Zutphen*, in the year 1540, in the month of April, and, as we have hinted in the preceding Volume, had his share also in the Troubles of the Church Differences.

2 There likewise died in the beginning of this year, at *Amsterdam*, *John Halbergius*, a Minister of that City, in the flower of his age, to the sorrow of many; one whom *Arminius* lamented particularly, as his sincere friend and dear brother in the Faith, complaining, that he could not perform the last Duties of a Christian to him by reason of his sudden death.

A Complaint
and Petition
of the Gro-
ningen Ana-
baptists.

3 Not long before, some of the *Anabaptists* of the Province of *Groningen* applied themselves, in an humble petition, to the States General of the *United Netherlands*, which they presented on the 10th of March, on account of some hardships put upon them by certain Gentlemen of the Council, and the Schouts of the said Province; whereby, so they express themselves, the peace of their consciences was disturbed; praying, that the States would take care about it: They were armed with letters of recommendation from Count *William Lewis*, Stadtholder of *Freeiland* and *Groningen*, to the States; who shewed them favour, and writ to the chief Officers and Representatives of the District called *Oosterwerf*, in the Province of *Groningen* and the *Ommelands*, who were at that time assembled at the Town of *Groningen*, desiring them to interpose their authority, to the end the Petitioners might not be used worse in their parts, than in other places of the Country, nor contrary to reason and equity.

In the mean while the Deputies of the *South* and *North Holland* Synods pressed the States very much, that they might meet, in order to make preparation for a National Synod; which was granted them, but the Summons were issued by the particular States of each Province, against the 22d of May. From *Holland* were appointed four Ministers, together with the Professors *Arminius* and *Gomarus*; and from each of the other Provinces two, among whom were *Sibrandus Lubbertus*, Professor of Divinity at *Franeker*, and *John Bogerman*, Minister at *Leeuwarden*; but from *Over-ijssel*, but one Minister.

An Assembly
preparatory to
the National
Synod.

Before this Assembly the States laid eight Questions in writing, desiring them to return a written Answer, if possible, unanimously; if not, to transmit each of them his opinion in particular, without proceeding by plurality of votes; to the end

* Ex J. Scal. Epist. 120. p. 313. 2 Epist. Eccles. p. 235. Trigl. Hist. p. 284. 3 Uitenb. Hist. p. 248.

end that the States, after mature deliberation, might act as they thought best. AN^o DOM. 1607. The Assembly was unanimous, as to the first *five Questions*. These related to the transmitting their *Gravamina*, or matters of importance or difficulty; the time within which they were to be communicated to the States; what number and what kind of persons should be called from each particular Synod, to the National: whether besides the Deputies, it should be free for Ministers to appear there: and lastly, whether any of the foreign churches should be invited to the said National Synod.

As to the *three* remaining *Questions*, they were contested: thirteen Members of the Assembly were of one mind, and four of another. Upon the *Question*: whether the Deputies of the Synod should not be obliged to speak their opinion freely without any other restriction than that of the word of God, the *Four* declared, (these were, *Arminius*, *Uitenbogart*, and the two Ministers of the Province of *Utrecht*, *Gerard Boot* and *Henry Jobannes*;) that at the approaching Synod, upon all scruples and objections, in relation to Doctrine, which might be produc'd against the Confession and Catechism, the determinations of the Clergy ought to be conformable to the word of God, after a proper search into it, without taking notice of any other Arguments; proposing for that purpose, ¹ *That the Ministers might be released from their obligation to defend the two Formularies, during the examination and judgment concerning them.* But the Thirteen would by no means hear of this proposal. For though they agreed that each Member of the Synod ought to be at liberty to offer his objections against the Doctrine; yet it was on condition, that in all matters relating as well to the doctrine as discipline of the Church, he should be subject to the judgment of the Synod; and that whatever that Body in general, or the majority of it, should agree upon, should be considered as final or decisive. This the *Four* were ready to come into, provided, that by the Synod might be understood, not only the *Deputed*, but the *Deputing* Ministers. To the *Question*, whether there might not be a recess, and leave given to have recourse to their Principals, if any thing fell out that appeared too difficult to the Deputies? the aforesaid *Four* answered simply, yea; the *Thirteen* agreed to it likewise, but were for leaving the *how*, the *why* and the *when* to the judgment of the National Synod. Upon the *Question*, what was further necessary towards the calling together a National Synod, to the end it might sit with effect, and for the good of the Church? the majority prayed, that the clause about *Revising* the *Confession* and the *Catechism* might be left out of the Summons, and other less offensive words inserted. They were moreover of opinion, not that the Confession *must*, but *might* be revised, if the Synod thought it necessary. ² The *Four* agreed, that for the sake of weak brethren, other expressions might be used in the Writs or Letters of Summons, provided that such a *Revision* were really made.

After this Assembly broke up, it was spread abroad by some, both within and out of the Country, that the Brethren who had assisted there, had amicably intreated *Arminius* to disclose to the Assembly whatever doubts or scruples he lay under with respect to any of the Articles of the *Christian Faith*, promising to use their utmost endeavours for his satisfaction; and that he flatly refused to do it.

³ But *Arminius* has since related, that the matter passed quite otherwise, namely, thus: *There were five Articles sent to him, before he parted from Leyden, which were said to have been dispers'd in some of the United Provinces, and considered by several of the Clergy, as containing his thoughts about the points of Religion which were therein mention'd; to wit, Predestination, the Fall of Adam, Free-will, Original Sin, and the Salvation of Children.* That having perused them, he imagined he knew the man who drew them up by his stile, to whom he also spoke in the Hague, (for he was one of those that met there) telling him freely, that he had reason to suspect him for the Author. Upon which the other not denying it, replied: *They were not sent as being your tenets, but as points that were canvassed and disputed among the Leyden Students.* But *Arminius* replied: *You knew well enough that when these things were divulged, I should immediately be charged with the capital crime of maintaining them; whereas I am not guilty,*

Different Opinions and Advice upon three of the eight Questions proposed to them by the States.

Arminius's Account of what concerned his own Conduct in that Assembly.

¹ Utenb. p. 352-87. Trigl. p. 391. Epist. Eccl. | Trigl. p. 368.

² 42, &c.

³ Epist. Eccles. p. 250-60. Utenb. 354-64. | p. 5.

⁴ *Arminius's Declaration to the States of Holland,*

AN^O D^O M. 1607. *guilty, neither do I hold these articles for mine, nor are they conformable to my notions, or to the Holy Scriptures.*

This happened between them in the presence of two other persons. But *Arminius* thought it likewise adviseable to make mention of it in the Assembly itself, informing them: *That there had been sent to him five Articles, (holding them in his hand, and reading the contents of them) copies of which had also been spread in several of the Provinces, particularly in Zeland and Utrecht, as he was well assured by a Gentleman of the present Assembly; and that they were read there by several Ministers for his; but that he could with a safe conscience declare, as he did, before God and the whole Assembly, that these Articles were none of his, neither did they express his mind.* This he repeated two several times, and begged of the Brethren therefore, *not to be so credulous, nor to take upon trust every thing that was given out to his prejudice, as if it really proceeded from him.* Upon which one of the Assembly replied: *That he would do well then to acquaint the Brethren, what he approved, and what he rejected in the said Articles, to the end they might have some insight into his notions to their satisfaction:* And this motion was seconded by another; but he made answer: *That this meeting was not ordained for such a purpose: That they had been long enough together already, and that the States expected their answer.* Accordingly, he said, the Assembly broke up without any further mention of the matter, without giving in to the sentiments of those two persons, or using any arguments to persuade him to it. Nay, some of those that were then present, declared afterwards, that they were instructed not to enter into any disputes about Doctrine, and in case any such should happen, to leave the Assembly immediately.

1 But there was much more to do in the Assembly, preparatory to the National Synod, on account of the different advice which was at this time given: Some laid to the charge of *Arminius* and *Uitenbogart*, that they, with or by the means of the two Ministers of *Utrecht*, endeavoured by their counsel to put off the National Synod. However that was, several things both of a political and ecclesiastical nature, opposed the so long sought for Synod. The treaty of a Truce with *Spain*, which was set on foot at this time, gave the Government other employment. The Synod was necessarily delayed, to avoid the appearances of a design of undoing every thing. The Revision, which the States desired, was disagreeable to most of the Clergy, who moved Heaven and Earth to evade it, which also retarded the Synod they so much desired.

A Synod of North Holland at Amsterdam.

2 In the North Holland Synod holden in June this year at Amsterdam, they talked very strangely of *Arminius* and *Uitenbogart*, on account of their afore-mentioned advice, which was misconstrued, and they by that means rendered suspected to all the Clergy of that District. On this occasion those Gentlemen writ letters to all the Classes of North Holland in their own justification; but their apology found but little credit with many.

In the same Synod, to the question: *Whether a Minister being suspected of Heterodoxy, should not be obliged to declare himself?* which question had been referred by the preceding Synod to the Classis; the following answer was returned: 3 *That such a Minister should be examined with great caution and prudence, and that he should be obliged to declare and justify himself in all sincerity.* 4 This Synod likewise ordained, *That the Ministers should diligently expound the Catechism every Sunday afternoon.*

5 It was further resolved, *That, in order to prevent the Anabaptistical Vagabonds, for so they called them; the Ministers, Elders, and other Members of the Church, who were men of capacity, should oppose and endeavour to make them ashamed, and if they met together, confute them from the word of God.*

Not long after, the Deputies of the South Holland Synod applied to *Arminius*, to know what had been done by him in confutation of the so called *Anabaptists*: He had been long prest about this matter; but he put it off at first, in order to consider of it more maturely, and afterwards delayed it on account of the differences that had arisen.

A Request of the Synodical Deputies to Arminius.

Now they desired of him further, that he would disclose his opinions as to the religious disputes that were depending, to the end that they might be laid before the Synod, to the satisfaction of the Brethren. But *Arminius* told them, that it could not

be

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¹ Uitenb. p. 354, 511. ² Ib. 356. Trigl. p. 398.

³ In the 7th Article of the Synod. Acts.

⁴ The 22d Article of ditto. See likewise the 3d Article of the Synod of Horn. 1608. ⁵ The 26th Article.

be done conveniently, nor to edification, any otherwise than in a National Synod, AN^o D^o M^o 1607. which he hoped would be soon called together, and that he would there declare himself so openly, that they should have no cause to complain of him, as if he concealed any thing from them; to which he subjoined, that he could not intrust them with such a report, since every man was the best expositor of his own sentiments in those matters.

¹ In the *South Holland* Synod holden at *Delft*, in the month of *August*, *Uitenbogat*, who appeared there on behalf of the *Classis* of the *Hague*, had much trouble with some of the *Clergy*. They endeavoured that those *Ministers* of *South Holland* who had given the *States* their advices in regard to the preparation for a *National Synod*, should be cited by this Synod to make a report of what had happened, and to render an account of their said advices, to the end that the Synod might judge whether the same had not been in some manner detrimental to the Church. After much debate, this affair was put off, till the disagreeing parties had delivered to the *States* the reasons of their advices.

A Synod of South Holland at Delft.

At the same time *Henry Arnoldus*, a *Minister* of *Delft*, let fall these expressions: That he should not own the Government to be truly Christian, till they banished all the *Sectaries*, or such as refused to embrace the Reformed Religion, within a certain time. Such a speech made a deep impression on the heart of *Uitenbogat*, and caused him to burst out in these words: Let not my soul come into such counsels. If you send away all the *Sectaries* this day, you and I may prepare to follow them to morrow. Who shall defend the land, when dispoiled of so great a number of the inhabitants? To you and such as you may be applied what *Tacitus* says, VASTITIUM QUUM FECISSENT, PACEM VOCABANT; that is, when they had depopulated Countries, they pretended they had restored Peace.

In this same Synod of *Delft*, it was inquired, whether the *Ministers* had, according to the orders of the foregoing *South Holland* Synod, considered of the *Confession* and *Catechism*, and brought in their observations to the respective Synods? To which it was answered, that almost all the *Ministers* had nothing to object against them. And some then present cried out, we will live by the *Confession* and *Catechism*. But others, among whom was *Uitenbogat*, declared, in the name of their *Classes*, that among them some of the *Ministers* had said, that they were still busy in overlooking them; and that if they met with any thing remarkable, they would deliver their opinions at the proper time. Upon this *Uitenbogat* was extremely urged to declare, whether he in particular had any thing to object against those *Formularies*; but he judging that their design was to insnare him, and provide themselves with matter against him, told them plainly, that their curiosity was unseasonable, unprofitable, and a kind of *Inquisition*. But however, added he, I acknowledge sincerely, tho' I am not bound to do it, that I look upon the *Confession* and *Catechism* of our Churches, as to the *Fundamentals* of *Doctrine*, to be sound and good; and am satisfied that they sufficiently comprehend the things that are necessary to salvation. I therefore approve them, so far as they agree with the harmony of other *Evangelical Churches*.

Inquiry made into the Opinions of the Ministers concerning the Confession and Catechism.

The Declaration of Uitenbogat and others on that Occasion.

The same declaration was immediately made by several other Members of the Synod. But that did not satisfy. They were further asked: Do you allow that whatever is in the *Confession* and *Catechism*, both in the *Sense*, *Words*, *Manner of speaking*, and every thing else, is agreeable to the *Holy Scriptures*, or no? The answer was: So strict and precise a declaration is not to be made without a further and more particular examination and tryal of them by the word of God. This is what we are doing; but it will take up time, and require a nearer consideration, as well as ardent prayer to God. And so the matter ended for this time. But the Synod decreed, that every one should deliver his remarks upon the above-mentioned *Formularies*, to the respective *Classes*, as soon as possible. ² It was likewise resolved in this Synod to petition the *States* of *Holland*, That the Churches might summon and hold a meeting of persons to be deputed from all the *Classes* of *South* and *North Holland*; to which also the *Professors* of *Divinity* at *Leyden*, and such other *Ministers* as the Assembly should think fit, might be invited; to the end that there might be an amicable and brotherly conference about those points of *Doctrine* which were apt to occasion the

A more strict Inquiry.

A Resolution taken to petition the States for the Liberty of holding an Assembly in order to a Conference.

¹ *Uitenb. Hist.* p. 359, & 426, and his *Diary* of Aug. 1607. and *Life*, p. 77. ² *Uitenb.* p. 260. *Trigl.* p. 412.

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greatest scruples; that so from a plain declaration on both sides, it might appear what, and how great the differences might be; and that the Assembly might take the best care it could to maintain the unity and purity of doctrine in the band of Peace, and prevent all divisions and schisms, till the calling of a National Synod; which was judged to be highly necessary.

This Petition made many suspect that the Clergy artfully endeavoured, under the new name of a Conference, to procure an unusual sort of Synod of all Holland, and which was not to be called by the authority of the States, but by their own, to the prejudice of that Right which the Civil Government conceived to belong to them, of calling Synods, and of prescribing to them the form and manner of their Proceedings. And some were of opinion, that by these methods, which consisted in sifting and scrutinizing into every man's opinion, to the end that they might either exclude out of the National Synod, all such as opposed these Formularies, or cite them thither as Criminals, they designed to defeat the free revision of the *Confession* and *Catechism*, that had been resolved upon by the States: which tended to greater troubles, and possibly to an absolute Schism. ¹ For which reasons, the States of Holland returned the following answer in September, to the Deputies who presented the aforesaid Petition:

The Answer of
the States.

' This being a matter of great moment, and the Lords the States being at present taken up with the affairs of the Nation, and negotiations with the Ministers of several Crowned Heads, there can be nothing done in relation to the Petition of the Churches for this time; but attention shall be given to it at a proper season, and as soon as their convenience will permit: in the mean while the Ecclesiastical Deputies are hereby desired to use their diligence, that peace and tranquillity be preserved every where, as much as possible; to which also those of the other side shall be exhorted.

² They that sided with *Gomarus* in these differences, certainly concluded, that the consent of the States to a National Synod, upon condition of revising the *Confession* and *Catechism*, was the effect of the contrivance of *Arminius* and *Uitenbogat*, as a signal or watch-word to the Innovators, according to which they might act. They likewise extolled the method which had been always used with great success, viz. not readily to break the band of Unity. For otherwise, they said, the minds of the common people would be strangely divided, if every man were left to preach his own crude notions: and therefore they judged it both unreasonable and dangerous to receive or admit any one into the Ministry without subscribing both those Formularies.

A new Catechism published at Gouda.

³ But they that were on the side of *Arminius*, spake a quite different language: their opinion was, that one might justly suspend his assent to Humane Writings: that this matter, which was of so high a nature, had never been regularly considered at the beginning of the Reformation, when all things were in confusion; nor afterwards neither, when the Rulers of the Republic had their hands full with the Spanish War. They thought likewise that it had been better for Christendom, if no Formularies, or at least very concise general ones, had been made use of. Hereupon there appeared at Gouda a little Tract entitled: *A short Instruction for Children in the Christian Religion*, containing nothing but Articles of Faith, and those also expressed for the most part in scriptural terms.

⁴ But there soon arose persons from the other party, who publicly declared their abhorrence of this Project, affirming: that there was no opinion, though never so abominable, which might not be disguised in words of Scripture. That such simplicity was suitable only to the first ages of christianity, when the poison was not yet diffused, the evil unknown, and consequently no antidotes were wanting; but that afterwards, when every Age produced its errors, new Tests were invented, in order to ferret the hereticks out of their holes. Thus what one side stiled Slavery, the other called Peace; and what one named Liberty, the other thought to be Confusion. Thus mutual discords grew up with specious titles, and in time furnished matter for greater divisions.

* Arminius and Uitenbogat, endeavour to justify themselves with respect to the Advice they had given concerning the holding a National Synod.

⁵ In the mean while * *Arminius* and *Uitenbogat* were informed that their advices with respect to the holding a National Synod, were not only much censured, but that *Sibrandus Lubbertus* was writing Letters to their prejudice on that account to divers

¹ Trigl. p. 413. ² Epist. Eccles. 238, 244.

³ Uitenb. p. 405. Grot. Hist. Lib. XVII. p. 553.

⁴ Sibr. Lubb. p. 12. Epist. Eccles. p. 272.

⁵ Uitenb. p. 362, 398, 415.

divers foreign Clergymen and Churches, desiring their opinions; this induced those two Gentlemen, together with the other two Ministers of the Province of *Utrecht*, formerly mentioned, to write a long Apology, and inscribe it to the States, to whom they procured the Advocate *Oldenbarnevelt* to deliver it; but the said Advocate was of opinion that the affairs of the Government would not admit of its being then considered, and besides, that it was proper to be deferred till the other parties had likewise brought in their Justification. But the rest of the Clergy endeavoured to draw the consideration and decision of these differences to the Ecclesiastical Tribunals, and desired that the National Synod might be assembled upon the foot which they had projected.

¹ As to the Letters which *Sibrandus* had sent to foreign Churches and Ministers, *Arminius* and *Uitenbogart* found themselves obliged, as soon as they knew their contents, to answer them by Counter-Letters. They likewise writ to *Sibrandus* himself to the same purpose, complaining that he had made an unfair representation of their differences to the Clergy abroad, and seemed to have intended nothing so much as prepossessing them. Some of these Letters were not writ till the year following, and with small effect; but upon *Uitenbogart's* writing to *Peter du Moulin*, a Minister at *Paris*, in the month of *November* this year, people seem'd to suspend their judgments a little, and to incline towards moderation and soft methods. The Letter *Du Moulin* writ to *Uitenbogart*, in *December*, was as follows:

Dear and worthy Brother,

IT is with great pleasure I learn by yours, that the meeting of your Synod draws nigh; from which however I do not expect much good, if you fall into disputes, especially if it be true, that the design is to controvert these Points, to wit: Whether God has absolutely elected men, or whether conditionally, and with respect to their Faith: whether Men can resist regenerating Grace: whether Christ died for all Mankind; and whether true Faith can be lost. These points of dispute are proposed in odious and doubtful terms. Besides, though such matters may be canvassed and debated among friends, and in the schools, yet we ought not to fill the peoples heads with them, who may continue always ignorant of them, and yet not be the worse Christians. In those friendly correspondences which you and I have maintained, and by which I am the better apprized of your great judgment, prudence and uncommon learning, you have informed me that the design of all parties was to see how near your Divines were to an agreement, and to prevent further contentions. Such counsels are good, and calculated for promoting the honour of God, as well as proper for the Times that are coming upon us; in which it will be more than ever necessary that we agree. I know, Sir, you will contribute to this all that in you lies, and be a useful instrument in uniting the Church: for which I joyn my prayers to God, with assurances of the respect I owe you, as one who will ever be, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

PHILIP DU MOULIN.

² *Philip de Mornay*, Lord of *Plessis Marley*, as famous for his pen as his sword, both which were used in the service of the Reformed, and of *France* his native country, writ at the same time to *Francis van Herffen*, Ambassador from the States of the *United Provinces*, to the King of *France*, how greatly he wished that the Divines of the *Leyden University* would likewise make a Truce (alluding to the treaty then depending for a Cessation of Arms) seeing that nothing could fall out more unfortunately at that time, than their differences — He was moreover of opinion, that the Lords the States, conformably to their wisdom and gravity, ought to put a stop to them, by requiring all parties to be silent till a more convenient time.

³ In another of his Letters written to *Daniel Silemus*, Professor of Divinity at *Sedan*, about the beginning of this year, we find the following expressions: *Would to God that all of us did but contain our selves within the bounds of Scripture, and not proceed any farther! to the end, we might joyn our common strength against the*

F 2

Romish

Extract of a Letter from Philip de Mornay to Tilenus.

^{*} Epist. Eccl. p. 241, 259, 265, 271, and 282.

² *Uitenb* p. 403. ³ Ep. Eccl. p. 227.

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Romish Idolatry, Superstition and Tyranny; and as to the rest, bear with each other in abstruse mysteries, in which we may always be learning something, and in expressing which, we may always find fault with something, what circumspection soever we use. This advice I would therefore offer: to treat mens doctrines with moderation, and their persons with caution, provided that they on their part do act with piety. Such Lectures, did this Statesman read to the Clergymen.

Among those who complained to the foreigners of *Arminius* and *Uitenbogart*, was *Lucas Trelcatius*, Junior, Divinity-Professor at *Leyden*; who departed this Life on the 12th of September, this year, in the flower of his age, for he was born at *London* the 25th of April, 1573. In his seventeenth year he became a Preacher. He preached in *French* and *Dutch*, equally well, according to the opinion of *Scaliger*, and in that point exceeded *Junius*, though not in learning and temper. In his Theological Lectures, published not long before, he advanced things that were new, and highly absurd, contrary to Scripture, to all the Antients, and many of the Reformed Teachers; as *Arminius* complains in a certain Letter, and yet none said of him, that he fed a Monster of Error; but whatever I say or teach, continues he, though it be received by most, yet if it offends one single person, it is presently monstrous. Which expressions some have thought most clearly to represent, how powerfully prejudice inclines us to the condemning of faults in some, and to the excusing, and even commending them in others.

A Proposal for
calling a Ge-
neral Council
of the Pro-
testant Churches.

This year some Princes laboured to compose the differences of the Reformed and Lutherans. Between the King of Great Britain, and the the Elector Palatine, there past some transactions about calling a General Council of the Protestant Churches; and the said Elector sent Letters to the States of the United Provinces to the same effect. Concerning which, *Henricus Rosaeus*, a Minister of the Hague, writes to *Conradus Vorstius*, Professor of Divinity and Pastor at *Steinfort*, that the Clergy of the Palatinate began now at length to be sensible, that the Reformed Church was shut up within too narrow limits. And unless men be allowed, says he, to differ from one another in some matters that don't relate to fundamentals, what can we otherwise expect but Divisions? From whence it appears, how necessary it is to determine by a general agreement, what those things are, which properly concern the foundation of the Christian Religion. That something like this might be done, was earnestly wished for by many in these parts; but such proposals would not go down with others. So that matters were more disposed to War than Peace.

A Memorial
and Petition
of Arminius
and Uitenbo-
gart to the
States of Hol-
land.

In the mean time *Arminius* and *Uitenbogart*, observing daily that they were hated more and more, and continually reproached, as if they were the occasion that the National Synod did not sit, thought it adviseable to represent to the States of Holland by a Memorial, in the month of April, 1608: 4 What had happened to them, and how they were reviled both at home and abroad, on account of the Advices they had given; and that they expected little or no assistance from the ordinary Synods against such treatment, as their Lordships might easily conclude, from what had past formerly in such Synods; of which they wished that their Lordships would receive a full relation from the mouths of their Commissioners. That they also thought this matter was not as yet to be mended by any writing or refutation, nor to be any longer concealed from their Lordships, without great prejudice to themselves, and the churches of this land, it being high time that something should be done. They therefore address themselves again to their Lordships, as their supreme Governours; humbly praying, that what they now did, at so unseasonable a juncture, and during the treaty with the Enemy, might be ascribed to the utmost necessity; that they did not do it so much to accuse others, as to excuse themselves, and procure peace to the Churches. To attain to which, they declared, First, that though they could not believe, but that the Lords the States had acted a wise and christian part, in the resolution they took of causing the Confession and Catechism to be revised; and that the advices which they themselves had given, about calling a National Synod, were sincere, scriptural and advantageous; yet would they not insist upon them any longer, to the hindering or retarding such a Synod; but should be contented, if their Lordships so thought fit, that a National Synod might be holden on some other foot, provided that God's Word only, and no humane Orders or Institutions

¹ Bert. Orat. Pun. excerpt. Scalig. p. 183.

² Ep. Ec. p. 214. &c. Armin. Declaration &c p. 42.

³ Uitenb. p. 548. Grot. Piet. Ord. Holl. 10.

⁴ Uitenb. Hist. p. 425.

‘ Institutions might prevail there, and that none might be allowed to lord it over the faith of other men. *Secondly*, They declared as in the presence of God, that they neither had, nor did meditate the introducing any novelty, or any thing contrary to the word of God, but designed to adhere to the doctrine of the Christian Reformed Churches all the days of their lives. According to which declaration they besought their Lordships to bring about the fitting of a *National Synod*.

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The States read this Memorial, but would not hear of calling a Synod. However, the ill rumours and reports increasing daily against *Arminius*, he applied again to the States of *Holland*, and represented to them in writing, what reports were spread of him, what usage he met with, and how his Examinations of the Students under his care were misrepresented, and the Testimonials or Certificates which he gave by virtue of his office, disregarded. The consequences of all which he laid before them, and prayed that their Lordships would, according to their wisdom, be pleased to give such orders and directions, as might be proper for inquiring into, and discovering the truth of such reports, the preventing further inconvenience, and establishing such a mutual agreement, as ought to subsist among those that profess the same Religion; to the end that Truth, and the Increase of the Church might be promoted. For which purpose, he declared, that he should be always ready to enter into friendly conferences with his Brethren, under the direction of his superiors; whether in a National Synod, or in a Meeting of a few Deputies out of every Province of these *Netherlands*, or in a Synod of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, or even in an Assembly of very few persons deputed to that end.

A second petition of *Arminius* to the States.

‘ Upon this petition the States of *Holland* ordered the Professors *Arminius* and *Gomarus* to attend at the *Hague*, and to enter into a conference before the great Council in the presence of four Ministers, to the end that all differences might, if possible, be thus composed; or else a true state of them laid before the Government.

The resolution of the States.

The Deputies of the Synod on the contrary petitioned, that instead of such a conference, the Provincial Synod might be assembled; but their petition was rejected.

‘ In the conference holden before the Great Council, *Gomarus* refused to answer to the proposition made on behalf of the States, as well because his person was Ecclesiastical, and consequently subject only to the Synod and Church, as on account of the matter itself; which in his opinion, ought to be treated and judged ecclesiastically. After this, being urged by the Lords, he owned that there were differences among the Clergy, but did not think them fit to be mentioned there, or tryed, to the prejudice of the Church’s privileges.

A Conference between *Arminius* and *Gomarus* before the Great Council.

Being further prest about the points in dispute, he desired that *Arminius* might first declare, what objections he had against the *Confession* and *Catechism*; to which the other answered, he was surprized that whereas the difference had by some been represented so great, they were yet at a loss, to show wherein it consisted, or what he had taught against the said *Confession* or *Catechism*: and that they called for his Remarks on them, as if they wanted to draw matter of accusation out of his own mouth; however, that he was not conscious of having ever said any thing either publicly or privately, that was not conformable to those Formularies. *Gomarus* then endeavoured to charge him upon the article of *Justification*; he on the contrary declared, that he approved the doctrine as contained in the Harmony of *Confessions*, and even made his confession concerning it in the very words of the *Catechism*. But *Gomarus* was not satisfied, who after that delivered his opinion upon several points in writing, as *Arminius* did likewise, offering at the same time, to disclose his thoughts about the *Confession* and *Catechism*, at such times and places as the Lords the States should appoint.

‘ After all this had passed, the Lords of the Great Council made their report to the States, in the presence of the two Professors, and the four Ministers, declaring, that they did not differ about any fundamentals in religion, and that for the rest, they ought to bear with one another. Thereupon the Advocate of *Holland* spoke in the name of the States, and told them, that he thanked God that there was no considerable difference between them, at least not in relation to any of the capital points of the Christian Faith; and then required them not to talk of what had been transacted and

A report made of it to the States.

¹ Trigl. Hist. p. 43. ² Uitenb. p. 437. ³ Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 181. Ib. Hist. XVII. 153.

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Gomarus
thinks the Dif-
ference very
great.

The Answer of
Arminius.

and to endeavour after Peace by all means; promising that the differences should be adjusted in a *National Synod*, or if that were delay'd, in a *Provincial* one, which might be shortly expected; and in the mean while he forbade them to say any thing incompatible with the Scriptures, Confession, or Catechism. Then Gomarus desired leave to speak, and said, *That the principles of his Collegue, with respect to the points in dispute, were of such a nature, that he should be afraid to die in them, and appear before the Tribunal of God.* Which expressions were thought by some to be too violent, but others looked upon them as the result of a sincere conscience, ¹ and the rather, because he had been for several days, and particularly at this time, very composed and serious both in countenance and language. However, he did not stop here, but declared further: *that from these differences, if they went on, the consequences would be, that Province would rise up against Province, Church against Church, City against City, and Burgher against Burgher — Nevertheless, that he was ready both to maintain and promote* The Answer of peace. To which Arminius replied nothing more at that time, than that he was not conscious of any such ill opinions in matters of religion; that these differences (of which Gomarus spoke) related chiefly to the business of Predestination: that he had always adhered to the Confession, and would still do so; that he had indeed, when he was obliged to it, spoken against the peculiar opinions of some Ministers, but never against that Formulary, or the common sentiments of the Churches; that he likewise hoped he should never become an occasion of Schism and Divisions in Church or State; and that he was ready to declare his thoughts and observations as to matters of religion, plainly and in publick, whenever the present Assembly should require it of him, and even before he stirred from the place.

² Hugo Grotius, who was then Advocate Fiscal (or Chancellor of the Exchequer) to the Provinces of Holland, Zeland, and West-Friesland, relates in a certain Letter, since published by Andrew Rivet, that he observed that Gomarus about the time of this Conference was more jocund, and Uitenbogart more sad than usually; and that the latter said to him: 'Though the Provincial Synod should meet, as he verily believed it would, yet the controversy would be agitated with so much prejudice, that the singular notions of the Teachers which had been by degrees instilled into the minds of the Disciples, and in time espoused, through neglect of further inquiry, with the tacit concurrence of the Church, would by their authority baffle the diligence of men of judgment in the free search after Truth; and the major part would overcome and subdue the better by their votes, as well in Synods as in other Assemblies. And, (continued he) I expect no better issue for Arminius and his affairs, than what happened to Castellio, who, though a very learned and famous man, was reduced to such straits by the rage of his adversaries, that he was obliged to earn his bread by sawing of wood.'

Some were of opinion that the stiffness of Gomarus was the cause that the Council could not make up these differences; inasmuch that one said: *That he had rather appear before the Tribunal of God with the Faith of Arminius, than with the Charity of Gomarus.*

The Synods of
South and
North Hol-
land suspended

After this Conference they did not continue silent; each party zealously propagated their particular notions; but those of Gomarus were most agreeable to the Clergy, as those of Arminius were to the Government, as being most easily understood by the people. And afterwards the usual Synods of South and North Holland were suspended by the States of the Province; whether it was that they had observed any heats in the former Synods, or that they designed to summon a Provincial Synod to the Hague against October.

They are again
permitted to
assemble.

³ But Prince Maurice hearing of their intention, shewed his dissatisfaction at it, as he did about the same time at the treaty for a Truce, which was set on foot sore against his will, looking upon these things as calculated to produce confusions. The States therefore thought fit to defer the said Provincial Synod, and upon fresh application of the Clergy to permit the holding of those of South and North Holland, but on condition that none of the Articles should be proposed in those assemblies which were designed to be discussed in the Provincial Synod, to the end that the latter might not be rendered vain, by mens prepossessions. The points they meant were the differences between the Professors, the urging Ministers to discover their opinions about

¹ Grot. Epist. ad N. R. quæ extat in A. Riveti Op. Tom. III. p. 274.

² Ibid. Epist. ad N. R.

³ Uitenb. p. 443. Trigl. p. 414.



IACOBUS ARMINIUS.

about the *Confession* and *Catechism*, before the revision of those *Formularies*, to which the States would not agree but in a Provincial or National Synod. ¹ But the Synods had other views; that of *South Holland*, which met at *Dort* in *October*, resolved to solicit by the Synodical Deputies for the meeting of a Provincial Synod, and in case the States should persist in delaying it any longer, the said Deputies were to give notice of it to the *Classes*, to the end that they might consider what they had to do, in order to preserve the purity of doctrine, and the unity of the Church. It was also there resolved, that the Ministers who had not given in their Opinions or Remarks upon the *Confession* and *Catechism*, should do it within a month, on pain of Ecclesiastical censure. This the States consider'd as done out of a spirit of contradiction, and came therefore to the following Resolution, namely: *That all the Ministers who had made any Remarks upon those Formularies, should deliver them sealed up in the space of a month, not to the Classes, but to the Committee of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, in order to be kept till the Provincial Synod should meet, for preventing further disputes in the mean time.* This was notified to all the *Classes*, by order of the States, on the 23d of *November*.

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A Synod of
South Hol-
land at Dort.

Resolutions ta-
ken there.

A Resolution of
the States in
opposition to
them.

At the aforesaid Synod it was propos'd likewise, to demand of the Ministers of *South Holland*, who had been the last year at the Assembly that was to prepare matters for a National Synod, the Reasons of their *Differing Advices*, and to judge of those Reasons. But the Commissioners of the States who then presid'd in the Synod, shew'd them a copy of the Resolution taken by their Lordships upon that head: ² *Whereby it was prohibited to the Classes, and also to the Synod, to enter into any Debates, Deliberations, or Resolutions, concerning the Advices given by Arminius, Uitenbogart, and other Ministers at the Hague, in the Year 1607.*

A certain De-
sign of the Sy-
nod prevented
by the States.

Then the Synod agreed to petition the States, that they would please to receive the Reasons of the *Differing Advices* which had been offered them by the parties concerned, and deliver them to the Synodical Deputies, in order to be transmitted to the *Classes*, to the end that their Lordships might be inform'd whether, and why the Churches made any scruples or objections with reference to those several *Advices*.

The Synod re-
solves upon a
Petition.

The *North Holland* Synod, which met this year at *Horn*, took likewise the same resolution; but with no better success. ³ After this the States sent for *Arminius* to their assembly, that he might disclose to them, as he had offer'd, those points of doctrine upon which he had made any observations. This happen'd the 30th of *October*: accordingly he laid before them his thoughts about the matter of *Predestination*: First, He shew'd what some people taught concerning it, and added his observations on their doctrine; and then propos'd his own opinion: He also explained to them his opinion concerning the *Divine Prescience* or *Foreknowledge*, the *Free-Will* of Man, the *Grace of God*, the *Perseverance* of the *Saints*, the *Certainty of Salvation*, the *Perfection* of the *Faithful*, the *Divinity* of the *Son*, and the *Justification* of Man before God. In the next place, he took notice of the *Revision* of the *Confession* and *Catechism*, maintaining by several arguments, how reasonable, just, and necessary it was. He ended his Discourse or Speech to the States with the following expressions: 'This, my Lords, is what I had to offer to your Honours; and I return my

Arminius de-
clares his Opi-
nion with re-
spect to certain
Points, in the
presence of the
States.

' thanks to this most honourable Assembly, to which, after God, I look upon my
' self to be accountable for all my actions, that you have been pleas'd to hear me
' patiently and favourably; and I do declare my self ready, with all sincerity, to enter
' into a friendly and brotherly conference with my worthy Associates upon these and
' other points in dispute, at such times and places as this Honourable Assembly shall
' order; promising also to behave myself at such conferences, with prudence and
' temper, being equally dispos'd to learn or to teach. And since in all those matters
' that fall under dispute, two things ought to be consider'd; First, *Whether they be*
' *true*; and secondly, *Whether necessary to salvation*, (both which must be proved
' from the Holy Scripture) I solemnly declare, and oblige my self from this time
' forwards, never to urge my Brethren, who are of a different opinion, to believe
' any article, though I could prove the truth of it by never so strong arguments, un-
' less I can plainly demonstrate from the Word of God (yea as plainly as I may be
' suppos'd to have proved the truth of it) that it is necessary to salvation, that every
' Christian should believe it in the same manner. If they (my Brethren) be like-

The Conclusion
of his Speech to
the States.

² Uitenb. *ibid.* Trigl. p. 416.
³ Trigl. *Hist.* p. 415.

³ Uitenb. p. 446. Armin. Declar. p. 10. Epist.
Eccles. p. 278.

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‘ minded, there cannot easily, I think, arise any quarrel or schism: And I beg leave
‘ to say further, (in order to obviate all apprehensions that might arise on my ac-
‘ count, in the minds of this Honourable Assembly, whose thoughts are taken up
‘ with weighty affairs, in which the whole safety of Church and State is so highly
‘ interested) that it must be a matter of very great concern, in which I will not
‘ yield to my said Brethren; since I do not pretend to tyrannize over any man’s
‘ Faith, but am only a Minister or Servant to the Faithful, for increasing the
‘ knowledge of the Truth, Righteousness, Peace, and Joy, in *Christ Jesus* our
‘ Lord. And in case my Brethren, for this or that reason, do not think fit to bear
‘ with me, nor suffer me among them, I hope there shall never happen any division
‘ or schism on that account, especially on my side, since there is but too much al-
‘ ready (may God amend it) throughout all *Christendom*, and since we are all obliged
‘ to do our utmost to lessen it; in that case I shall only endeavour to possess my soul
‘ in patience, and resign my Ministry, (remaining nevertheless devoted, as long as
‘ God shall spare my life, to the service of *Common Christianity*) remembering, SAT
‘ ECCLESIAE, SAT PATRIAE DATUM, that is, **I have discharged my Duty to**
‘ **Church and State.**

A Speech of
Gomarus to
the States con-
cerning the Do-
ctrine and Con-
duct of Armi-
nius.

¹ This Declaration was also deliver’d in writing to the States; upon which
some of the Ministers, who were Deputies of the *South and North Holland* Synods,
immediately exhorted *Gomarus* by letters likewise to desire an audience of the States,
and to charge *Arminius* with what he had to object against his doctrine and opinions.
Gomarus consented to it; and upon the 12th of *December* he attended the States at their
meeting, having desired leave for that purpose. There he accused *Arminius* of se-
veral errors, charging him with *Pelagianism* in some points, and in others with *Jesuitism*;
but adding, that in those points in which the *Jesuits* agreed with the *Re-*
formed, he opposed them both. He likewise enumerated other errors, but without
specifying what were the opinions of *Arminius*, or what his own concerning them;
he hinted too at other important Articles, but did not name them.

² From the doctrine of his Colleague, he proceeded to his conduct, showing the
artifices which he affirmed were used by him in proposing and maintaining it, saying:
that *Arminius* did not propose his doctrines publicly, but privately: that he robbed
the *Reformed* of their fundamental Principles and Arguments, and corroborated those
of the *Jesuits*: that he propagated Doubts and Scruples: that he proposed the false
doctrines of the *Jesuits*, and the true of the *Reformed*, as it were in two equi-
ponderating balances, the consequence of which was, that people rejected the True:
that he was not constant or steady in his doctrines; that he refused to declare him-
self; that his conduct was entirely irregular, since instead of purging himself before
an Ecclesiastical Assembly, he applied himself to the temporal Powers whom he
flattered. ³ He proceeded to compare *Arminius* to *Arius* (so *Uitenbogart* and others
understood his words) and *Uitenbogart* to the courtly and eloquent *Eusebius*, who
misled *Constantine*. At the conclusion, he besought their Honours to forward the
meeting of the *Promised Provincial Synod*, and to inquire into the causes of these di-
visions. This Representation of *Gomarus* was likewise delivered in writing to the
States, and kept secret by them to prevent further feuds.

The Differences
continue and
increase.

Discord however found matter enough to feed upon, and *Arminius* became daily
more and more suspected and disliked. But various methods were used for that pur-
pose. It happened (but a little sooner than what we have been now mentioning)
that *Peter Plancius*, a Minister of *Amsterdam*, together with his Colleague *Wernerus*
Helmichius (who soon after, to wit, on the 29th of *August* departed this life) desired
an audience of the Burgomasters. Being admitted, (this I write from the Memoirs
of an eye and ear-witness) he produced a Paper, which he held in his hand for the
help of his memory, containing a great number of Articles of Errors and Heresies le-
velled against *Arminius*, which having very largely discoursed upon, and greatly ag-
gravated, he called upon *Helmichius* to deliver what he had to say: but this latter,
taking up the discourse, declared, that it was very true, that *Arminius* was accused
of these Articles, but that he had sufficiently justified himself with respect to a
great part of them which he (*Helmichius*) enumerated, amounting to about two
thirds of the whole number; and besides he mentioned the rest with much more
mode-

¹ From the Answer of the States of Holland to those of
Zeland, &c. p. 77. Baudet’s Memoirs, Lib. IX. p. 48.
Epist. Eccles. p. 280.

² Uitenb. 450. Gomar. Represent. &c. p. 50.
Baud. Memoirs. Lib. I. p. 15.

³ Uitenb. about the Power of the Magistrate, p. 138.

moderation than *Plancius* had done. And then the story about his *owning the Pope for a limb of the Church*, was revived against him.

¹ At *Amsterdam*, in the month of *September*, one of the Ministers dropt the following expressions from the Pulpit, in the hearing of a Burgomaster and divers of the Magistracy: 'The Pope of *Rome*, who beats his Fellow-servants, is no Member of *Christ's* body, as has been lately said that he is, by the enemies of the Church, both in the Pulpit, and other publick places, and openly avowed in print. This, *he said*, he was obliged to confute, though it should bring hatred upon him, and cost his children their bread. For such doctrines were so displeasing to God, that it had been observ'd by several wise men, that from the time that some took upon them to assert the same, the publick affairs had never prospered, but divers of the strongest cities had fallen into the hands of the enemy, though the army of the *Spaniards* was commanded, not by an experienced General, but by an *Italian Merchant*, meaning *Spinola*.

A^N° D^OM.¹⁶⁰⁸.
A Sermon
preached at
Amsterdam,
reflecting on
Arminius
and his Fol-
lowers.

² Upon this, *Arminius* writ to Burgomaster *Sebastian Egberts* what was proper for his justification, in case this charge were understood to be levelled against him. 'If, *says he*, I may speak my mind freely, I would say that, the boldness of this man (*meaning the Preacher*) has not been animadverted on with that courage as it ought, by those whose duty it is to restrain such as behave themselves so irregularly. It is by this means that the habit of flandering wonderfully increases among the people: Scandal, the eldest daughter of the Devil, has on this occasion taken possession of the Chair of Truth, covering itself with the cloak of zeal for *Orthodoxy* and the Peace of the Church, in order to deceive the ignorant.

Arminius
writes a Letter
on that Occa-
sion.

³ In another Letter to the same Burgomaster he expresses his complaints thus: 'I am treated in so vile a manner, by those of your City in particular, as if it were no crime to belie, slander, and falsely accuse me — This is certainly a wickedness beyond measure for them to ascribe to me those crimes which it is well known they are guilty of themselves. All the disunion in our Church proceeds from them, and it is sown by them; let them but hold their peace, and cease their seditious bawling before the people in publick, and their calumniating in private, and the business is done.

He declared that Articles were published in his name, which were none of his, and which were handed to the Wife of *Jacob Lawrenson Real*, his Brother-in-law, by one who said he had received them from an Elder. 'One may easily guess, *said he*, who this Elder is; but those people are not to be provoked, and I will have patience. But do you take care that through your connivance and remissness, their stings do not grow so sharp, that it be in vain to complain afterwards of their pricking.' He had said before to the same Gendeman: 'The chief cause of this evil proceeds from your City, where people boldly speak what they dare not so much as insinuate here (at *Leyden*) where I daily teach both in publick and private.

⁴ Among the things that were reported of him at that time, and which have been since often repeated, was, that he advised his Pupils or Scholars to read the books of the Jesuits and of *Koornbert*, and spoke contemptibly of those of *Calvin*.

A new Charge
against Armi-
nius, with his
Defence.

⁵ But against this charge he defends himself in the aforesaid Letter, in words to the following purpose: 'These reports I can call by no softer name than that of lyes; for I never changed one single word with any man about it, whether being asked or of my own head. But after, and next to the studying the Holy Scriptures, which I urge very much, and more than any body besides me, (for which I appeal to the whole University, and to the consciences of my Collegues) I stir up my Pupils to the reading of *Calvin's* Commentaries, which I more highly esteem than ever *Helmichius* did, as he himself has acknowledged to me. For I think he has not his fellow in expounding the Holy Scripture, and that his Comments are more to be valued than all that the whole Library of the Fathers has transmitted to us. So that I readily allow, that he had an uncommon spirit of prophesying, or of expounding Scripture beyond many others, yea, beyond all. I likewise recommend the reading of his *Institutions*, next to the *Catechism*, as being a fuller interpretation; but then I subjoin, that these should be read, like all other humane writings,

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¹ Epist. Eccles. p. 268.

² Ibid. p. 270.

³ Ibid. p. 277, 278, &c.

⁴ Baud. Memoirs, Lib. I. p. 5. Van de Sand. Hist. Lib. III. p. 110. and the Preface of the Synod of Dort, 1618.

⁵ Epist. Eccles. p. 236, &c.

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writings, with distinction. That this has been my advice, I can prove by numberless witnesses; whereas they cannot produce one whom I have counseled to read the *Jesuits* or *Koornbert's* books: let them show but one only, and the falsity will appear. Thus stories, or rather fables, arise from a single nothing. I know very well what all this means; but I believe you are ignorant of what passes elsewhere: if you knew it, you would stand amazed at the wickedness and impudence of some men. Against all this ill treatment I oppose the shield of my integrity and of patience: I comfort my self with the hopes of a happy issue, which the Just Judge will give me, for he knows what I do, and what I aim at; and I doubt not but my labours are acceptable to him, being only calculated for the establishing Truth, Piety, and Peace, among Christians.——I design shortly to come to *Amsterdam*, and see whether my presence there will not restrain these slanders. I may perhaps easily prevent their being spread in publick; but to expunge them out of the hearts of those who suspect me without reason, and imagine that it is of advantage to their cause, for me to be thus overwhelmed with defamation, will be an extreme hard task.

¹ This very year the Classis at *Alkmaar* began to attempt some things, which in a short space occasioned great misunderstandings and uneasinesses between the Government and the Clergy. They seemed to go about to defeat the resolutions of the States as to the *Revision* of the *Confession* and *Catechism*, by a side wind. For some of the Members of the said Classis drew up and proposed a new Form of Agreement and Obligation (some say that *Cornelius Hillenius*, Minister at *Alkmaar*, was the person that projected it) in which people were to declare, by subscribing it, that, *The*

A new Form of Agreement proposed to be subscribed in favour of the Confession and Catechism.

Four Ministers refuse to subscribe it, and are therefore suspended and excluded the Classis Assembly at Alkmaar.

Their Complaint and Petition to the States.

The Order of the States.

The Answer of the Classis.

wherefore *the* *word* *of* *God*, *and* *the* *fundamentals* *of* *Salvation*; *and* *to* *promise* *that* *they* *would* *maintain* *the* *said* *doctrine*, *and* *reject* *and* *oppose*, *to* *the* *best* *of* *their* *power*, *whatever* *was* *contrary* *thereunto*.

² And I find in Memoirs of good credit, that there were not much above the third part of the Classis present when this matter was carried in the affirmative: four Ministers (3 of whom it is recorded in the Acts of the Synod that they agreed to subscribe the *Confession*, but not the *Catechism*) refused to make the subscription in the form proposed, objecting that it was a kind of novelty, and inconsistent with the resolutions taken by the States about the *Revision* of those *Formularies*. These four were, *Adrian Janson van Rapborst*, Minister at *Schorl* and *Bergen*, an ancient man, who had been a Preacher at least thirty years, and had formerly quitted considerable preferments in the Church of *Rome*, to avoid the coercion of humane institutions; the rest were *Aris Folkartson*, Minister of *Oudtdorp* and *Oterleek*, *John Evertson van Velsen*, Minister of both *Egmonts*, and *William Lomannus*, Minister of *Harengbusen*: the youngest of these four, *Lomannus*, was immediately suspended from the Ministry; the other three were allowed some weeks to consider of it; but they continuing to refuse their subscriptions, were required to forbear the exercise of their function, and together with *Lomannus* excluded from the Classis Assemblies. Some other Members of the Classis, who had also strenuously opposed subscribing, were at last prevailed upon to do it. But the four Ministers seeing no other way left for them, and that the Classis was inflexible to all the intercessions of the *Heer van Schagen*, who as Lord of *Harengbusen*, sought to take off the suspension of *Lomannus*, were forced to apply to the States of *Holland*, complaining of this unheard of treatment, and praying that a stop might be put to the proceedings of the Classis against them, till the differences were more strictly examined in the approaching Provincial or National Synod.

The States sent a Letter about it to the Classis, dated the 11th of *October*, requiring an account of what had been done in this affair, and a copy of their resolutions, and commanding them to suffer the said four Ministers to exercise their several functions without any molestation.

⁴ But the Classis writ back to the States, that, The cognizance of this matter being meerly ecclesiastical, belonged to an Ecclesiastical Assembly or Synod; and that they could not suffer themselves, upon any human consideration, to be despoiled of any power which God had committed to, and intrusted them with, for the superintendancy and government of his Church. They complained besides, that those who set themselves against the Church, were

supported

³ History of the Relation of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Differences at Alkmaar, 1611. p. 76.

⁴ Trigl. 489. Uitenb. 454. Hooff's Annotations.

⁵ Vid. XXIII Articles of the Synod of North Holland, at Horn, 1608.

⁶ Uitenb. about the Rights of Government, &c. p. 29.

supported by the Magistrates; and lastly desired that such as opposed the Church (in matters meerly ecclesiastical) might be referred to the Synod; that being the Tribunal of the Church.

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Afterwards the Classis brought this affair before the North Holland Synod assembled at Horn, where they had already agreed, before they heard the Deputies of the Classis, that the subscribing the *Confession* and *Catechism*, should be resumed in all those places where it had been omitted, upon the penalty appointed by the General Synod at the Hague. After which the Synod declared, upon the report and complaint of the said Deputies: *That the Brethren of Alkmaer, had done well in directing the subscribing the Confession and Catechism, for the preservation of Unity in the Classis, and preventing all further disputes: and that on the contrary, the four Ministers had done very ill, in passing by their competent Judges, to complain to the States.* It was also resolved: *that the Deputies of this Synod should wait upon the States, to lay this matter before them, and to remonstrate to them, how necessary it was that the Church should remain possessor of her Right.*

A Synod of
North Hol-
land at
Horn.

There was at this time at Alkmaer, the known Adolphus Venator, a Minister of learning and eloquence, who had formerly much trouble with his brethren of the Clergy on several accounts; particularly because he instructed some young men in Latin and Greek; boarded them, and for the exercise of their memory, and their more perfectly acquiring the art of Rhetorick, had suffered them to act one of the Comedies of Terence, called *Andria*: but more especially on account of a little Treatise, intituled *Democritus*, and a certain *Epithalamium*, or Marriage Poem; which writings, as many thought, were inconsistent with the gravity of his function: but he himself thought such things excusable, and those that blamed them, too severe. But upon some kind of submission, these differences were accommodated.

A. Venator,
a Minister of
Alkmaer resu-
ses to subscribe
the new Form
of Agreement
enjoyed by the
Classis, and is
suspended, but
protected by the
Magistrates.

He was afterwards accused of not being quite orthodox enough for his Fellow-Ministers in point of Doctrine; upon which he was desired to draw up an account in writing of his opinion as to several Questions and Doctrinal Points, and deliver it to the Consistory. Venator appealed to his Sermons, and to those that had heard him; however, he returned answers to the questions proposed; but they required more categorical ones. In the mean while he fell sick, and remained so at the time when the subscribing the *New Classical Act*, relating to the consent to the *Confession* and *Catechism* was exacted. After his recovery, and appearing again at the meeting of the Classis, he was required to sign the said Act; which after some dispute about it, he refused, and his refusal was attended with a suspension from the Ministry, and the Magistracy were further desired to assist in executing the sentence of the Church against him.

But the matter being debated in the Council of Alkmaer, the far greater number of the Members were of opinion, *that Venator ought to go on in his Ministry, till the things of which he was accused could be decided by the Provincial Synod; provided that in the mean while he would not touch upon, nor divulge the objections which he might have formed against the Catechism; and that if he had formed any, he would seal them up, and transmit them to the States, pursuant to their resolution.* Upon this the Consistory declared with solemn protestations to the Magistrates: *that they could never consent to the resolution which they the Magistrates had taken concerning Venator, as being incompatible with the proceedings of the Synod, Classis and Consistory; and consequently against the Rights of the Church, which she had not received from Men, but from Jesus Christ her only Head.* *Protesting before God, that they would be free and innocent from all the evil which might arise from the resolution of the Council, and the continuance of Venator in the Ministry.*

The Classis likewise testified their dissatisfaction by a Memorial which they presented to the Magistrates, and protested against Venator's being continued. From words they proceeded to actions: his two Collegues refused to be present at his preaching; the Deacons indeed came, but it was by the leave of the Consistory, and when the Sermon was half done, in order to collect the alms of the people, but they would not hearken to it, nor stay at Prayers; they did not suffer him to baptize, nay they would not so much as salute him: nevertheless he had a great Auditory. Then there was a scandalous report raised of him, which lasted a while to his great

Those of the
Classis protest
against the
proceedings of
the Magi-
strates.

A scandalous
Report raised
against Venator.

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¹ From the Acts of the Synod of N. Holland.
² Trigl. p. 497.

³ Hist. Rel. of Alkmaer. p. 71, 156, 162. &c.

A No D O M. dishonour : they said he had endeavoured to debauch two women. He denying the whole matter, cited his accusers before the Burgomasters, but was himself cited before the Consistory, and afterwards before the Classis ; but he looked upon the Clergy as his sworn enemies. In the mean while some persons were brought into the Government at *Alkmaer*, upon the usual change of the Magistracy, who were esteemed fit tools for the Consistory and Classis. For which reason the Deputies of the Synod and Classis applied again to the Council, in *January 1609* ; to the end that *Venator* might be obliged to forbear the exercise of his Ministry, till he had justified and purged himself ; but the majority of the Council were still of opinion that he should proceed till he was convicted. Upon which the Clergy brought this affair before the States of *Holland*, who sent two of the Grand Council to *Alkmaer*, to restore intirely those Ministers that had been turned out of the Classis on account of refusing the subscription, to bring the business of *Venator* (the Magistracy consenting) before the Grand Council, and to that end, to make inquiry into the matters laid to his charge. The Magistrates of *Alkmaer* agreed to the latter, but the former was refused by the Classis. After having heard the whole matter, the Grand Council gave judgment in favour of *Venator*, declaring, *that the informations taken against him, with the proofs thereunto belonging, were not sufficient to convict him : for which reason it was ordered on pain of discretionary punishment, that none should presume to charge or defame him therewith.* ¹ This sentence was unanimously agreed to by the whole Council, and declared at *Alkmaer* in a full meeting of the Magistrates there. This would not yet satisfy the Classis, but they desired copies of the documents and pieces upon which the Grand Council had founded their sentence, to the end that they might revise them, and then form their judgment accordingly, but it was refused them.

The Sentence of the Great Council in his favour.

A Truce of twelve years with the Spaniard.

In the mean time the States of the *United Provinces*, concluded a Truce with their Foreign Enemies for the space of twelve years. By this Treaty signed in *April*, it was stipulated with respect to Religion, that the *Hollanders*, or the Subjects of the *United Provinces* should enjoy the same privileges in the Dominions of the Archduke and Dukes, or of the King of *Spain*, which had been granted to the *English* by a secret article ; without being exposed to any inquisition or molestation on account of their persuasion. ² It was moreover granted to the *Spaniards* in a secret article, by the intervention of the *French*, that in that part of *Brabant* which the States were to be left in possession of, no alteration should be made in the Towns where the *Popish* Religion had till then been exercised. This Truce, brought about chiefly by the management of the Heer *John van Oldenbarnevelt*, Advocate of *Holland*, contrary to the mind of Prince *Maurice*, General of the States Troops, occasioned a coldness between them ; which in time gave a handle to the most violent of the Clergy, who had long before looked upon the Advocate as an enemy of the Church, to turn their faces towards that Prince, and to court his protection.

³ Not long after this Truce was published, Monsieur *Jeannin*, Ambassador from *France*, endeavoured to induce the States of the *United Netherlands*, by a long Memorial which he presented in the name of the King, to grant the Romanists the public exercise of their Religion. ⁴ But *Oldenbarnevelt* knowing the invidiousness and danger of such an attempt, bestirred himself so vigorously, that his proposal was prevented, and for that time kept secret.

Writings published concerning the difference between Arminius and Gomarus.

⁵ About the same time somebody translated into *Dutch* and published the Theses of *Arminius* and *Gomarus* about *Predestination*, that had been disputed on in the year 1604 ; which was done because some through ignorance, and others for different reasons, had imputed the opinions of the latter to the former. Upon printing the said translated Theses, *Reinier Donteklok*, an ancient Minister put out a certain Dialogue, in which he endeavoured to prove that *Arminius* was an enemy to the Church. This was followed by a Treatise written by *Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus*, a Minister at *Leyden*, intituled, *An Exhortation to Peace, directed to Donteklok* ; but he did not put his name to it. *Donteklok* soon after returned an answer to the said Exhortation. These were the first pieces that appeared since those differences broke out, and they were like oyl poured upon the fire of Discord. It is very remarkable, that *Donteklok*, though he speaks against *Arminius* in this Dialogue, says nevertheless :

¹ Ep. Eccl. p. 291.

² Grot. Hist. Lib. XVIII. p. 566.

³ Ep. Eccl. p. 305.

⁴ Remonstrance of Oldenb. p. 42.

⁵ Uitenb. p. 324, &c.

less, that he looked upon the notions of Gomarus as private opinions, to which no single person was confined, much less whole churches. He likewise owns, that before Arminius came to Leyden, the Professors of Divinity had differed in their sentiments concerning the doctrine of Predestination, yet without quarrelling about it, but bearing with each other. That the Ministers had likewise been left at liberty in that respect, without creating any troubles in the Church, it not being understood as a publick doctrine of the Church, but a private opinion submitted to every man's own judgment.

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Some of the friends of Arminius endeavoured likewise to put a stop to the ill reports that were spread abroad of him, by translating and publishing his Theses concerning the Prescience of God with respect to sin, and about the Free-Will of Man and its Strength or Efficacy; as likewise against Popish Indulgences and Purgatory.

¹ On the 25th of July there was a Disputation at Leyden, Arminius presiding, concerning the calling of man to Salvation. In the said Disputation he denied in express words, that Men were converted by a necessary or irresistible force: and on the other hand he as strenuously maintained, that God gave, or was ready to give sufficient strength for the discharge of that duty to which he called men. He declared, that he did not know, neither durst he determine, the manner which the Holy Ghost makes use of in the regeneration and conversion of men. He could indeed say how it did not happen, to wit, by no irresistible force; but how it did happen, he could not pretend to tell, for none knew that, but he that searcheth the deep things of God.

Arminius
presides at a
Dispute con-
cerning the
Calling of
Man to Sal-
vation.

During this Disputation, Gomarus, who was at it, frequently changed his colour and countenance; one while he took notes, another time he whisper'd in the ear of *Elis Everardus Vorstius*, Professor of Physick, who sat next him; one while he would look awry at his Colleague Arminius; another, he would cast his eyes on the Assembly, which was very numerous; then again he mutter'd something, as if he had a mind to let himself into the Disputation, but restrained himself; and yet he could not so far contain, as not to let fall now and then such expressions as these, *What impudence is this!* and the like. And he was hardly out of the Auditorium, or place of disputations, when he turned himself about and said thus: *From this time forwards the curb of Popery is given out of our hands.* ² And his rage was so great, that going up immediately to Arminius, he said to him, in the presence and hearing of a certain Priest or Jesuit, (who had urged an argument against the Defender or Respondent in the disputation) *I never in this University heard such language and such arguments which have effectually opened the door to Popery.* To which Arminius replied, *That he had discharged his conscience; but denied that any thing which had been said, gave the least advantage to Popery.* Then Gomarus said, *That he would publicly refute him.* To which Arminius made answer again, *If I have spoken any thing against my conscience, I promise you, I will publicly retract it.* Then Gomarus, *I will not leave the matter thus: And Arminius again, Neither shall I be unable, I hope, to defend my self. Time will show which of us is in the wrong; I am entirely of opinion, that the doctrine of Irresistible Force runs counter not only to Scripture and Antiquity, but even to the Confession and Catechism too.* Upon this Gomarus went away in a rage. From this single event it was easy to judge how little hopes there were of unity.

High Words be-
tween Goma-
rus and Ar-
minius on
that occasion.

³ However, the States of Holland thought fit to call these two Professors before them in the month of August, to make one essay more, whether they could not be brought to agree, by an amicable conference on the subject of their difference, and they allowed each of them to bring four Ministers, not as Seconds or Adversaries, but as Witnesses and Counsellors. After some discourse on each side, particularly about revising the Confession and Catechism, (for the States ordered them to begin upon that matter) Gomarus, with the consent of his friends, began to scruple disputing upon the points in difference before the States, but declared himself very ready to enter the lists with Arminius in an Ecclesiastical Assembly, whither the States might send their Deputies, if they pleased, to hear the whole matter. The States acquainted him, *That they would allow him to consider of it till their next meeting, that so they might know what they had to do, if he continued in the same mind.* The next day he consented to enter upon the Conference, but on condition that

A Conference
between Ar-
minius and
Gomarus be-
fore the States
of Holland.

¹ Epist. Eccles. p. 291, &c.
al. 226, a-3 &c.

² Ibid. p. 294.

³ Uitenb. p. 462.

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¹ The first thing debated was, the point of *Justification*, on the motion of *Gomarus*; with respect to which *Arminius* declared, that he agreed with *Gomarus*, only he desired that he might be at liberty to express his mind in scriptural terms; and as for *Gomarus*, he was willing he should speak of it in his own phrase, though not altogether scriptural. However, *Gomarus* adhered stiffly to his particular notions, and declared that he thought their differences very great. As to the business of *Predestination*, *Grace*, *Free-Will*, and *Perseverance in Faith*, the disagreement continued as formerly. *Gomarus* seemed disposed to enter upon other points, but *Arminius*, who had been long infirm, was taken so ill, that they were forced to put an end to the Conference.

After this the States demanded of those Ministers who had been assistants to *Gomarus* and *Arminius* (and whom they, the States, had promised to indemnify by a written instrument) to communicate their mutual advices or opinions, as well with respect to the present disputes, as the methods of healing them. The auxiliaries of *Gomarus* represented the matter very much to the disadvantage of *Arminius*, and thought that the only way to compose matters, was immediately to call a National or Provincial Synod. ² On the other hand, those that assisted *Arminius* determined the differences in favour of him: as for the business of *Justification*, their opinion was; 'That people might easily come to a right understanding with each other, if they would but endeavour after Truth and Peace without Envy or Animosity. As to *Predestination*, they declared themselves in these words; 'The opinion of *Arminius* upon this head is no less agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, than simple, plain, easy to be comprehended, and exempt from the subtilty of deep and abstruse questions, and at least as comfortable as the other. But this was to be the subject of future enquiries. *Arminius*, said they, has the whole tenor of the Gospel on his side; what *Gomarus* advances is either too subtil, or foreign to the Gospel. He himself owns in certain Theses, that *Predestination*, as he teaches it, does not properly belong to the Gospel.

A Remarkable Speech of Uitenbogaert to the States. An Inquiry into the Origin of the Differences.

Afterwards they proceeded to consider of the remedies for these divisions. And *Uitenbogaert*, who was their spokesman, delivered his opinion in the following Speech: 'Your Lordships are not insensible, that in order to procure a remedy for these evils, one ought to have a perfect knowledge of the disease, and of its springs and causes. We find in *Papery*, besides *Idolatry* and *Tyranny*, many grievous errors, for which a remedy was sought by the Reformation of Religion in Germany, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, *France*, *England*, and elsewhere, as also in these Provinces, but not after one and the same manner; because they that were concerned in it, not being able to concert measures with each other, were forced to lay hold of the different opportunities that occurred at different times; this rendered it impossible for them to reform doctrines and ceremonies upon the same foot according to the word of God. How happy had *Christendom* been if such a thing could have been effected! then doubtless had all the Reformers, keeping strictly to the Fundamentals of Christianity, made some concessions with respect to other points, and peaceably born with each other, without such miserable divisions about matters which do not at all affect our salvation, however understood or practised. But to proceed to the business in hand; the Christian Religion, which has been so extremely corrupted by *Papery*, must still be purged from two capital errors; the one is, that people imagine, they shall be justified before God by the merits of their good works. The other, That they can by their own natural strength attain to that Grace which is necessary towards everlasting salvation. Some of our earliest Reformers, in order to deliver people from these mistakes, did at first make use of arguments borrowed from the writings of *St. Austin* against the *Pelagians*, as also from some *Scholastick Doctors*, that they might, as it were, fight the *Papists* with their own weapons, because they set so great a value upon the Schoolmen. They

On what Occasion the Opinion of an Absolute Predestination was introduced.

¹ Uitenb. p. 459, &c.

² Uitenb. p. 471. Trigl. p. 417.

They therefore fancied that the way to confute them entirely, was to establish an **absolute Predestination**, and such an influence of Grace, as *Luther* holds in his book *De Servo Arbitrio*, and *Calvin* in his *Institutions*, and other treatises. Other Reformers were of opinion, that the Papists might be confuted without carrying matters so far, and urging a doctrine which did not agree even with that of *St. Austin* in all points, which was not so professed by the Primitive Churches, and which some looked upon as not only unscriptural but very offensive: for which reason it seems no notice has been taken of it in some of the usual *Confessions*; that of *Augsburg* says nothing about **Predestination**; that of *Switzerland* mentions it in softer terms; so does likewise the *English*; ours and the *French Confession* speak of it in such terms as may admit of different senses; whether it was done designedly, I do not pretend to determine. *Luther*, as his followers tell us, receded from his first opinion, and explained himself otherwise. *Melancthon* went further, calling the doctrine of **Absolute Predestination** a *Mad Manichism*, (which heresie is esteemed by some of the antients to be the worst of all others) and a *Stoical Enthusiasm*. *Hemmingius* in *Denmark* was of the same opinion, affirming that men thereby make God the cause of sin: nevertheless, *Calvin* and those of *Geneva* adhering to their first sentiments, have been rigid asserters of **Predestination**, and all the consequences of this doctrine. Our Divines and the Universities of these Provinces, conformed themselves chiefly to the Church of *Geneva*, whose discipline was likewise their pattern; and accordingly, the books of *Calvin* have been chiefly studied by us. — And though our *Confession* and *Catechism* do not seem to go so far in this matter, yet has it been generally believed that they look wholly that way. But your Lordships know what contradiction this doctrine has met with in these Provinces, even from the beginning of the *Reformation*; not only from those who were without, such as *Papists*, *Lutherans*, and others, but likewise from many within the pale of our church, even Divines too, such as *Koolbaes*, *Herberts*, *Wiggertson*, *Taco*, and others in *Holland*, in the Province of *Utrecht* and elsewhere. And some Ministers have been tolerated here and there, with some exceptions and limitations as to this doctrine. Many disputes, quarrels, discords, and confusions have arisen from hence, as is in a great measure known to your Lordships. To the reception of this opinion one thing more has contributed, which owed its birth to *Popery*; it has been the constant custom of the *Papists* to fight us with arguments drawn from the consent of Churches, Fathers, and Councils — So that we scarce hear any thing from their mouths but the Church, the Church! the Fathers, the Fathers! But though the Reformers could easily have been furnished with matter from the History of the Church and Fathers to confute them, yet they proceeded for the most part in the shortest and surest way, keeping continually to the rule of God's written Word, the only foundation of Reformation and Salvation. However, in time it was thought necessary, that those of the *Reformed Religion* should likewise have certain Formularies of Unity among them, containing the Articles in which they agreed among themselves, and differed from other sects. But as this had its use, so in time it produced inconveniences by the abuse of such Formularies, when people, in the disputes and controversies that happened, instead of appealing simply to the Holy Scriptures as the only rule of Truth, would likewise quote these Formularies as rules of Orthodoxy or sound Doctrine; which was a kind of relapsing into the disease of *Popery*, especially when any one was for screening himself with the name of *Reformed*, as our adversaries do with the title of *Catholick*, and endeavouring to oppress others with the authority of our most noted Divines, which was the same thing as their appealing to the Fathers. — At the beginning of the *Reformation*, a few Ministers drew up a Form of *Confession*, which was to serve the *Reformed* as a kind of Apology in the time of persecution. This *Confession* came in process of time, and more through custom and tradition, than by reason of its being duly examined, a Formulary and Rule of Doctrine. To this was added the *Catechism* of *Heidelberg*, and both were ordered to be subscribed, and all Ministers required to square their doctrine accordingly. If any one was suspected of Heterodoxy, the authority of these two Formularies was presently urged against him, as being received by the Church, though it is certain they were very hastily received, and without sufficient cognizance of matters. — When this subscribing them was pressed, people never duly considered how far they were to be bound by it to

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The Doctrine
 opposed.

Those of a dif-
 ferent Opinion
 tolerated.

The Roman-
 nists made
 great use of the
 Authority of
 the Church
 and Fathers.

What Autho-
 rity was given
 in Holland
 to the Confes-
 sion and Ca-
 techism.

Formularies

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Formularies merely humane. This was the occasion that many reflecting further upon it in time, began to enquire, *First*, Whether there was not too great authority allowed to the said *Formularies*? and *Secondly*, Whether they were altogether right and agreeable to Scripture? Some began to alledge that too much was ascribed to them, that they consisted of too many Articles; and that there was no distinction made in them, between such points as were absolutely necessary to salvation, and such as were less necessary, to the end that unity might be preserved in the former, and a reasonable liberty allowed with respect to the latter, and a mutual forbearance exercised; than which, nothing would have been more effectual to the diminution of Sects and Divisions. —

Some also observed things in these *Formularies*, which, as they thought, were not consistent: But others on the contrary, extolled them to the skies, calling them, a second Rule of Faith, the Bible in miniature, a Form of sound Doctrine, and the Harrow of the Holy Writ. Some have been so bold as to advance (for I my self heard it in a considerable assembly) that, the Scriptures were to be expounded according to these two *Formularies*, the Confession and Catechism. From those disputes proceeded the order of your Lordships for *Revising* them both — This in short is the cause of our distempers, and of the present troubles. It is not necessary to ascribe it to this or that Person, but to the abovementioned Crasis of the whole Body.

And now your Lordships expect to have our advice — 'Tis our duty to obey, and we shall do it, notwithstanding the ill treatment we have formerly met with on the like occasion. Your Lordships may remember what *Gomarus* insinuated to you about the Court-Precacher *Eusebius*, and *Arius*. They do us great wrong in comparing *Arminius* to the latter, and me to the former, his Patron. *Arminius* is not an *Arian*, neither am I the Defender of *Arians*. If we were so (which yet is false) they ought to pity us; whereas it now looks as if they were glad of it; as yielding them more matter of accusation against those they hate. For if any man is to be blackened with the foot of Heresie, they know from whence to fetch it. Once more, my Lords, I venture to say, that I am no *Arian*, no *Papist*, no *Calvinist*, no *Lutheran*, no *Pelagian*, but a *Christian*, ordained to proclaim the perfections of him who has called us out of darkness, into his marvellous light. I never preached up the good qualities of *Arminius* at Court before your Lordships, nor formed parties for him: though I own, that when I have heard him slandered, I have justified and defended him. —

The proper remedies of the differences.

The right of the Civil Magistrates.

I proceed now to the remedies of these Evils: we must first speak of the Physician, and then of the Medicine. God is the only Physician; he only can heal our wounds, and it is therefore our duty frequently and continually to implore his assistance. But God works by instruments or such Officers as he has set over the people. Those Officers are your Lordships, whom God has appointed as supreme Moderators and Governours under him, in all causes relating to his Church. — The right which belonged to the *Christian Magistrate* in these matters, who was to take care that the Word of God were duly preached, and all scandal or offence removed, was taken away from him by the *Pope*; but restored in some places by the *Reformation*. —

The neglect of the Magistrate.

In these Provinces, your Lordships as well as the Clergy (pardon the expression) have committed several mistakes upon this head: you have behaved your selves with respect to the Church, in such manner, as if it was enough for you to have cleansed the external Temples of their Images, appropriated them to the use of the Ministers, provided a maintenance for the Clergy, secured their Ecclesiastical Assemblies against disturbances, suffered them to make use of Church-censures among themselves, and protected by your arms, the outward worship of God against our foreign enemies: These are good and laudable things, but there is still more required from *Christian Rulers* in the affairs of the Church. The duty of your Lordships is, not only to have a perfect knowledge of that Religion which you protect, that so you may be able to discover, whether any thing be amiss in the Doctrine which is taught, or in the Persons who teach it, which ought to be reformed according to the word of God; but you ought likewise to concern your selves in a greater degree, with the calling of Ministers, with the making of Ecclesiastical Laws, the exercising Church Censures, and holding assemblies of the

Clergy

Clergy. There you should not only be present by your Deputies, as witnesses AN^o DOM^o 1609. of all that passes, but also declare your own pleasure, and if necessary, vote and judge too. The neglecting of these things affords an occasion to some to say, that what your Lordships have not done, they are not obliged to do. We Ministers, we and those that are vested with the same character with us, have possibly not done our part altogether in this matter, because we did not remind you of your Duty, as we ought, but have cherished that opinion in your Lordships, as if it did not belong to the Civil Powers, to meddle with Church affairs (*virtute officij*) but to the Clergy only. From whence, as we think, must arise a collaterality and interference of authority, as of two supreme powers in one and the same Nation; that is, of the Temporal over the Laity, and of the Spiritual over the Clergy; the result of which must be very pernicious. — If then your Lordships would obviate this inconvenience, the aforesaid Collaterality must be removed, it being the mother of much confusion in the State. — How this is to be done, is not our province to determine, it is the business of your Lordships, and ought not to be omitted on account of the multiplicity of political affairs. Religion must be taken care of, in the first place. There are some among your Lordships, who complain of the troubles which the Churchmen give them, and do sometimes commend, not the worship, but the order and unity of the Papists. But why my Lords? is there any society or assembly of men in the world where differences do not sometimes arise? Commonwealths have their sickness and distempers in political matters, and so they have in ecclesiastical. Even Popery itself, as much as she boasts of her center of Unity, is not only, not exempt from them, but has likewise by them undergone terrible shocks and convulsions; and the appearance of Unity in the Romish Church, is founded upon meer Tyranny, and supported by fire and sword: this Europe could no longer bear: the weight of the building proved the occasion of its ruin. It was not from God. Reformation indeed ensued, and it was absolutely necessary: But what sort of one? Such as has been attended with much confusion. However, it was as good as could be then attained to. But we soon found that many things were still wanting. The Church of God is the School of Truth, and the knowledge of it is gradually taught by him, who imparts that Spirit which leads into all Truth. If there happen any differences about it, your Lordships are to make it your business to enquire of what nature they be, and whence they proceed. The evil, though it be of the greatest importance, must not be opposed by the sword of Steel, but by that of the Spirit. In obscure and disputable matters, moderation and mutual forbearance, must be enjoined, and a bridle put into the mouths of hot-headed, and self-conceited turbulent persons. — But in order to do this well, your Lordships must free your selves from the objection, of ignorance, by a diligent inquiry and search into Scripture; and from that of irreligion, by a publick profession, and a due zeal for Religion. — Your Lordships must ask counsel at the mouth of God, speaking in the Holy Scriptures, and likewise at the mouth of those that preach it; whom you may call together, and by their means bring Order out of Confusion. After which, if any one pretend to find fault with your regulations, and cry, *He must obey God rather than Men*, you will own that the assertion is true, but you will likewise require him to open his Bible immediately, and prove evidently that the commands of God are contrary to yours. Your Lordships must not suffer the matter to be decided wholly by the Clergy, for they are Men too, and have their particular views and passions. There is much talk indeed of an Act or Ordinance granted not long since by your Lordships to the Clergy, in which you have declared, that the Church may exercise her Censures without molestation. Now this has been understood, as if you had thereby tied up your hands for ever. But I suppose your meaning was not by that act, entirely to exclude your selves from taking any cognizance of such censures, in case an ill use should be made of them. It also deserves consideration, whether a Government can absolutely resign, and make over to any other, part of that authority which does essentially belong to them. If it should be urged, that this Act is a peculiar privilege, we know very well that those who abuse privileges, forfeit them.

A collaterality and interference of Jurisdiction, of dangerous consequence.

The duty of Magistrate.

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1609.

With what
Views the Syn-
nod ought to
be held.

— To proceed now to the particular remedy. They press for a Synod: we do not oppose it, but care ought to be taken how it is holden, that it may have a good issue, and, **that Satan do not preside over it**, as ¹ *Beza* speaks. To prevent this, your Lordships must call and direct the Synod your selves, not suffering determinations to be made by over-voting, without convincing the other side by such reasons and arguments as may induce them to alter their opinion, but the Synod ought to be called for the following purposes: *First*, For an amicable and brotherly treating about the differences depending, in order to try whether an agreement can be made, or if that cannot be so soon brought about, then in the mean while for the preservation of peace and tranquillity, to project some proper mutual toleration, by way of provision, or for ever; preserving Unity at the same time in all the Fundamentals, or necessary articles of Religion, which perhaps are but few. *Secondly*, To inquire into the causes of the great growth of Popery, and how the same may be prevented, and particularly to see whence it comes that Reformation has made so little progress in the lives of men; and in case it appears that the doctrines of the Clergy, or their way of propagating them, or their negligence, or bad examples, have been partly, or altogether, the cause of it, then to apply a remedy with the help of your Lordships authority, conformably to the word of God. — *Lastly*, For restoring the discipline of the Church and Clergy, which seems now at a very low ebb, by establishing good Canons or Rules, in subordination still to the Civil Powers. — *To conclude*, We humbly beseech your Lordships, who have now heard both sides, to be as unanimous as possible in the Resolutions you take for putting an end to these divisions; the Clergy are already split into parties, and if this should divide your Lordships, there is an end of all, and our distempers will be past remedy: Continue therefore common Fathers, and promote the common Good without partiality. — Suffer not your selves to be prepossessed against those who are sometime reproached with the names of *Hereticks* and *Innovators*. — The weakest are generally thus treated and oppressed by the strongest, who make use of the ancient advantage of error, that is, their excelling in power and numbers. Your Lordships are earnestly requested to make use of the most proper means for attaining to Unity, to which we oblige our selves to contribute with the utmost powers of our understandings, and to be subservient to your Lordships as far as possible.

An Order of
the States to
the Classis of
Alkmaer.

² During these negotiations, the States became sensible how difficult it was to bring some of the Clergy into their measures: By a Letter dated the 22d of *August*, they required the Classis of *Alkmaer* again to summon those two Ministers, whom they had excluded from their meetings for the reasons already mentioned, to the first Classical Assembly, and to allow them places and votes with the rest. *You will comply with this our Order*, say the States in the said Letter, *least in case of failure, we should be obliged to take other courses*.

A Petition of
the Synodical
Deputies.

The Answer of
the States.

In *September* following the Deputies of the *North* and *South Holland* Synods petitioned the States; *That a time and place might be appointed for the holding a Provincial Synod, as had been formerly desired*. To which the States made answer, *That they had resolved to call a Provincial Synod as soon as possible, and to fix both time and place before they broke up, in case they could be fully satisfied before they rose, that the Classis of Alkmaer had complied with their frequently repeated commands relating to the re-establishing of the five complaining Ministers, who had been till that time excluded from their Assemblies; and they exhorted the Synodical Deputies to contribute what lay in them to the bringing it about; to the end, that they, the States, might not be forced to take other measures*.

Further Pro-
ceedings of the
Deputies.

Upon this the said Deputies went to *Alkmaer*, where they convened the Classis, and without regarding their objections, invited thither the five Ministers. However, they returned to the *Hague*, and informed the States that the Classis were disposed to admit four of the Ministers upon certain conditions, but would not endure *Venator* whom they charged with *Heterodoxy*. After they had likewise delivered in the accusations drawn up in writing against him by the Classis, they immediately departed. *Venator* came to the *Hague* at the same time with one of the Ministers of the Classis, praying

¹ Pref. Version. Nov. Test. ad Princ. Cond.

² *Hist. Relat. of Alkmaer*, p. 125, &c.

praying to be heard in his defence, and to see the Articles given in against him. This was allowed, provided he would take no copy of them, but restore the writing immediately. After having perused it, he asserted his innocence, and acquainted the States, that the conditions which the Classis proposed in order to the re-admission of the other four Ministers were intolerable; praying, that they would summon his accusers before them, to the end that they might hear them all together. The States sent for them, but *Cornelius Hillenius*, Minister of *Alkmaer*, who with others was deputed on the part of the Consistory and Classis, being arrived at the *Hague*, and waiting upon the Assembly, acquainted them, that it was not allowed them to enter into any conferences with the accused and complaining persons, but that they were ordered to appeal to the Provincial Synod. And notwithstanding all the States could say, the answer still was, **That Ecclesiastical Matters must be discussed only by Ecclesiastical Persons.**

AN^O DOM.
1609.

A Conference
in the presence
of the States.

Claim of the
Clergy.

On the contrary, *Venator* affirmed, that they were accountable to their lawful Sovereigns for all their actions, and desired that *Hillenius* might be obliged to support his written charge by word of mouth, affirming that he himself was heterodox, and had broached doctrines repugnant to Scripture, the *Confession* and *Catechism*. *Hillenius* was silent as to that, and constantly referred to the instructions given him by the Classis, which as the others said, were obtained by his own management. Then the States having given him and his party some hours to consider of the matter, proceeded the same day, being the 25th of October, to pronounce the following sentence: *That the Classis should absolutely restore the five Ministers, pursuant to former orders, to their Offices and Ministry, and permit them to have voices in their Assemblies, without any previous terms or stipulations. — And that in case this were not done within ten days, they, the States, would use other methods. — They required likewise that all that had passed should be forgotten on both sides. — And forasmuch as it appeared that the Classis of Alkmaer had laid a Cess or Tax ordinary and extraordinary upon the Churches, which was contrary to the laws of the land, the Deputies of the Classis were commanded to desist from such practices.*

Sentence pronounced by the
States.

This Resolution taken by the Civil Government had not force enough to cause *Venator* and the other four Ministers to be restored; *Hillenius* and the Classis opposed it, which the more retarded their long desired Synod.

A few days after this, *Jacobus Arminius* died at *Leyden*, having long languished with a sickness contracted by great labour, continual sitting, together with much sorrow and vexation, which arose partly from the divisions among those Christians that had thrown off the yoke of Popery, and embraced the Reformation, and yet fell out among themselves about unnecessary matters, and partly by reason of what he himself had suffered for his endeavours (as he thought) to promote Truth and Peace. He declared in his Last Will, *That he had behaved himself honestly and sincerely in the business of his office, being extremely careful to advance or teach nothing but what he found upon a previous diligent inquiry to be entirely consonant to the Scriptures; and then only so far as it contributed or was useful to the promoting the truth of the Christian Religion, the pure worship of God, general Piety, and a good life; and in a word, to the common peace and tranquility of Christendom, so far as was consistent with the word of God exclusively of Popery, with which no Unity of Faith, no Band of Piety, nor Christian Peace can be maintained.*

The Death of
Arminius.

His Declaration
inserted in
his Last Will.

During his last illness, some Zealots passed sentence on him with perverted Texts of Scripture, which they most uncharitably applied to his diseases. Some satyrised upon him, by transposing the letters of his name, and reading it, *vani orbis amicus*, that is, *a friend to the vain world*; but another spelt his praise out of the same letters, by adding only an *b*, *babui curam Sionis*, that is, *my care was for Sion*; to show that the letters of his name might be transposed to a good as well as a bad sense.

When he was on his death-bed, and near his end, he behaved himself according to custom, patiently, cheerfully, and piously. He departed in the 49th year of his age, for he was born at *Oudewater* in the year 1560. Upon the day of his interment, *Peter Bertius*, Regent of the College of Divinity at *Leyden*, pronounced a Funeral Oration in praise of him; at the conclusion of which he said, that his blessed memory ought to be preserved in the Church, under the following character: *Fuit*

H 2

* Uitenb. p. 483. P. Bert. in Orat. Funeb.

2 Zach. Lib. XI. p. 17. — Lib. XIV. p. 12. Bert. ibid. p. 38. Baud. Lib. I. p. 20.

AN^O DOM. in Batavia vir, quem qui norant non potuerunt satis aestimare; qui non aestimarunt, nunquam satis cognoverunt: that is, There was a man in Holland who could not be sufficiently valued by those that knew him; and they never knew him well, that did not value him.

1609.

His Praise.

Not long after, the Senate of the University of Leyden gave a very honourable Testimony of the deceased, which may be seen to this very day among the Records of the said University, in the hand-writing of Daniel Heinsius, Professor of History, and which being translated from the Latin, ran thus:

The Rector Magnificus, and the Senate of the University of Leyden, to all and singular, who shall read this Testimonial: Greeting.

SINCE it has pleased Almighty God to call the Famous and Worthby Jacobus Arminius, Doctor and Professor of Divinity in this University, from that office which he had discharged for the space of several years in this City, with extream diligence, and with the applause of his bearers, to his heavenly Kingdom; and, after the long labour which he undertook for the service of the Church, and this University in particular, to grant him an eternal rest: And forasmuch as the Widow and Children of this deceased person, of happy memory, have desired of the Senate a Testimonial so justly due to his great virtues; We judging their request very equitable, on account of his many distinguishing talents, have therefore very readily agreed to perform this last duty we are able to his dear memory: We do therefore certifie, that the said Doctor Jacobus Arminius has lived after such a manner in this our University, as to teach Divinity in general (for we pass no judgment upon the private differences) both in publick and private, with great application and diligence. Moreover, that he did not only assert his own office and dignity, but that of the whole Senate and University, as became a wise and good man, with Sagacity, Prudence, and Authority; that he had more at heart the affairs of the publick, when agitated in our common Assemblies, than his own interest; that he always proposed, with courage and resolution, those things which in his opinion tended to the benefit of the University, shewing no less aversion to, and opposing with the same zeal, whatever he believed was prejudicial thereto: that he never defiled his sacred profession by any spot or blemish in his life or manners, but behaved himself as becomes a good man, according to the obligations of his Call and Office; and, as a diligent Teacher ought, instructed the Youth committed to his care with continual application. We therefore intreat all and every one, so to speak and judge of the aforesaid Jacobus Arminius, of pious memory, as the learning and labours he has exerted in the service of this University, and his good qualities have deserved. And to the end that this Certificate may meet with due credit, we have caused it to be confirmed and corroborated by the hand of our Secretary, and by our Common Seal.

At the bottom was written,

Compared with the Original, and copied by order of the above-mentioned Rector Magnificus, and Senate of the University.

Signed,

DANIEL HEINSIUS.

4. Poemata.

p. 304.

The Judgment
of some foreign
Divines con-
cerning him.

Among the Eulogies which the Learned of those times published concerning him, there appeared likewise a noble funeral Poem, in Latin, that may be seen in the works of that Phoenix of learning Hugo Grotius, the substance of which I forbear to express in our own tongue, least I should appear too favourable to the memory of this great man. Postponing therefore my own judgment, and that of his friends as well as of his enemies, I will only take notice of what some strangers have recorded of him since his death: ¹ John Buxtorf, a Divine of eminent learning among the

¹ This Letter is dated March 15, 1610. Vid. Epist. Eccles. p. 938.

the *Reformed*, speaks of him in a certain Letter to *Uitenbogart*, after the following manner: ' The sudden extinction of so great a light of the *Netherlands*, *Jacobus Arminius*, afflicts me very much, as well on account of the common loss which has befallen the Church of *Christ*, as because it has put an end to my late acquaintance with so Great a Man. I was in hopes he might have supplied to me the want of the very great *Scaliger*, of whom I am much too soon bereft. A^N° D^{OM}. 1609.

Matthias Martinus a famous Divine of *Bremen*, who was afterwards deputed to the last National Synod of *Dort*, mentions him in these words, soon after his death: *He seemed to be a man that truly feared God, profoundly learned, well versed in Theological controversies, master of the Holy Scriptures, very circumspect and cautious in applying Philosophical expressions to matters of Divinity. As to his errors, if he had any, how many, and of what sort and size, I have not yet been able to discover. God knows what there is in it.*

Cyrillus Lucaris, at that time Patriarch of *Alexandria*, styles him in a certain Letter, a learned person, and one whom he highly valued.

Johannes Valentinus Andreas, a man of uncommon wit and judgment among the defenders of the *Ausburg* Confession, Son to the noted *Jacobus Andreas Schmidelinus*, speaks likewise very much in praise of *Arminius*, and of his views and their consequences, under the disguise of a Fable or Parable; the meaning of which was, that he, like *Reuchlinus*, *Erasmus*, and *Luther*, had started matters which were carried much beyond what he intended.

His Motto, or Device, was, *BONA CONSCIENTIA PARADISUS*, i. e. *A Good Conscience is a Paradise*. By his Wife *Elizabeth Real*, Daughter of *Laurence Jacobson Real*, one of the Judges and Senators of *Amsterdam*, (that brave Promoter of the Reformation in these Provinces, whom we have frequently mentioned in the First Volume of this History) he had seven Sons and two Daughters, by whom a few years after, the chiefest of his *Latin* pieces were made publick.

² This Parable which alludes to *Arminius*, and is to be seen in a little book of *Johannes Valentinus Andreas*, Intituled, *Mythologia Christiana*, or *Christian Fables*, representing the Virtues and Vices of human life, and Printed at *Strasburg*, by the Heers of *Lazarus Zetnerus*, in the Year 1619, p. 281. as translated from the Latin, is to the following purpose:

JACOBUS ARMINIUS being weary of a City-life, built himself a little Cottage in the Land of Divine Philanthropy, whither his Friends repaired to him, in order to pass their time agreeably. Envy squinting at it, and suspecting that he kept there I know not what sort of a Conventicle, or Unlawful Assembly, prevailed so far, upon Importunity (or Indiscreet Zeal) that the Inhabitants were forbidden to resort thither. But this excited them to go more frequently, and in greater Numbers, and

at last by joining their Houses to the Country-Seat of *Arminius*, to form no small Town. This Example was immediately followed by many others, and it became a great City before people were aware of it; which for their own security they found themselves obliged to fortify with Walls and Ditches. *Arminius* stood amazed at his new City, and spake thus: I protest before God, that I never intended any such thing, but Importunity is to be thanked for it, who as she stirred up *Reuchlinus*, *Erasmus*, and *Luther*, and other Heroes, and raised them up to the Summit of Affairs, so has she also necessitated us, by the unseasonable and blind Zeal of some, to this building of a new City, where we can now hear more moderate things, with respect to God's Will towards us, and such as are more conformable to the Holy Scriptures.

The End of the Eighteenth Book.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN and ABOUT the
LOW-COUNTRIES.

BOOK XIX.



In civil disturbances, the seat of War is sometimes fixed in one corner of the Country, where violence more especially exerts it self, and from whence it is diffused to the hurt of other Districts; so now the Ecclesiastical Dissentions seemed to have taken possession chiefly of the northern parts of *Holland*, and to rage from thence. The Classis of *Alkmaer* stood in defiance of the States, and the resolution they came to in the month of *October* last, in relation to the five complaining Ministers. The Synodical Deputies encouraged the Classis, and so did other Classes, namely, that of *Enkbusen*, which shewed great zeal for *Hillenius* and its Sister of *Alkmaer*, sending Letters to the other Classes of *North Holland*, to exhort them to meet at *Enkbusen*, by way of a Synod on that account. This was a bold stroke, for it was well known, that the States did not approve of a Synodical Assembly in the present situation of affairs. However, some Classes hearkened to this proposition, but others, particularly that of *Harlem*, refused to be concerned in such an attempt.

*A Remon-
strance of the
Synodical De-
puties to the
States of Hol-
land.*

¹ But the Deputies of the *South* and *North Holland* Synods applied to the States the beginning of *December*, with a written Remonstrance; in which they not only complained of the publick promoting of singular opinions, in opposition to the received Doctrines of the Church, but again desired that they would appoint time and place for ' calling the so long wished for Synod, praying at the same time, that they would ' defer the execution of what they had resolved in relation to the Classis of *Alkmaer*, ' at least to the next approaching Assembly, and in the mean while suffer the aforesaid ' Synod to proceed: or however, return them such an answer to their request as their ' Lordships should think fitting; to the end they might satisfy their Principals, that ' is to say, the Churches of *Holland* in general, that they had executed the orders ' they had received from them; and that then the said Churches might act accord- ' ing as they should in their united Counsels think adviseable, for the preservation ' and maintenance of the purity of Doctrine in these Provinces, as they expected to ' answer it to God and all the Reformed Churches of Christendom.

*The Answer of
the States.*

² This Remonstrance was looked upon as a drawing of the sword against the supreme Powers; and accordingly the States of *Holland* gave the following answer, by the unanimous consent of all the Members of the Assembly, on the 4th of *December*. ' That the Ecclesiastical Provincial Meeting would have been already called ' if

¹ Hist. Relat. of Alkmaer, p. 147. Trigl. p. 499.

² Trigl. p. 499. Baud. Mem. Lib. II. p. 22.

led, if the Classis of *Alkmaer* had, according to the word of God, obeyed their commands, so often reiterated to them. For which reason, their Lordships designed to take measures, to the end their said commands might be forthwith obeyed; and this being done, they the States would cause such an Ecclesiastical Provincial Meeting to be called, as might be most advantageous to the Church and Nation, wherein every thing should be done that was proper. Therefore the Deputies of the Synod in general, and every one of them in particular, were exhorted and required, to declare this answer and resolution both publickly and privately; to the end that the glory of God, the good of the Land, and the edification of the Church and Community in the fear of the Lord, and all good works might be promoted joyntly with the obedience due to the lawful Powers.

A N^o D O M.
1610.

The opinion of the States at this time was, that the Classis of *Alkmaer* being desirous to exclude from the Ministry all that were not of their mind in the controverted articles, had loaded the whole matter with visible partiality or prejudice: as also, that the subscribing to the *Confession* and *Catechism* lately urged and insisted on, but never before thus used, was an innovation, which, whilst those very *Formularies* were under consideration, ought not to have been; and that in delaying the *Provincial Synod* till the Classis obeyed their orders, they themselves only acted according to the common rules of the Law, which required that, before the tryal and decision of the principal matter, all new Facts committed to the prejudice of either of the parties, should be determined, that so the rights of each side might be preserved. The States writ likewise several Letters at the same time to the Magistrates of *Alkmaer*, to the end they might bring the Classis to obey. But certain Clergymen of other places, and particularly those of a great City in *Holland* opposed them, and had the confidence to encourage the Classis in their undutifulness both by word and deed; so far that a certain principal Magistrate of the said City tells us in his Memoirs: *that the Clergy hereby laid the foundation, and were in a great degree the cause of the ensuing broils and troubles.* It now appeared, that some of those who were in the Magistracy at *Alkmaer*, encouraged the Classis under-hand; and notwithstanding all application of the States, kept the matter in suspense, in hopes, as it seemed, to effect something for another purpose at the approaching election of new Magistrates; and accordingly the smothering dissention burst out soon after into open disturbances. Things were so disposed, that at the time of the choosing the new Magistrates, some were admitted into the Government, to the dissatisfaction of much the greater part of the Burghers and Militia; as being thrust in contrary to the Laws and Privileges of the Town, according to which they were obliged to choose the wisest and honestest among the men of wealth and substance for their Rulers. This, they said, was not observed. Besides, Father and Son and Sons-in-law were brought into the Council. Whilst many were murmuring at this, there ran a report that the Town as to be garrisoned with Soldiers, to strengthen the hands of the vernours.

This rumour, though without probability, met with some credit, and stirred up most of the Burghers to betake themselves to their arms, and to place guards in the Town. The Council was divided, each side applied to the States, who sent Commissioners to *Alkmaer*. After many negotiations, which terminated without effect, the States found themselves obliged, in order to pacify the troubles, and induce the people to lay down their arms, to empower the said Commissioners to discharge the whole Magistracy and Council from their Oaths, and to cause other worthy and well disposed persons to be chosen in their room; requiring the Electors to return double the number for Burgomasters, Schepens and other Officers, out of which the Commissioners were to choose the half.

A tumult at
Alkmaer.

The Magistracy
changed.

This discharge happened the 22d of *February*, 1610, and the new election the following day. Thus were the troubles of this Town quieted, and though not without discontents, yet without any effusion of blood; for all those who blamed the unlawful intrusion of the former Magistrates, could not approve of the taking up arms to redress that evil. However, the new Magistracy was not the less lawful, for being chosen by order of their Sovereigns the States of *Holland*, by whom likewise the election was approved and ratified. The aforesaid Commissioners, pursuant to their instructions

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. VI. p. 62.

² Van Meteren. Lib. XXXI. p. 634.

³ Trigl. p. 511.

AN^o DOM.
1610.

One of the
Ministers dis-
charged, and
the old Consisto-
ry dissolved.

The Classis of
Alkmaer de-
clares the new
Consistory to be
unduly elected.

Hillenius
(another Mi-
nister) dis-
charged.

He sets up a
separate meet-
ing.

Venator (a-
nother Mini-
ster) silenced.

The Classes of
Horn and
Enkhufen
condemn the
Consistory of
Alkmaer.

Hillenius and
Venator have
audience of the
States of Hol-
land.

Five several
methods of
electing Con-
sistories in
Holland.

The States de-
cision of the
difference at
Alkmaer.

instructions, brought to pass, with much difficulty, that most of the Members of the Classis, promised to comply with the will of the States in restoring the five complaining Ministers; but their promises were not well performed. The parties went on in their old path, till the Magistrates finding no other expedient to restore peace to the Community, thought fit to discharge one of the Ministers of *Alkmaer*, named *Peter Cornelison*, who had long before desired his dismissal on account of old age; and they also dissolved the old Consistory, and from a double list, named by a majority of the Church-members, chose new Elders and Deacons, who being all of them impartial men, frequented the Sermons both of *Venator* and *Hillenius*. These persons endeavoured to bring matters to some accommodation; but *Hillenius* and his party refused to own the new Consistory, as being in their opinion, not lawfully chosen.

The Classis likewise declared this Consistory unduly elected, and in order to exclude those who were deputed by it to the Classical Assembly, they agreed to meet for the future at *Schagen*, and to carry away their Books and Papers. They did so accordingly, and thereby occasioned a Schism in their own Body. It was moreover observed, that *Hillenius* neglected to pray for the new Magistrates; so that at last the Council, who in vain attempted to reduce him to reason, were forced to discharge him from his Ministry, and require him to depart the Town within fourteen days. When that time was expired, one of the Burgomasters offered him in the name of his Collegues, that they would endeavour to prevail with the Council to continue him in his former State, if he could persuade himself to do his duty, to obey the commands of the Government, and to direct all his actions and counsels towards the peace of the Church. But it was labour lost.

After he left *Alkmaer*, he set up a Meeting at *Kowdijk*, a short league's distance from the Town, notwithstanding that place had a settled Minister before; and thither went those of his party to hear him. And this was the beginning and introduction, as it is said, to the first separation or schism in the Church, on account of the aforementioned differences. The Magistrates likewise at the same time imposed silence upon *Venator*, and with the approbation of the Consistory, caused Divine Service to be performed by two Strangers, sent by way of loan, to satisfy in some measure his adversaries, and to prevent the schism. But nobody would hear the two borrowed Ministers, nor yet a third, who was called in the mean while: Nay some of the followers of *Hillenius* declared, that if the most Orthodox Ministers should preach at *Alkmaer*, they would not hear them, were it only because they were called by the Consistory. The Classis itself writ two Letters, one to the Magistrates, the other to the new Ministers: in the former they censured the liberty they took of borrowing Ministers without their knowledge; and in the latter, their compliance with the desires of the Magistrates, by thrusting their side into another's harvest, to the diminution of the Classical authority. The Classes of *Horn* and *Enkhufen*, were likewise of opinion, that the Consistory of *Alkmaer* was unduly elected: After this, *Hillenius* and his party sought for redress from the States of *Holland*. Thither went also *Venator*, and in a long speech to the States, defended the legality of the new chosen Consistory. He maintained in particular against *Hillenius*, that there was as yet no certain method of choosing Consistories among the Reformed. He affirmed, that 'Even at *Geneva*, which some would make to pass for a Mother Church, the Consistory was chosen entirely by the Magistracy, after having indeed first heard the advice of the Clergy: That in *Holland* the manner was fivefold: At *Amsterdam*, and some other places the old Consistory chose the new: At *Horn*, and in most of the Villages, the Church Members chose a single number: At *Leyden*, the Consistory named twelve persons, out of whom the Magistrates chose eight: At *Harlem* and *Medenblik*, they were named by the Church Members and Consistory, and the Magistrates had the power of rejecting them all, and causing others to be named, till they were satisfied. In some places, and formerly even at *Alkmaer* the Consistory made a double list, from which the Members of the Church chose a single one. Nevertheless all these kinds of elections were allowed by the Classes and Synods to be lawful: And lastly he represented that there were various ways of choosing formerly in *Alkmaer* it self. The conclusion was, that the States confirmed what had been done by the Magistrates of *Alkmaer*, in the dismissing *Hillenius*, and

and they forbad him to officiate as a Minister of *Alkmaer*, either in, or out of *A N^o D O M.* that Town. And *Venator* likewise was restored to his Pulpit, to the great satisfaction of the people; the Magistrates observing that his being silenced, did not avail any thing. 1610.

In order to bring off some from running out to the Conventicle at *Kowdijk*, they were kindly and friendly visited at their own homes before the Sacrament; there was also a general reconciliation and mutual forgiveness notified three times from the Pulpit, but all in vain. Their discontents were daily fomented, as it is thought, by some Ministers of the *Alkmaer* Classis, who preached by turns at the aforesaid place, whilst *Hillenius* officiated for them: which practice continued, till it was strictly forbidden by the States. But this was sometime after. Since then, *Hillenius* retired to *Amsterdam*, where he was considered by many as a Martyr or Confessor; but at last he settled at *Groningen*, whither he was called. *Venator*, who was likewise thought by some, to have been guilty of too much heat, by his bold challenges of his adversaries, remained some years longer at *Alkmaer*, where it is said that he afterwards launcht out a little too far. *A reconciliation proposed, but in vain.*

But the connexion of these events at *Alkmaer*, has carried us a little too far out of the way, to which we shall now return.

It was about this time that the Archduke and Duchefs *Albert* and *Isabella*, signalized their zeal for the Romish Religion in the *Spanish Netherlands*. They forbad by a Placard, dated the 13th of *July*, that their subjects or any other persons frequenting their territories, should presume to set on foot any disputations or debates about Religion, or concerning the things that had happened in the late troubles; commanding them to live in peace and union with one another, without causing any scandal in Churches or elsewhere. But when the Reformed endeavoured to make use of the benefit of the Truce, and of the free access allowed them in the other Provinces, in order to propagate their religion, keeping secret assemblies for that purpose, the Archduke and Duchefs issued another Placard, signed the last day of the year, in which they used these expressions: We do hereby forbid all persons of what state and condition soever, whether inhabiting or frequenting the Countries under our obedience, to preach, teach, or propagate any Doctrine which has been condemned, as being contradictory to, or inconsistent with our Holy Faith and the Catholick Religion, or the laws and traditions thereof, whether in publick, or in any particular or private Meetings. And we do also most expressly forbid all our subjects and inhabitants of the Provinces belonging to us, to be present at any of the aforesaid preachings and unlawful meetings, as well within as without the limits and frontiers of our Dominions; upon pain of incurring an arbitrary fine, and perpetual Banishment. Requiring further all and every person coming from other parts, and sojourning in our Land, that during the time of their residence, they live quietly, without troubling themselves in any manner, or presuming to dispute about matters of State or Religion, and without saying or doing any thing that may give offence, or singing such Psalms as are not allowed in the Catholick, Apostolick Roman Church, whether in publick or in private. And consequently, if any such persons happen to come into the Churches, or any Holy Places of our Dominions (to which however they shall not be obliged) they shall shew the same respect and reverence, whether it be in the time of Divine Worship, or otherwise, as is practised by the rest of the inhabitants and subjects of our Provinces: the same honour shall they likewise show when they meet the Holy Sacrament of the Altar in the Street, or any procession of the Clergy; or at least they shall retire out of the way, without testifying any contempt by actions, gestures, or words, to the scandalising their Neighbour; on pain of being punished according as the case deserves. And as for such as are inclined to leave the United Provinces, and come and settle in these parts, they shall have full liberty to do it, in virtue of the 28th Article of the Truce, provided they live Catholically like the rest of our Subjects. On pain, if they do otherwise, or shall publicly boast that they are of a different Religion, from that of the Catholick, Apostolick Romish Church, of being punished according to our pleasure, as violaters and transgressors of the Truce, and disturbers of the publick tranquillity. By this Decree

All disputes about Religion forbidden in the Spanish Netherlands.

A prohibition of the preaching of the Reformed there.

AN^o DOM. 1610. Decree they endeavoured to secure the *Papish* Religion; they had likewise great hopes that *Popery* would have got ground in the *United Provinces*, upon the occasion of the Truce, and after a stop was put to the long enmity among the people, *who, as they exprest it, bankered after novelty, and were at variance about matters of Religion.*

Gomarus
writes against
Arminius,
and others.

It was now likewise found that the peace of the Church in *Holland* was daily more and more disturbed. Gomarus believing that the anonymous exhortation to peace, addrest to *Donteklok* (which was really written by *Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus*) proceeded from *Uitenhogaert*, whetted his pen against him. But first he acquainted the Advocate *Oldenbarnevelt* with his intentions, telling him, *that he could not be silent without wronging the Truth.* To which the Advocate replied: *That Truth ought to be asserted beyond all things: but that, next to it, Peace should be chiefly valued.* The States of *Holland* hearing of his purpose, earnestly exhorted him to forbear writing, for the sake of the publick tranquillity. Nevertheless he published his answer, under the title of a *Warning*, and endeavoured to prove in it, that the Exhorter sought to make alterations in Religion: to which he likewise added his Interpretation of those Articles debated with *Arminius* at their last conference, his Reflexions on the Funeral Oration of *Bertius*, and the Memorial laid before the States touching the doctrine and conduct of *Arminius*. In this Treatise he spared neither the dead nor living. Upon this *Bertius* writ an address to Gomarus, in defence of the deceased, and published it in the year 1610, which we are now entering upon; and which was answered by Gomarus, by a *Tryal* published (as the Title says) *in honour to Truth, as a touchstone of the persons that meditated changes in Religion, and for the edification of the Church.* *Corvinus*, as it was thought, composed a View of this *Tryal*, in which he pretended to clear those faithful Ministers from the calumny and reproach of attempting any alterations in Religion, and explained to the people those points which were then promoted with so much zeal. Afterwards *Corvinus* writ a Reply to the *Warning* of Gomarus, in which he largely asserts and maintains, that the Author of the *Exhortation* had no thoughts of innovating in religious matters.

The Declaration
of Armini-
us made in the
assembly of the
States publish-
ed.

The publishing Gomarus his Memorial or Remonstrance against *Arminius*, incited his Widow and her Brothers to print the Declaration, which the deceased had made in the Assembly of the States, in the month of *October* past, with a strenuous Preface against Gomarus, in which he was plainly told: ‘that he suffered himself to be too far transported by his rage, and other violent passions against his deceased Colleague: That in his Remonstrance there did not appear the least grain of charity, but that it abounded with misconstructions, forced sense, strictures and satyr; seeing that he represented *Arminius* to be a meer cheat and impostor, without conscience or the fear of God. Nevertheless, say they, he was esteemed by all that knew him, as a treasure of learning, and a mirror of virtues, an enemy to unsincerity, and an example of plain, open and true-hearted *Dutch honesty.* And for what Gomarus laid to his charge with respect to his dubious, circumspect and cautious manner, both in proposing and maintaining his opinions, that proceeded, as they thought, from no other motives, but only from a tender upright conscience, inclining him not to assert any thing positively, which he was not entirely sure of proving or making good; together with a just apprehension of being attacked by those, who he knew lay in wait every moment for an opportunity of exposing him. — That the complaint he was forced to make to the States, was not with a design of shunning the light, of avoiding the right way, of passing by Consistories and Synods, as Gomarus falsely alledged; but on the contrary, to come into the light, and to manifest the errors of the said Gomarus, and to bring the whole matter before a lawful Synod, where the Government might likewise have eyes, ears and a mouth as well as others.

The Preface concludes thus: ‘It were to be wisht that people might employ themselves with other matters, rather than such sort of writings. For it is always more commendable to excuse, than to accuse. But since the accuser has been heard fully, and at large, the accused ought also to be heard at last in his own defence.

In

^a Armin, *Latin works*. Leyd. 1629. p. 95.

In the abovementioned *Warning*, Gomarus had spoken against that expression: *A^N° D^OM.* *that collateral power must be abolished*, adding what he thought was the office and duty as well of the Temporal Magistrate, as of the Ministers of God's word, without sparing the person of him whom he writ against. ^{1610.} This gave *Uitenbogart*, who found himself meant and touched at, an opportunity more fully to explain himself in a compleat discourse, about *the power and authority of Christian Princes and States in Ecclesiastical matters*, which he dedicated to the States of *Holland*, wherein after having rejected the Pope's Supremacy, and the chimerical *Collaterality* of some others, he maintained that to them, the said States, as the Supreme Christian Lords and Rulers of these Provinces, did belong the highest superintendency and jurisdiction in all Church-affairs, yet with subordination to, and conformity with the Word of God. In this Book the Author appeals to Scripture, and to the usage of the Primitive Church, whilst subject to Christian Governours, before the *Papal* Usurpations; referring besides to the opinion of many of the most eminent Doctors in the *Reformed* Churches, and to their Practice. He says in his Dedication: 'I tender these my labours to your Lordships, not to sooth or flatter you in the least; but seriously to put you in mind of your duty. I do not pretend to enlarge your Lordships authority, but to present to you the weight of your charge; and particularly to convince you that the business of Religion is likewise an article of which you must give an account to the Judge of the quick and dead; and that, not as private persons, but as Heads, Governours, Stewards, Foster-fathers and Defenders of the Church. Look to it therefore, and take care how your Subjects are instructed. — Suffer not the Pulpit to be filled with vain disputes, nor the precious hours lavished in propagating doctrines which are of no manner of use towards a pious christian life. — Suffer not your people, who are also God's people and *Christ's* flock, to be alarmed, disturbed, torn and divided by the unnecessary controversies of quarrelsome men. O God! how come we to be thus blinded? Is not *Christ* sufficiently divided and rent asunder? And when we should labour to heal, shall we make fresh wounds in his Body? I was in hopes that endeavours would have been used to lessen the number of Sects; ought we then to increase them? — Should not the Government mind these things? Yes my Lords, this is your office, this is your duty: You have a right to do it, and the grace of God will enable you to go through with it. It belongs to you to give laws to the Subjects: let them not receive them from others. I shall not presume to speak here of the means. Ascend the mountain with *Moses*: there pray to the Lord: seek counsel from his mouth according to his word, and with a truly humble heart; and he will grant you both counsel and assistance.

Uitenbogart writes concerning the office and authority of Christian Magistrates in Ecclesiastical matters.

His address and exhortation to the States of Holland.

² This Book, which many commended, was likewise treated by many with contempt. ³ Some of the Clergy were of opinion, that *Uitenbogart* did thereby cut off all hopes of accomodating these differences, since one party appealed to a Synod, and the other to the Civil Magistrate. By this means, said they, 'he has brought his Brethren under such a Dilemma, that they must either sacrifice their Rights; or expose themselves to the resentment of their Sovereigns.' But others thought that the Clergy, who would allow no kind of jurisdiction to the Temporal Magistrate in Ecclesiastical matters, stood in need of such an exhortation or admonition; and that peace could never be hammered out by any Churchmen, unless the authority and direction of the Civil Governours intervened.

Different judgments concerning his Book.

Many of the Clergy whetted their pens against this Book, as it were, in defence of *the Rights of the Church*: ⁴ but the States of *Holland* intending to call an Ecclesiastical Assembly to meet in the *Hague* on the second *Wednesday* after *Whitsuntide*, in order to compose the differences, and revive Unity among them, thought fit to signify it to the Classes, and at the same time to charge the Clergy, 'that in all their sermons, consultations, conversations and actions, they should endeavour after Peace — And that from thence-forward, every one should forbear to write or publish any thing about *the power of the Government in Church-matters*; as also about *Predestination* and the points relating to it.' This resolution, which was taken the 11th of *March*, was not sufficient entirely to obviate the zeal of contradiction. However *Uitenbogart* lookt upon the contradictions of most, as calum-

A Resolution and Decree of the States of Holland.

I 2

nies,

² *Uitenb. Hist. p. 496. &c. Life. Lib. VII. p. 75.*

³ *Uitenb. p. 505. Ep. Eccl. p. 322.*

⁴ *The Apol. of S. Damman. p. 6.*

⁵ *Uitenb. p. 499. Baud. Lib. II. p. 23.*

AN^o D^o M. 1610. nies, and unworthy a reply. He answered the writings of a few, but for the most part without effect.

John Haren,
formerly Mini-
ster of the Wal-
loon Reform-
ed, turns again
to the Prote-
stant Religion.

At this time it was that *John Haren* of *Valenciennes*, formerly Minister of the *Walloon Reformed* that were under persecution at *Bruges*, (of whose apostacy to Popery mention has been formerly made) turned again to the Protestant Religion. About six years after his last relapse, and the publishing a sharp Libel against the Reformation and its promoters, (which was then refuted by *Franciscus Junius* in his *Christian Admonition to the Christians of the Low-Countries*) he fell into such disgrace with the Papists, that he was thrown into a dungeon, where he remained for the space of eight years. He said, that those sufferings came upon him for having taken the part of the *Reformed Churches*; that whilst he was in prison he felt the burthen of his miserable state, and applied himself to God, who afterwards opened his eyes, and caused him to understand, that his apostacy had been the cause of his anger against him. Further, that he lamented his crime, and made a vow, that if God would release him from this prison, and bring him back to his relations, he would publickly ask pardon of God in the first *Reformed* church he met with, and in deep humility, by sincere and open repentance, endeavour to do away the scandal of his foul defection.

He testifies his
Repentance for
his Apostacy.

Being delivered from his imprisonment, he arrived at *Wesel*, in the Duchy of *Cleves*, where in the presence of the Council of that Town he confessed his crime on the 7th of *March*, in words to this effect: ‘My sins are the cause of my misfortunes; but I trust in the Mercies of God, and the Grace of his Son *Jesus Christ*, who desires not the death of a sinner: like the poor sick man I will disclose the wounds of my soul before the Physician. You see in me a sad Example of God’s righteous judgment upon a person who having known *Christ* as a Saviour, yet trampled his word under foot, and despised his institutions; therefore God has made me a spectacle upon the Theatre of his wrath. Happy had I been if I had been buried from my mother’s womb, without ever seeing the Sun; then would not my uncertain life have been burdened by my sins, nor attended with so many troubles and afflictions. Never did any man receive more favours from the bountiful hand of God than I; from my youth up I have been educated in the most famous Universities of Christendom: I had a pious Father, who spared no charges nor pains to instil into me, together with Learning, Virtue and Religion; he was to me an example for good, faithful to his Lord, a Martyr who sealed the doctrine of Holiness with his blood. But I, the Son of a Martyr, I who myself preached the Gospel for the space of seventeen or eighteen years, even at that time when they were eager to destroy the churches with fire and sword, and had stained the publick places of the *Netherlands* with human blood—have since, with detestable scandal, become a disciple of *Antichrist*. Who is there that does not abhor such wickedness? My sin exceeds those of other men, and yet I will not say with *Cain* and *Judas*, that it is greater than the mercies of God; no, I will not despair; I know that God is gracious, and how far he shows mercy, for he does not desire the death of a sinner—I hear that voice, *Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden*—and another word of the Lord, *Though your sins are as scarlet, I will make you as white as snow*. I know the examples of converted sinners to whom God has shewn mercy. For all which reasons I have determined with myself to do two things; *First*, To tread in the steps of the Prodigal Son, by forsaking the draught of those swine with whom I have so long conversed, by returning to my Father’s house, by cloathing myself with the garments of Humility, and appearing before my Father, who is full of mercy, with true submission, sorrow, hatred, and detestation of my past misdeeds.—*Secondly*, I have resolved to seek the face of God, which is there only to be found where his word is purely preached, and his Sacraments duly administered. To that Church will I return; of her I will desire two things: that she would pray for me, a poor strayed sheep; and that she would give me counsel in this great distress, in which my inconstancy has involved me; for I will no longer abound in my own wisdom, but in God, the fountain of life and of all wisdom.—I come now therefore to this congregation with tears in my eyes, and sorrow in my heart, imploring your pity and compassion;

‘ compassion ; remove from your eyes and hearts the scandal which I have given to
 ‘ both. In the mean time I thank God continually that he has led me by the hand,
 ‘ now in my old age, before I go down to my grave, and that (after he had corrected
 ‘ me as a Father) he has restored me to his Church, and delivered my soul from
 ‘ destruction. *Lastly*, I beseech you once again to pray for me, and give me an oc-
 ‘ casion to extol your charity. ———

Upon these proofs of his repentance, the abovementioned *John Haren* was, by the
 Ministers of the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Congregations in *Wesel*, after calling upon the
 name of God, re-admitted into the Union and Fellowship of the Church. He after-
 wards observed our Ecclesiastical disagreements, and said not long before his death :
 ‘ All these disputes afford no sort of comfort ; the matter will turn entirely upon *Piety*
 and *Virtue*.

Not long after *Uitenbogat* had published his book concerning the office of the Ma-
 gistracy in Church-affairs, he was ordered by the States to attend the Ambassadors
 who were sent to *France*, namely, the *Heers van Brederode*, *vander Mijle*, and *Maldere*,
 as their Chaplain. ² We should not have taken notice of this circumstance here, had
 it not been upon account of a certain conference which he had with *Casaubon*, on
 the 20th of *April* after, at *Paris*. This person, so very famous for his great learning
 in general, and in particular for his writing against the *Annals* of Cardinal *Baronius*,
 was at that time, though a Protestant, Keeper of the Royal Library. Among other
 discourses with *Uitenbogat*, he proposed several considerations upon the matters of
 Religion and Reformation, and things that also concerned him personally. His words,
 which *Uitenbogat* then set down in the *French* tongue, are worthy of notice, and
 the following most remarkable of all : ³ ‘ I am (*said he*) the Son of a Minister, but
 ‘ at present not in favour with the Clergy. It has pleased God to bring me hither,
 ‘ since the people of *Geneva* did me great injustice as well in the affairs relating to
 ‘ the Church, as in the business of the Printing-house of my Father-in-law, *Henry*
 ‘ *Stephens*. The *Papists* looked upon this, as a fair occasion to draw me over to
 ‘ them, and great applications were made to me, even by the King himself. To
 ‘ whom I replied, I beseech your Majesty not to urge me to any thing against my
 ‘ conscience, which will only tend to make a Hypocrite of me. I have been further
 ‘ often attacked, particularly by *Perron*, by whom I have been tired and distressed more
 ‘ than once, and he is indeed a man of extraordinary parts. I must confess I cannot
 ‘ approve of what the Council of *Trent* has decreed with respect to the *Apocryphal*
 ‘ books, it is abominable, for they are Fables, nor with respect to the *Latin* version
 ‘ of the Bible, which they cry up so much. The tyranny of the Pope is likewise in-
 ‘ tolerable. What relates to images, as they are now used, is an abuse which should
 ‘ be taken notice of. But I likewise own to you, there are other things that stagger
 ‘ me, as often as I reflect upon venerable antiquity ; for first, it seems to me, that
 ‘ our Church-Polity is not conformable to that of the Antients ; this *Uitenbogat* al-
 ‘ lowed. *Beza*, continued *Casaubon*, told me, that *Calvin* observing the abuses of
 ‘ the *Romish* Church, in that particular, quite discarded it, but that *Calvin* notwith-
 ‘ standing was in effect Bishop of *Geneva*, and that not long before his death he pro-
 ‘ posed the same to him (*Beza*) who refused it ——— That *Beza* was a truly chri-
 ‘ stian soul ; he told me one time, that he had cause to ask God forgiveness for all
 ‘ his sins ; but that he should never do it on account of *Ambition*, a vice to which
 ‘ he was not in the least addicted ——— *De Faye* preached against me once, upon
 ‘ which *Beza* wept out of indignation ; I said, such things would never happen if
 ‘ we had the same Church-Government as the Primitive Christians, which he agreed
 ‘ to. I asked him why then was he so averse to that of *England* ? to which he
 ‘ made no reply.

‘ In the second place, We have lost all devotion ; for even during the administra-
 ‘ tion of the Holy Sacrament, as we were going to the table, one asked me, *How*
 ‘ does your Turkey-Cock ? People even scold and quarrel there.

‘ Thirdly, It was the custom of the First Christians to carry the Sacrament to the
 ‘ Sick. ———

‘ Fourthly, As to Baptism ; it fell out once that a certain person brought his
 ‘ child to *Charenton* to be baptized, in very bad weather, but it could not be ad-
 ‘ mitted

¹ E Relat. Fr. Jun. fil. ² Epist. Eccles. p. 324. ³ See *J. Uitenbogat's Preface to the Account of his Life*.

AN^o D O M. 1610. 'mitted to *Baptism*, though just expiring, till Sermon was ended, so that it died without that Sacrament, and the Father of it turned Papist.

' *Fifthly*, In relation to the *Lord's-Supper*; it is certain that the Antients believed there was something more in that matter. *Plessis* is guilty of many mistakes, and so is *Du Moulin* too.

' *Sixthly*, Concerning *Predestination*, one can hardly free it from this consequence; to wit, *That God is the author of sin*.

' *Seventhly*, As to *Free-Will*; *Calvin* makes *St. Austin* say, what he does not say.

' *Eighthly*, As to *Good Works*; something more should be said of them than is usual with us, at least they ought to be more recommended from the Pulpit. *Perrot* said once at *Geneva*, *Justification by Faith only has been preached up too much, it is time now to speak of Works*.

' *Ninthly*, As to the *Descent into Hell*; *Calvin* speaks somewhat too crudely about it. I am very sensible that *Calvin* was a great man, but his disciples make matters worse. There is really a *Pharisaicalness* among them: *Goulard* endeavoured once to oblige people to swear to *Calvin's Institutions* — I am much troubled, for I stand ill with both parties, notwithstanding I am beloved by many learned men.

' Upon the whole matter *Uitenbogart* made answer; What you say deserves to be seriously considered. I am also of opinion that many things are wanting. In the matter of *Predestination*; I cannot see how some of the notions of *Calvin* can be separated from the consequence, that *God is a cause of sin*. But however, we should not innovate, lest the Church be exposed to more divisions than she at present abounds with.

' Then *Casaubon* enquired about *Arminius*, whether he had not likewise some matters of complaint? To which *Uitenbogart* replied, That he had indeed reason enough, but that his chief concern was, to unite *Christians*, and that he esteemed this to be the best means to that end, *viz.* to distinguish between *Fundamentals* and *Non-Fundamentals*; that so men might be well informed with respect to the former, and be allowed a liberty of prophesying with regard to the latter. Upon which *Casaubon* cried out, *O holy Thoughts!* Then *Uitenbogart* added, That *Arminius* had been inclined to propose something in the approaching Synod, for which he had met with a great deal of trouble — This Conference was here interrupted by the interposition of another person.

A Book of C. Perrot suppressed by those of Geneva.

Perrot's Advice to Uitenbogart.

His Letter to Thomas Tylius.

There dwelt at the same time in *Paris* the Brother of *Charles Perrot*, in his lifetime a Minister and Professor at *Geneva*, who likewise complained much to *Uitenbogart* against those of *Geneva*, for their suppressing a certain book of his Brother's, intituled, *De Extremis in Religione Vitandis*, which, he said, contained very good and remarkable things, tending to the improvement of the common Reformation. It was the same *Perrot* who having been one of *Uitenbogart's* Instructors, gave him the following lesson, when he left *Geneva*: *Take care, that when you are called to the Holy Ministry, you never assist in condemning any for not agreeing in every point of religion with the Established Church, as long as they adhere to the Fundamentals of Christianity, and are disposed to maintain the Peace of the Church, and bear with others their brethren who do not reject the Fundamentals of Religion, though a little differing from them. For this is the way to avoid Schisms, and to arrive at the pious union and tranquillity of the Christian Church.* Having so said, he writ in *Uitenbogart's* Album, or Table-book, *Blessed are the Peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.* He also says, in a Letter which he writ to *Thomas Tylius*, formerly Abbot of *St. Bernard* near *Antwerp*, but at that time a Minister of *Delft*, *Plerique Reformatores fecerunt instar Uzzæ, temere manum admoventis Arca Domini, in speciem ruinam minitanti*; that is, *Many of the Reformers acted like Uzzah, who rashly laid his hand upon the Ark of the Lord, when it seemed to be falling.* And now I am upon this subject, I shall speak a word or two about his book, *De extremis in Ecclesia vitandis*. Whilst I was writing this History, I was informed that a certain copy of that suppressed book had fallen into the hand of one of my countrymen, some years before at *Geneva*, and that he thought it worthy of being reprinted; and since then I procured a sight of it by the favour and interposition of the Heer *Henry Klook*,

Klook, Councillor in the Court of *Holland*, lately snatched away from his country in the flower of his age: whose memory is the dearer to me for the pains he took in searching for that relict of a copy. But the said book (on the first leaf of which were these words, Ἀνδρὸς Δικαίου Καρπὶς ἐκ ἀπόλλυται. *The Fruit of the righteous man shall not wither*) had been handled so unmercifully, was fouled and scratched to such a degree, that it was impossible for me to go through the contents of it. But whether the owner, a great inquirer and searcher after curious pieces of antiquity, has a better hand in removing those veils of obscurity, and striking the light of Piety and Moderation out of that darkness. Time, which, discloses all things, will shew us. It contained 109 chapters; in the Preface where he explained his mind and design, we read these words: *Quid quisque de iis sensurus sit, tanto minus laboro, quod suum cuique sensum liberum atque integrum manere, quam maxime & volo, & probo*; that is, *I am the less concerned about what every man shall think of these things, because I desire and approve beyond all things, that every man should enjoy his own opinion freely and entirely.*

AN^o DOM.
1610.

¹ Here in these Provinces, (that we may not dwell any longer upon this digression) matters seemed disposed for the fomenting distrusts and divisions; for at the beginning of this year, some of the Members of the Classis of *Buren* prevailed so far as to oblige the Ministers to declare under their hands: That the contents of the *Netherland Confession and Catechism* were perfectly true and scriptural, and that they never were, nor would be favourers of the innovations of *Arminius* or his followers. And the Ministers at their admittance were to promise; That if they happened to doubt upon any matter, they would not divulge their scruples, nor yet conceal them in their own breast, but disclose them to the Classis; and in case the Classis could not satisfy them, they would immediately abstain from the exercise of their function till the resulting differences could be adjusted. But this Subscription, or Covenant in writing, was, upon the complaint of some Ministers, by order of the *Lady Mary Countess of Buren and Hobenlo*, Daughter of the late *Prince William of Orange*, erased out of the Registers of the said Classis, and declared null and void, as tending to enslave the consciences of men.

A Declaration
extracted of the
Ministers by
the Classis of
Buren.

² At *Ter Veere* in *Zeland* the Ministers, in an Ecclesiastical Assembly holden there in *May*, entered into a written Engagement with each other, to the following purpose: We the undersigned declare, that we believe in our hearts, that all the Articles and Doctrines contained and explained in the *Confession and Catechism* of the *Low-Country churches*, the chiefest as well as the least considerable, are in all points conformable to the word of God: And we do sincerely promise, that we will teach all the said Articles as well in private as in publick; and that in case any scruples should arise in our minds about them, we will never openly nor secretly propose them, until we can do it regularly in a Classis or Synodical Assembly. And in case that either a Classis or Synod should think fit to demand of us any fuller or more particular explanation of our opinion upon any Article of the aforesaid *Confession and Catechism*, we engage ourselves to be always ready and willing. And in case of failure, the penalty they submitted to, was to be censured as *Schismatics*. This kind of subscription appeared very grievous to some of the *Zeland* Clergy, and many of the *Holland* Ministers called it *Tyranny and Inquisition*; however the most part had other notions of it, and considered it as a necessary means of preserving Orthodoxy in the Church.

Engagement
entered into at
Ter Veere.

They that differed from the common opinion in the business of *Predestination*, and the points relating to it, observed how the hatred of the rest of the Clergy increased daily, and that they were every where opposed and openly accused of being big with *Innovations*, and refusing to be delivered of, or to disclose them when they ought.

The Pulpits now echoed more and more with the contests about *Predestination*: people loaded one another with dreadful consequences drawn from their doctrines reciprocally: the congregations were divided in several places, insomuch that some of the Members would hear none but the Ministers of one party, while some, on the contrary, entirely adhered to those of the other opinion: in some towns, the greatest part of the inhabitants were drawn to one side, according as the Ministers inclined, who zealously promoted this or that opinion, or met with an opportunity of making a party,

The Divisions
increase.

¹ Uitenb. p. 507.

² Baud. Memoir. Lib. II. p. 25, &c.

AN^o D^o M. 1610. a party, which was often to the prejudice of those that preached up a *Conditional Predestination*. The latter therefore being sensible of their weakness, and believing that all kinds of methods were used to oppress them, were of opinion, at a meeting which they privately held in the middle of *January*, that it was high time to look to themselves, and to have recourse to their Sovereigns, with whom they hoped to find more favour, because their adversaries by their opposition had, as they thought, deserved less.

They judged it therefore adviseable and necessary to present a certain *Remonstrance*, the substance of which (the whole of it being to be seen in ¹ other books) is as follows: 'That being suspected by their brethren, they were charged by them with attempting changes in religion, and occasioning tumults and disturbances; and that whatever they had declared to the contrary, though with Truth and Sincerity, had been to little effect; since slander and falshood prevailing over Truth, met with too much credit from many. They had indeed flattered themselves, that the expected Synod would have furnished them with an opportunity of setting the matter in a fair light, but since it could not be yet assembled, and that the suspicions and jealousies were fomented by many books and pamphlets, from whence much evil was to be apprehended, they had therefore seriously weighed every thing in the name of the Lord, whom they had often called upon for that purpose, and were convinced of the absolute necessity of doing all that was in their power, according to the word of God, for obviating Slander, and quieting turbulent minds. Therefore they, the *Remonstrants*, did hereby openly declare that they sought no alterations in religion, but only wished that the Resolutions of the States for revising the *Confession* and *Catechism* might be executed under their Lordships regulations and order.—— But in case it should be thought adviseable still to defer it, then should they think themselves obliged to declare that they looked upon the aforesaid Resolutions as truly christian, and justly taken; and that the said Formularies were subject to a further examination and correction; that the Members of the Church were likewise at liberty to make their observations and reflections, in order to try them by the word of God, without being exposed for that cause, (though their Remarks should not appear to be sufficiently grounded) to any, or even the least censure; and this notwithstanding they had subscribed the said Formularies before; since such subscribing ought not to be otherwise understood than with this condition, whether it had been expressed or no; viz. As far as they were conformable to the Holy Scriptures.——

They endeavour
to justify them-
selves.

They declare
what Doctrines
they conceive
to be contrary
to the Holy
Scriptures.

They then declared, in order to shew upon what most of the disputes turned: 'That there were certain points which (as maintained by some) they could not conceive to be contained in the said *Confession* and *Catechism*, but much rather to be contrary to their true meaning, though they by whom they were defended, were of opinion that they were agreeable to them; and upon such a belief endeavoured to force them upon others, and to cloak a new-fangled Divinity with the names of the said Formularies. The Doctrines they meant were the following: First, That God (as some asserted) had ordained by an eternal and irreversible Decree, some from among men (whom he did not consider as created, much less as fallen) to everlasting life; and some (who were by far the greater part) to everlasting perdition, without any regard to their obedience or disobedience, in order to exert both his Justice and Mercy; having so disposed the means, that those whom he had appointed to Salvation, should be necessarily and unavoidably saved — and the rest necessarily and unavoidably damned.—— Secondly, That God (as others taught) had considered mankind, not only as created, but as fallen in Adam, and consequently as obnoxious to the curse; from which fall and destruction he had determined to release some, and to save them as instances of his Mercy; and to leave others, even children of the covenant, under the curse for examples of his Justice, without any regard to belief or unbelief. To which end God also made use of means whereby the Elect were necessarily saved, and the Reprobates necessarily damned.—— Thirdly, That consequently Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World did not die for all men, but only for those who were elected according to the first or second manner.—— Fourthly, That therefore the Spirit of God and Christ

Christ wrought in the Elect by an irresistible force, in order to make them believe and be saved — But that the necessary and sufficient Grace was not given to reprobates. — Fifthly, That they who had once received the true Faith, could never lose it wholly and finally, how great sins soever they might be guilty of.

At the same time they, the *Remonstrants*, represented under five Heads or Articles what they believed and taught concerning the same things, which were briefly these: First, That God had decreed from all eternity to elect those to everlasting life, who through his Grace believe in Jesus Christ, and persevere in Faith and Obedience; and, on the contrary, had resolved to reject the Unconverted and Unbelievers to everlasting damnation. — Secondly, That in consequence of this, Christ, the Saviour of the World, died for all and every man, so that he obtained by his death, reconciliation and pardon of sin for all men; in such manner however that none but the faithful actually enjoyed the same. — Thirdly, That Man could not obtain saving Faith of himself, or by the strength of his own free will, but stood in need of God's Grace through Christ for that end. — Fourthly, That this Grace was cause of the beginning, progress, and completion of Man's salvation; insomuch that none could believe, nor persevere in Faith without this co-operating Grace, and consequently that all good works must be ascribed to the Grace of God in Christ. But as to the manner of the operation of that Grace, it was not irresistible. — Fifthly, That true believers had sufficient strength through the divine Grace to fight against Satan, Sin, the World, their own flesh, and to get the victory over them; but whether they by their negligence might not apostatize from the true Faith, lose the happiness of a good conscience, and forfeit that Grace, needed to be more fully inquired into according to holy Writ, before they proceeded confidently to teach it. (However, as to this *Fifth Article*, they afterwards declared themselves more positively, by saying, That they who were once true Believers, might nevertheless fall from God by their own fault, and lose Faith wholly and finally.)

These Articles thus proposed and taught, they, the *Remonstrants*, held to be conformable to God's word, edifying, and (with regard to these matters) sufficient to Salvation; without any necessity of ascending higher or descending lower. And if these points were thus understood and preached, they conceived the *Confession* and *Catechism* would not only remain unhurt, but by taking them in this their true sense and meaning (as they the said *Remonstrants* understood them) it would be the way to establish a perfect harmony and union with all the *Reformed* churches in *Europe*. Therefore they humbly intreated their Lordships, the States, as those to whom the greatest care and the supreme direction of Ecclesiastical and Civil matters belonged, (which point they also thought deserved to be maintained according to Scripture) that they would be pleased to give order; first, That they, the *Remonstrants* might be fairly heard, and that upon a due consideration of their arguments, the aforesaid doctrines might be more narrowly examined and looked into, in a free, lawful, and synodical meeting, to be holden under the authority, presidency, conduct, moderation, and concurring judgment of the said States; or, if such a kind of Assembly could not be easily and conveniently called together at this juncture, that then the Brethren might exercise a mutual toleration and forbearance in peace and charity; to which they were heartily inclined, provided that nothing were taught in consequence of the points in difference to the prejudice of piety and morality: Provided also that no persons, in the service of the Church or Universities, might be suspected, accused, or in the least prosecuted, either then or afterwards, for any of those *five Points*, as by them explained: or in case the Gentlemen of the other opinion would not agree to this, that then they should instruct the *Remonstrants* better from the word of God. And since this Remonstrance might be easily misconstrued, and pretence might be taken from thence for troubling the *Remonstrants*, they therefore besought their Lordships to take them into their protection, and to defend them from all Church-censures which might be fulminated against all of them in general, or each of them in particular, upon this occasion. And they solemnly protested to their Lordships, that this their proceeding was by no means designed for promoting of faction, discord, separation, or schism in religion; but only for the freeing themselves by this voluntary declaration, from those evil surmises and suspicions that had been long raised and propagated

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They propose
their own Opin-
ion with re-
spect to those
Matters, being
reduced to Five
Points.

I. Predesti-
nation.
II. Of the
Death of
Christ, and
its Efficacy.
III. Of the Ne-
cessity of the
Divine
Grace.
IV. Of the
Co-opera-
tion of
Grace.
V. Of Perse-
verance.

Their Request.

A Declaration
of their good
Intentions and
Moderation.

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‘ against them in these and other Countries; for proposing and desiring a further
‘ reformation, or better instruction, or at least a forbearance after the manner al-
‘ ready suggested, in order to procure repose to the Community: or in case they,
‘ the *Remonstrants*, contrary to all probability, hope and expectation, could obtain
‘ none of all these things, and consequently could no longer exercise their public
‘ functions with peace and a good conscience; they would be contented, by order
‘ of their Lordships, rather to resign them, that they might serve God and their
‘ Neighbour in any other manner conformably to their own consciences and the
‘ Holy Scriptures, without hurt or prejudice to that duty and submission which
‘ they owed the Civil Powers.’

At the end of this *Remonstrance*, they added some expressions of *Zacharias Ursinus*, or of the *Newstadt* Divines in the *Palatinate*, taken out of their Book intituled, *the Christian Monitor*, concerning the so called, *Concord-book*, with respect to the authority of *Confessions*, to the following purpose: ‘ These kinds of *Formularies* are to be
‘ considered, not as writings that can demand credit on their own account, like the
‘ *Holy Scriptures*.—— They are not rules whereby we are to judge what
‘ is to be believed and agreed to, or what is to be rejected and condemned, what is
‘ true, what false, what orthodox, and what heretical: for that which is consonant
‘ to the Confession of a Church, is not always true; nor that which is dissonant, al-
‘ ways false. It is therefore so far from being a desirable thing, that all Churches
‘ should subscribe the *Formularies* of one particular Church, that even no one
‘ Church, yea, no one private person is obliged to approve and adhere to such *For-*
‘ *mularies*, otherwise than upon this express condition: So far as they are agree-
‘ able to the *Holy Scripture*, and the universal *Symbols*.

From this *Re-*
monstrance,
they are nick-
named *Re-*
monstrants.

It was upon the account of this *Remonstrance*, that those who presented it, and who made use of *Uitenbogart*’s pen in drawing it up, as well as all those who then, and since adhered to the opinions contained in it, have gone by the name of *Remonstrants*.

The States of
Holland con-
sult about the
holding a Pro-
vincial Sy-
nod.

At the time of the delivering this *Remonstrance*, the proposition about a Provincial Synod was again debated in the Assembly of the States of *Holland*. But they endeavoured by all manner of means to prevent the schism and divisions which they apprehended would arise to the great damage of Church and State; and could not therefore consent that such a Synod should be called upon the ancient foot, by leaving the *Classis* to depute thither such as they liked best. For then, they thought, they would so order matters as to condemn one side by the plurality of votes.

Therefore to bring matters to an accommodation with greater certainty, by sending to the Synod discreet and moderate persons, the majority of the States would gladly have seen that the deputation were made by them the said States; ² which thing they knew was not without example; it having been done in the Primitive times by the Emperor *Constantine*, in the business of the *Donatists*; as also by those of *Bern*, with respect to the disputes about *Predestination*. That part therefore of the States which the Nobility constituted, and most of the Towns, were of opinion, that such Ministers should be chosen out of the *Classes* and Churches of *Holland* and *West Freeland* by them the said States, as the supreme powers of these Provinces, should judge to be the fittest, most orderly, and edifying in their ecclesiastical functions, by their peaceful and charitable dispositions, in promoting the honour of God, and the service of the true *Reformed Religion*; to the end that matters might be brought to a happy issue by the favour of God, and under the management and superintendancy of the Lords the States. But some of the Towns would not come into these measures; and some likewise expressly declared, that unless the *Classis* themselves were permitted to depute such persons as were most agreeable to them, they thought it would be better to defer the calling a Synod to a more convenient season. It was also judged dangerous to hold the said Assembly, till the Members of the States could be unanimous in that matter; and it was not thought proper upon this occasion to suffer any deputation from the Towns; and all the rest desired to have copies of it.

This was agreed to, upon condition that they should be communicated to none but the Magistrates of the respective Towns, and that at the return of their Deputies they

¹ See the *Conferences at the Hague*, p. 11, 12. and | ² *Grot. Apol. Lib. VI. p. 62.*
Admon. Chris. de Lib. Concord. p. 124, 125.

they should consider and come to a conclusion upon the whole. The States meeting again ten days after, the Nobility and the greatest part of the Towns resolved to abide by what had been judged most adviseable by the plurality of voices : But the Deputies of *Dort* adhered to their former opinion, alledging, that they had heard nothing among them of such a *Predestination* and its consequences, as was related and pretended in the aforesaid Remonstrance. *Amsterdam* was for the Classis naming, the Towns choosing, and the States giving instructions to the persons appointed to the Synod. *Horn* and *Enkbusen* thought it would be better to put off the calling the Synodical Assembly ; because those who composed the Classis were not likely to depute such persons as they could approve. Besides, since those four Cities scrupled to joyn their votes to the majority, but every one of them adhered to their opinion, it was considered whether till those Towns could be prevailed upon, it might not be proper, in order to obviate all difficulties and disagreements, to write to the Classes and Churches of *Holland*, and to require them provisionally, not to trouble nor examine any of the Ministers, as well those that were actually in Benefices, as those that might be afterwards called, in the business of *Predestination* and the points depending on it, otherwise than as according to the Contents of the Remonstrance, and agreeably to the practice of ancient times.

The Nobility and most of the Towns came to a resolution the same day, to wit, the 20th of *May*, that such orders should be given to the Classis, and that they should be required, in pursuance of former admonitions, to endeavour after mutual charity, unity, and edification, to the repose of the Church, and to the defeating and disappointing the enemies of the *Reformation*. But the Deputies of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, and *Enkbusen* declared that their Commissions did not extend so far ; those of *Horn* approved of it in general, but were for delaying to write to the Classis for a while

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The resolution
of the States of
Holland with
respect to the
Petition of the
Remonstrants.

However, the resolution which had been taken by most of the Members, was renewed the 22d of *August*, and soon after letters were sent to the Classes. But the Contents of them were immediately transgressed by some of the Classes, particularly by that of *Leyden*, they requiring the new comers into the Ministry to subscribe to Doctrines which, in the opinion of some, were very scandalizing or offensive. Some of the Members of the said Classis addressed themselves to the Committee of the States of *Holland*, by a Representation, which shews the situation of affairs at that time, and which runs in the following strain.

Which is
transgressed by
some of the
Classis.

*To the Noble, Wise, Learned and Mighty Lords, The Lords
of the Committee of the States of Holland and West
Friesland.*

Y^{OUR} Honours most humble Servants, the Ministers of *Leyderdorp*, *Sassem*, *Noortwijk* and *Oostgeest*, together with two Ministers of *Leyden*, do remonstrate with all becoming respect, as well in their own names, as on behalf of several of their Bretheren, all of them belonging to the Classis of *Leyden* and *Rynland*, that upon the sixth day of *October* last past, there was read in the assembly of the said Classis, a certain Missive or Letter from your Honours to the said Assembly, bearing date the 23d of *September* ; to which were annexed certain Articles, to the number of five, concerning *Predestination* and its Dependencies ; and the sum and substance of the said Missive was : *Whereas* Cornelius Tetrode, a Student of *Leyden*, who was called to *Benthufen* for Minister, should have been examined by the said Classis : and whereas it has been frequently resolved by the States of *Holland* and *West Friesland*, that in the examination of future Ministers, the examiners should not proceed to importune them about the article of *Predestination* any further than is contained in the said Five Points, or Articles ; that therefore the said Classis was required to act in the examination of the said Tetrode according to those Articles : Now it so happens, that instead of obeying, as was fit, one of the Assembly pretending to be a Deputy of the Synod, had the

A Remonstrance of certain Ministers of the Classis of *Leyden* and *Rynfeld* to the Committee of the States of *Holland* and *West Friesland*.

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boldness

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boldness to affirm: That the aforesaid *Missive* was procured in a sinister and surreptitious manner, and that even the Resolution of the States was unchristian: insomuch that it was agreed by the majority of those that were present, (several of those who would have opposed them being absent) to postpone the commands of your Honours, *pro hac vice*, and to go on with the examination according to the usual manner, with a protestation nevertheless of obedience to their Sovereigns. Accordingly they proceeded to the examination, and the three following points were insisted on, contrary to your Honours commands: First, That Adam fell necessarily, in respect of a previous decree of God. Secondly, That Man is regenerated by God through his Holy Spirit, by such a force as he that is regenerated cannot resist. Thirdly, That he who has once truly believed in Christ, cannot lose his faith again, and become an unbeliever, nor fall of eternal life; so that though he should happen to fall into any deadly sins, such as Fornication, Adultery, Murder, Drunkenness, and the like; and should happen to continue therein for a time, yet would it be impossible for him to dye before he was converted, and recovered from them. Now forasmuch as this action is expressly contrary to the authority of the Lords the States, and likewise against that of your Honours, without the preservation of which the safety of the country cannot subsist; and since it disturbs that Peace which your Honours desire to see maintained among the Clergy by a mutual Toleration in the various sentiments about *Predestination* and its dependencies; since likewise the points aforementioned, as proposed in the said Assembly are, according to the opinion of us *Remonstrants*, inconsistent with endeavours after true Holiness, and drive away from the mind of man that wholesome care which he ought to take continually about his salvation; and since we the said *Remonstrants* have likewise observed, that the advancing such doctrines has greatly offended some persons of *Benthusen*, who were present at that Examination; we could not forbear to represent the matter to your Honours, and at the same time humbly to intreat you, that you would be pleased to acquaint the said *Classis* of *Leyden*, either orally by some one deputed thereto out of your College, or else in writing, by repeated Letters, that the abovementioned *Missive* was fairly and lawfully procured, and the Resolutions therein contained, were not taken till after due cognizance of cause by the Lords the States; or else, that you would please to make use of such other methods as to your Honours great wisdom shall seem meet; for the preservation of the authority both of the Lords the States and of your selves, as also for the promoting and maintaining peace among the Clergy, so as may be least hurtful to true piety. And we, the *Remonstrants*, are the rather induced to make this Representation and Petition to your Honours, because we have been informed that the very third day after that the *Classis* of *Leyden* had come to the Resolutions abovementioned, two Ministers assuming to themselves the Title of *Synodical Deputies*, (having been present at the said *Classis*) carried the said Resolution to the *Classis* of *Woerden*, assembled at *Rijnsaterwoude*, where they publicly made use of it in order to prejudice and prepossess the Clergy there, and to excite them to the like contempt, as it also happened, of your Honours commands. However, we do not doubt in the least, but the aforementioned *Classis* (a few only of the Members excepted) will dutifully submit to your Honours pleasure when known, the rather, because it does not tend to any force or oppression of men's consciences, but only to an equitable toleration and christian peace. And since there reigns such confusion and irregularity in our *Classical* assemblies, not only in proposing the matters we are to debate upon, (which is sometimes done very disorderly, especially when they relate to the imaginary power of the Church, which some are endeavouring to establish) but likewise in the giving of votes or suffrages, in which there may be observed, on the one hand, a visible collusion; and on the other, such an incivility, with respect to those that say one word against the aforesaid power, or the pretended orthodoxy of religion in the points frequently mentioned, that they are interrupted in their speeches, and hardly suffered to deliver their opinions, and what they say is endeavoured to be refuted without any manner of order; whereby it often happens, that the most moderate are provoked to warmth, and very little or no respect is shown to each other; insomuch that good men dread the time of these assemblies: And since the *Deputies* of the Synod every where thrust themselves into affairs, and

by

‘ by the help of that salary, which your Honours allow them yearly, travel and
 ‘ send about, and are the authors and contrivers of such measures and resolutions
 ‘ as these against which we now complain : whereas their time being now expired,
 ‘ their commission ought to cease : We submit it therefore to your Honours, whe-
 ‘ ther it might not be proper, for the future, that your Honours should depute two
 ‘ persons of note to preside at the aforesaid Assemblies, in order to prevent further
 ‘ troubles and inconveniences ; at least we wish it for our own sakes, being in hopes
 ‘ that the said Assemblies might be then holden with more respect and reverence,
 ‘ and the desired fruits of peace and moderation might result from them : But we,
 ‘ your Petitioners, leave this wholly to your Honours discretion and pleasure, to
 ‘ which also we cheerfully submit ourselves, though we think it our duty at the same
 ‘ time to represent all these matters to your Honours, in testimony of our obedience,
 ‘ to the end it may appear, that we never consented to the aforesaid resolutions of the
 ‘ Classis, neither with our hearts nor mouths.

This Representation was signed by *Adrianus Borrius*, Minister at *Leyden*, *Johannes Arnoldus* Minister at *Leyden*; *Isbrandus Reinerus*, Minister at *Sassem*; *Petrus Cuylius* of *Oostgeest*; *John Jansen* at *Leyderdorp*; and *Isaacus Fredericus* at *Nortwijk*. And a little lower stood *Egbertus Verbooven*, Minister at *Hillegom*; *Although I was not present at the Classis when the Examination abovementioned was made, yet I do concur in this Petition, for the removing of all abuses; and with my worthy Brethren I heartily wish and pray for Peace.*

The Committee of the States, after having duly weighed this Remonstrance and Petition, deputed two of their body to the Classis of *Leyden*. Accordingly, on the 2d of *November*, there appeared in the Classis the Heers *Gerard vander Laen*, one of the Magistrates of *Harlem*, and Dr. *Sebastian Egbertson*, formerly Burgomaster of *Amsterdam*; together with the Heers *Nicolas Arensz* and *John Jansz Barsdorp*, Burgomaster of *Leyden*, and the Heer *Nicolas Seyst*, Pensionary of the said Town, who jointly acquainted the Classis, both by word of mouth and in writing (pursuant to the instructions given them by the States for that purpose) : ‘ That they must plainly answer whether or no they would obey the States Orders with respect to the examining future Ministers conformably to the five Articles which they had sent them.’ This was their proposition, to which they required an immediate answer. But *Festus Hommius*, one of the Ministers of *Leyden*, made them wait for it from noon till half an hour after six, by means of his contradictions and oppositions. They heard him however, and treated him with great patience; but he at last used such language, that they were provoked to say the following or such like words to him : *You have no right to engross all the talk to yourself. Other Brethren are endowed with the Spirit of Christ as well as you, who ought to deliver your own opinion, and then be silent. All your endeavours seem to be to draw over the Brethren to your party, in order to oppose the commands of the Government.*

Notwithstanding this reprimand, they could not make him hold his tongue; but he strove in vain, for he had but four of the Ministers on his side. Some think that the arrival of these Gentlemen was a surprize upon him, and that if he had had timely notice, he would have used his utmost efforts to animate the Members of the Classis against the Orders of the States. It was objected against him, by way of application to those times, that Peace and the Brotherhood had been duly and frequently offered to the *Lutherans*, but he took no notice of that objection. At last the matter was put to the question, and every Member in particular gave the following Answers, which are extracted from the Registers of the Classis, as there entered, *verbatim* :

‘ First, *Adolphus Sprankbusen* said, That some Articles in the aforesaid annexed
 ‘ Act ran counter to the Word of God, and therefore he could not persuade himself
 ‘ to return a categorical answer concerning it. *Festus Hommius*, one of the *Leyden*
 ‘ Ministers, desired leave to give his Answer in writing. — *Adrianus Borrius*, of
 ‘ the same place, said, that the aforesaid Articles were agreeable to Scripture,
 ‘ and not inconsistent with the *Confession* and *Catechism*; that therefore such opi-
 ‘ ons might safely be tolerated in others, and the States ought to be obeyed —
 ‘ *Isaacus Fredericus*, Minister of *Nortwijk*, declared, that they were obliged to obey
 ‘ the commands of the Lords the States. — *John Johnson*, the Minister of *Leyder-*
 ‘ *dorp*,

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The Committee
of the States
depute certain
of their Mem-
bers to the
Classical As-
sembly at Ley-
den.

They are oppo-
sed by Festus
Hommius.

The Resolution
of the Classis.

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dorp, declared likewise that the States were to be obey'd, and that things ought to be carried on with better temper. — *Isbrant Reiniersen*, Minister of *Saffem*, declared, that the States must be obey'd, because the Articles were not contrary to the word of God. — *Hermannus Schuylius*, Minister at *Forebout*, returned for answer, that he could bear with those that were actually in the Ministry, but not with any new ones, till this affair should be decided. — *Michael Janfon*, Minister at *Forefchoten*, was of the same mind with *Hermannus Schuylius*. — *Carolus Agricola* said, he was willing to conform provisionally to the Resolution of the States. — *David Jacobson* declared, that he was also contented provisionally, that none should be examined contrary to the command of the States. — *Bernardus Nicolaus*, Minister of *Homa*, said, he would submit to the Orders of the States, as long as he was in the Ministry. — *Johannes Lodestein*, Minister of *Sooterwoude*, answered, that he could not with a safe conscience lay his hands upon any man who was of the opinion expressed in some of those Articles. — *Samuel Baselius*, Minister of *Catwick op-zee*, said, he would do nothing against the Orders of the States; but neither should he approve the Articles, till decided in due time and place. — *Egbertus Verhoevijs*, Minister of *Hillegom*, declared, he would conform to the Letter of the States. — *Isaacus Junius*, Minister of *Warmond*, said, he neither could nor would do any thing contrary to the Resolutions of the States, till such time as he had an opportunity to make known the reasons of his scruple, though he could not approve of the *fourth Article*, concerning which he intended to declare his objections to the States themselves in case of need. — *Petrus Cuius*, Minister of *Oostgeest*, gave for answer, that the commands of the States ought to be complied with. — Lastly, *Cornelius van Tetrode*, Minister at *Benthusen*, declared, that he would obey the directions of the States provisionally.

The Opinion
and Declara-
tion of *Festus*
Hommius.

Festus delivered his Answer the next day into the hands of the Commissioners, in which he declared, that 'it was against his conscience to receive any one into the service of the Church, who was for the abovementioned *five Articles*; because, as he thought, some of those Articles were proposed in absurd, dubious, and contradictory expressions; because they ran counter to the Word of God, and the Formularies of Unity, and likewise to what was formerly taught in this land, and tended besides to innovations both in the doctrine and discipline of the national church and a separation from other churches; because not one of those Articles properly treated of the capital point of *Predestination*, or of any *Election* or *Reprobation*, for the sake of which their Honours had declared, that their said Order was made; and lastly, because these Articles had been drawn up, only by one party of the Clergy, without ever hearing the other; and had never been considered, much less approved, in any Ecclesiastical Assembly.

His Conference
with the Com-
missioners of
the States.

Having presented this Answer to the Commissioners, he entered into a debate with them, in the presence of three Burgomasters of *Leyden* and the Pensionary *Seyst*, wherein he maintained: 'That no alterations in *Church Matters* ought to be made by the *Civil Powers*, without the advice of some *Provincial* or *National Synod*, or at least of the *Classes*.

He was then asked, 'what his opinion was about taking such advice? Whether the Government were obliged to follow the advice of a Synod or *Classis*, or whether it sufficed only to ask their advice, and that then the Government might resolve upon what they should think most beneficial to the Church and Community?

Festus plainly owned, 'that the Government was not bound to follow their advice, but that the last resort did properly belong to, or was in them.'

Upon which the Commissioners jointly said, 'They were glad to hear such a declaration from him; that it was reasonable and just, and that therefore they would represent the whole matter favourably to their Principals; and as for his written Answer, he might have heard them, the Commissioners, frequently declaring in the meeting of the *Classis*, that the States never intended to press upon any body those *five Articles* for fixed and determined points; but that they were only calculated for instructions, and to be used no otherwise than as a model in the examination of future Ministers, to the end that their consciences might not be burdened with more abstruse or deeper speculations in that matter; nor any one be forced to play the Hypocrite.' Then they farther exhorted him, 'That for the future he would

‘ would direct all his actions towards Peace, they being of opinion, that it was in
 ‘ his power to do a great deal of good or harm during these controversies and distra-
 ‘ ctions of mens minds.’ Adding ‘ that the States would hope and expect the best
 ‘ from him.’ To which he answered at parting, ‘ That his endeavours were for
 ‘ Peace.’

A^N° D^{OM}.
 1610.

The Heers *Vander Laen* and *Sebastian Egbertson*, went from *Leyden* to *Bodegrave*, where the *Classis* of *Woerden* was to meet. Arriving there unexpectedly on the 10th of the same month, and appearing in the Assembly, they delivered their Credentials, and then gave an account, by word of mouth, of the sincere intentions of the State for promoting God’s holy word, together with peace and union among all Christian Reformed Churches; and moreover put the *Classis* in mind of the Letter sent them from the Committee of the States, expressly requiring, that in pursuance of the commands of the said States, one *Theodorus Swanius*, who was called to *Rbijnfaterwoude*, should not be troubled with other questions at his probation or examination than had been practised formerly, nor be urged any further with respect to *Predestination* and its dependencies than according to the *five Articles* annexed to the said Letter, adding, that they had heard with great sorrow, that the *Classis* had transgressed the States orders in their provisional examination, and that they, the said *Classis*, were taken up at this very time in hammering out something for the vexation of the said *Swanius*, and in prejudice of the aforesaid orders. For which cause, they, the Commissioners, were come to this Assembly by the express directions of their Principals, to see the commands of the States put in execution, and to take the advice and opinion of every one, to the end that they might at once see and observe from whence and from whom those misdemeanours and that undutiful behaviour proceeded.

A Proposition of the Deputies sent from the Committee of the States to the *Classis* of *Woerden* at *Bodegrave*, with regard to the Examination of *Theodorus Swanius*.

The question was put by the Commissioners, after some dispute, and they found no body oppose them besides *Philippus Ruil*, the Minister of *Sevenhoven*. And he represented (after declaring his submission and obedience to the Civil Government, which next to God, he said, all were bound to obey) that the *Classis* ought not to be burdened with any kind of innovation which concerned the whole Church in general.

The question was put by the Commissioners, after some dispute, and they found no body oppose them besides *Philippus Ruil*, the Minister of *Sevenhoven*: And he represented (after declaring his submission and obedience to the Civil Government, which, next to God, he said, all were bound to obey) that the *Classis* ought not to be burdened with any kind of innovation which concerned the whole Church in general.

All the other Members of the *Classis* (even *Paul Mercator* himself, the Minister of *Alphen*, and one of the greatest zealots for *Absolute Predestination*) declared, that the pleasure of the States about examining *Swanius*, ought to be complied with; however, it was carried by the most votes that the said Candidate should be obliged to sign, not only the XXXVII Articles in the *Confession*, but also the *Catechism*. But the Commissioners declared, ‘ That they could not permit that *Swanius* should
 ‘ be burdened with signing the *Catechism*, contrary to the Resolution of the States
 ‘ taken by them so long ago as the year 1597, concerning the revision of the *Nether-*
 ‘ *land* Confession; and which was followed in the year 1606, by the Declaration of
 ‘ the States-General, that the *Catechism* should likewise be revised; which Declara-
 ‘ tion was communicated to all the *Classes*: and accordingly the Synod holden at
 ‘ *Gorkum*, in the same year 1606, consented that such revision should be made after
 ‘ the usual manner. Therefore they, the Commissioners, desired, that the *Classis*
 ‘ would not burden the conscience of any person that had any scruples or objections
 ‘ against the said Confession and *Catechism*, seeing it would be no advantage to any
 ‘ one to make another man’s conscience uneasy; adding, that they ought to avoid
 ‘ driving people into hypocrisy, or being the occasion of it: and the rather, because
 ‘ they, the Commissioners, had been informed, that but a few years ago, none were
 ‘ urged or pressed to subscribe the *Catechism*, and likewise every one that desired it
 ‘ was excused from declaring his opinion about *Predestination*. It was therefore not
 ‘ a little surprizing to see the *Classis* insist so stiffly upon this subscribing, and urge so
 ‘ vehemently the article of an *absolute Predestination*, when the said *Classis* formerly
 ‘ dispensed with it by their own authority, and especially being now required to do it
 ‘ by an order of the States. These proceedings, they said, could never be approved
 ‘ by

The *Classis* submit to the command of the States, with respect to the Examination, but require his Subscription of the *Catechism* and Confession.

A Declaration of the Commissioners, with reference to that Point.

AN^o D O M. • by wise men, being no better than drawing the sword against the Government, who required nothing of them but what was just and reasonable.¹

1610.

After some cavilling about subscribing, it was found upon searching the Registers, that none to that very day had been obliged by the Classis of *Woerden* to subscribe the Catechism. Upon which the debate ended without any further opposition. Then the Commissioners ordered them actually to put in execution what had been resolved by the States, viz. That *Swanius* should be examined, as to the principal points, in their presence. The Classis obeyed, proceeded to the examination, and the party was declared to be qualified for the Ministry; he only signed the Confession as a Formulary of Unity; and the Commissioners did not depart till the whole body had promised them to confirm *Swanius* in the Ministry with the first opportunity.

Swanius is examined in the presence of the Commissioners.

The Complaint and Petition of the Synodical Deputies to the States.

In November the Deputies of the North and South Holland Synods made their complaints against the resolution of the States, of the 22d of August, by the mouth of *Peter Plancius*, which Resolution, he said, the churches could not submit to, declaring that they were prepared to shew, in a lawful Synod, that the *five Points* of the Remonstrants were contrary to Scripture, as well as to the Confession and Catechism; praying therefore that the long desired Provincial Synod might be called, in order to examine the aforesaid *five Points*.

The Resolution of the States thereupon.

The States continued to be of opinion that it was not yet proper to call together the Synod, as well for the Reasons already mentioned, as upon account of the stubbornness of the Classis of *Alkmaer*, so frequently hinted at, which still lasted; but they agreed on the 23d of December, that *Plancius* and his party should depute six Ministers to the Hague, and that the Remonstrants should send as many on their behalf, in order to an amicable conference in the presence of the States, or before their Deputies, about the *five Points*, and the opinions depending thereupon, and to try whether they could not come to a mutual forbearance with respect to those matters; or if that could not be brought about, then to draw up a state of the Controversy, in order to inquire more strictly into it, and adjust the same according to the word of God, to the welfare of the church and nation. At the same time it was resolved, for the removing and obviating any difficulties, to transmit to the Nobles and Towns, against the next meeting of the States, the project of an Ecclesiastical constitution or discipline drawn up in the year 1591; to the end that it might be deliberated, agreed upon, and put in a way of execution at the said meeting.

Simon Episcopus is called to the Ministry at Bleiswick.

The Ministers belonging to the Classis of Rotterdam were much divided at this time. The church of *Bleiswick* had, with the consent of the Magistrates of Rotterdam, under whose jurisdiction that Village was, called Master *Simon Episcopus*, famous even then for his learning, good judgment and disputations with *Sibrandus Lubbertus*, to be their Minister. The Burgomasters of Amsterdam, who had maintained him in his studies at the charge of that City, had long endeavoured to bring him into the service of the Church, but the Ministers of their City being of a different opinion in the business of Predestination, found means continually to keep him out. They took pains likewise to prevent this Call to *Bleiswick* when the matter was brought before the Classis of Rotterdam, and to exclude him from the Ministry; for it was believed that he, *Episcopus*, would add great weight to the interest of the Remonstrants, if he could get footing in the Church. Before they would admit him to the customary Probation or Tryal, *Ruardus Acronius*, and other Ministers, required testimonials of his life and behaviour from the Churches and Universities. He produced an ample Certificate from his Tutors, *Johannes Cucklinus*, the Regent, and *Petrus Bertius*, Deputy, or Vice-Regent of the States College, as likewise from the Consistory at Leyden, under whose Eye he had lived as a Member of that Church; and another Testimonial from the University of *Franeker*. But all this did not satisfy them; they required further, that he should produce one from those of Amsterdam, where he staid but three months after his return from *Franeker*, living in a private condition. The Consistory of Amsterdam declined giving him one (this was looked upon as a collusion between *Plancius* and *Acronius*) but neither did they absolutely deny it, only said that the testimonials of the University of *Franeker* ought to suffice. However, the Classis were not so contented, but stopped here, and would not proceed.

R. Acronius and others oppose his Call.

¹ Trigl. p. 588, &c.

² Epist. Eccles. p. 439.

³ Uitenb. p. 582.

They gave *Acronius* three weeks time to write to *Amsterdam* and other parts, to see whether there could be any thing procured in prejudice of *Episcopus*. But nothing came. However, they insisted still on the old demand, and required the Testimonial of *Amsterdam*. But most of the Members of the *Classis*, and the Deputies of the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*, as Lords of *Bleiswick*, who presided over the examination, being weary of this perverseness, declared their opinion, that the Testimonials which had been already shown, were sufficient, and resolved by majority of votes, to proceed.

The rest of the Members, and particularly the Deputies of the *South Holland* Synod made loud protestations against the illegality of the examination, and refused to joyn in it. They quitted the Assembly, and the aforesaid Deputies appealed to the greater Ecclesiastical Meeting, where they said they would give their reasons. The rest staid till they had finished the business. *Episcopus* being found orthodox according to their Tryal of him, was presented to the Church, and no body opposing him, was confirmed and admitted as their Minister: notwithstanding a Letter which the protesting Members writ to the Consistory of *Bleiswick*, in which challenging the Call, and repeating the Protestation they had made in the *Classis*, they advised and warned the said Consistory against receiving Master *Simon Episcopus*, till such time as their appeal should be heard and determined, in a greater Ecclesiastical Assembly. ' We declare, say they in the sequel of the Letter, before the ' Lord, that we have no other views in this matter, besides the discharge of our ' consciences; neither have we done any thing but what we can justify before all good ' men; nor aimed at any thing else than the honour of God, purity of Doctrine, and ' edification of the Church: Therefore we beg you to take this matter into your con- ' sideration, to lay it to heart, and to show your faithfulness therein before the ' Church of the Lord, that you may not hereafter be blamed upon this account. ' But if you do not regard those our Remonstrances, we declare we have done our ' part, by having forewarned you. The rest, if all humane assistance fails, we shall ' leave to the supreme Pastor, *Christ Jesus*, who will preserve his Elect from going ' astray, and being lost.

This Letter bearing date from *Delfshaven*, the 14th of October, was signed by *Eleazar Swalmius*, *Hugo van Beyeren*, *Samuel Gruterus*, *Ruardus Acronius* and *Reinerus Bormans*.

However, *Episcopus* discharged his Ministry at *Bleiswick*, with great praise and edification. But *Acronius* and his party absented themselves thenceforwards from the *Classical* Assembly, in which by this separation they made a Schism. Now this furious zeal of the said *Acronius* was so much the less to be justified, because it was well known that he being engaged in a conference and dispute with the *Anabaptists*, some years before, at *Leeuwarden*, when mention was made of *Gellius Sneecanus*,
L (who

¹ Curcel. Præf. S. Episcop. Oper. Part. I.

² We have spoken above in the XVth Book of our History, concerning this *Gellius Sneecanus*. The Treatises published by him, and which are here referred to, were the following: *Methodica Descriptio, five Fundamentum præcipuorum locorum communium, aut dogmatum S. Scripturæ de Cognitione Dei & Hominis hujusque triplici in hac vita Statu. Juxta Harlemum, ex officina J. Theoph. 1591.* That is, a Methodical Description of the Principal Doctrines of the Holy Scripture, with respect to the knowledge of God and Man, and his threefold State in this Life. The next was his *Magoge in nonum Caput Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos. Edit. 1596.* That is, An Introduction and Exposition upon the ninth Chapter of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Romans. In one of the Prefaces to the abovementioned Methodical Description, p. 424, &c. he declares his Opinion in the following words, as we have rendered them from the Latin: That we must not fancy or feign a Secret Will of God, running counter to the conditions of the Revealed Divine Covenant. He adds, that God has decreed from all Eternity, to execute his will, not according to his absolute and perfect Power; but regularly, and according to the Terms of his Law and Covenant. — Moreover, That particular Election is so styled, not in relation to any defect of the eternal and most gracious Purpose of God, or

of the Merits of *Christ* absolutely considered, who gave himself a Ransome for all. 1 Tim. xi. 6. But with respect to the greater part of Men, who being called, refuse to come, and wholly depart from God: or because they transgress the conditions of their Call, when made according to his gracious Purpose. Neither will he allow, that People shall pass immediately from the consideration of the Fall, to that of an Actual Election or Reprobation, according to which, as it is pretended, some by a peculiar Act of Grace are elected from *Adam's* Fall, actually and simply: but others, simply past by, or left in it; as if the benefit of *Christ's* Death, did not extend as far as the hurt of *Adam's* Fall; and as if the Decree of Redemption did include an exception of any.

It is a different thing, says he, to declare with *Paul*, that God is merciful to whom he pleases and whom he will he hardneth; it is very different from playing with a Tennis-ball, to tell people at every word they speak, that God is at liberty to shew mercy to whom he will, and to elect from *Adam's* Fall, and save whom he will; and on the contrary, to leave therein, to pass by, to harden, and prepare for Dishonour and Perdition, whom he pleases. And this for the following Reasons: God owes no Man any thing. Who art thou, O Man. As often as I hear these, and the like expressions uttered nakedly

A N^o DOM.
1610.

But cannot
succeed.

*Acronius and
his adherents
write to the
Classis of Bleis-
wick.*

A^NO D O M. 1610. (who maintained the very same notions about Predestination as the Remonstrants now do) used these expressions: ' Though *Gellius* does not agree with us in every respect, (concerning Predestination) yet, *Paul* says, 1 Cor. ch. xiv. v. 29. *Let the Prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge.* And again, v. 32. *The spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets.* To which rule I make no doubt but all true Ministers of *Jesus Christ* will readily submit themselves, since we are all of us Men, and may err; that so we may give no occasion to schisms and divisions on this account, like our adversaries, (meaning the Anabaptists) who, being hurried on by the spirit of discord and quarrels, do daily and for small causes rend and separate themselves more and more from each other; and with unheard of tyranny, mutually deliver one another to *Satan*.

nakedly and unguardedly, not only in private Conversation, but in Publick Preaching, I cannot help thinking of what the Poet says:

Fertur Equis Auriga, neque audit Currus Habenas.

The aforementioned *Gellius*, tells us in the Preface to his Introduction to the ninth Chapter of the *Romans*, that during the Tyranny of the Duke of *Alva*, he had educated his Children at his own expences; and that at the peril of his Life he had assembled the scattered Remnants of the Church of *Christ* in his Native Land, both in the open Country and in the Towns by Night: and that afterwards having been called to serve as Minister at

Leeuwarden, he had spent some hundreds of Gold Crowns in the exercise of his Function, out of his private Patrimony, before the Estates belonging to the *Papish* Clergy had been appropriated to the Reformed; to the end that he might not be wanting in his Duty, nor the Church of *Christ* remain unedified. That besides, he could call the Lord to witness, that for some Years together, in the Winter Season, he had never spent a whole Night in Sleep, as far as his Infirmities would permit; and that he had wronged and destroyed his Bodily Health in collating several Authors, in order to add some Light to the Principal Articles of our Salvation from the Fountains of Holy Writ.

The End of the Nineteenth Book.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N
I N and A B O U T the
L O W - C O U N T R I E S.

B O O K XX.



N the mean time, the Curators of the University of *Leyden* called the Learned *Conradus Vorstius*, Professor and Pastor at *Steynsfurt*, in the stead of *Arminius*, to the Professorship of Divinity.

AN^o D^{omi}
1610.

Conradus Vorstius is called to the Professorship of Divinity in the place of Arminius.

His Call is opposed by some of the Clergy.

¹ This man was thought by some at that time, to be of *Calvin's* opinion, in the business of *Predestination*, because he had vindicated him against the Jesuits; but otherwise they esteemed him to be a lover of Peace, Moderation, and of a pious life. ² Some of the Clergy, and men of great name among the Reformed, *Abrahamus Schultetus* in particular, applauded this choice of the Curators; but others began soon to oppose the progress of it, being displeased with him, as it is believed, for ascribing too much authority to the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical matters, and fearing that he would prove too great a friend to the *Remonstrants*, and the rather because he was soon observed to agree with them in opinion, and to be supported by their favour and interest. ³ Some cried he was guilty, or at least suspected of *Socinianism*, and other erroneous doctrines, for which they chiefly quoted his book concerning God and his Attributes, published not long before in *Latin*; alleging besides some differences which had formerly happened and were composed. Several letters were writ to his prejudice by our own Divines, and foreigners were induced to do the same; insomuch that rumours were industriously spread among the people against him, and many exclaimed against him as a dangerous Heretick. ⁴ But he justified himself so well, that the Curators resolved to persist in their Call.

About this time *Peter Plancius* (who could rarely set bounds to his Zeal) declaimed so furiously against *Vorstius* from the Pulpit at *Amsterdam*, that the latter found himself obliged to enter into a Conference with the said *Plancius* under the direction of the Magistrates. Being arrived in *Holland* to take care of his concerns, he went to *Amsterdam*, together with *Uitenbogart*, who at the recommendation of the Curators, did all he could to promote his Call. The next Sunday he heard *Plancius* preach upon the following Text out of the CXth Psalm, *The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou on my right hand*. Upon the occasion of these words he began to thunder more violently than ever against Innovators in religion, talking of nothing else through his whole Sermon but of *Arianism*, and *Samosatenianism*, and divers other heresies; he raved particularly against those who maintained, that the name composed of four letters, being the essential name of God, was applicable to the creature; and who explained the expression in *Isaiah*, to wit; *The everlasting Father, the Father of ages*, or (as the *Dutch Translation* has it) *the Father of eternity, by the future eternity*,

Some account of a Sermon preached by P. Plancius.

L 2

i. e.

¹ Vid. C. Vorst. Epist. Dedicat. ad Belg. Ord. &c. and Uitenb. p. 547.

² Epist. Eccles. p. 331.

³ Grot. Piet. Ord. Holl. p. 11.

⁴ Vid. Epist. Cur. ad Com. Steyn. in Epist. Eccles. p. 333.

A^N D^O M. i. e. by eternal salvation. Twice they entered into a disputation with him, once in the little Tower belonging to the Stadthouse, where the Burgomasters used formerly to meet, and afterwards in the house of Burgomaster *Cornelius Benning*. The first conference was held in the presence of three Burgomasters, *Jacob Boolens*, *Cornelius Benning*, and *Richard Bas*; this was on the 27th of October, and it lasted from half an hour past eleven in the forenoon till one. Then *Plancius*, who was accompanied by one *John Thompson*, began to seek subterfuges, and broke up the conference, by pretending that he was obliged to beat his Sister's wedding, that he had business with a Merchant, that he had letters to write, and in short, a great many things to dispatch; and at last he could not forbear insinuating, as if *Vorstius* and *Uitenbogart* had chosen on purpose a season so inconvenient to him.

A Conference
between Vor-
stius and
Plancius on
that occasion.

The second dialogue was next day, in the hearing of all the Burgomasters, for *Cornelius Peterson Hooft*, the fourth, was returned home in the mean time. Here *Vorstius* complained against *Plancius*, who without having ever seen or heard him, had so bitterly inveighed against him in several sermons, and now lately in one at which he himself and *Uitenbogart* had been present. He said he could bring proofs of many mistakes he had been guilty of, but that he would purposely pass them by, desiring only to take notice of what concerned himself. On occasion of his asserting, *That those who applied the name JEHOVAH to the creature, were framing a New Arianism*; *Vorstius* asked *Plancius*, whether one could be accused, or deserve to be suspected of *Arianism*, for thinking that the word *Jehovah* is in some texts of scripture by an improper manner of speaking applied to the *Angel of the Covenant*, and to the *Temple of God*; in case he at the same time maintained, that the said name belonged in a proper sense to none but God; proving besides, that several passages were so understood by *Calvin* and *Mercer* themselves. Here *Plancius* was forced to yield. Afterwards they proceeded to other matters, with much the same success; at last *Plancius* took upon him to make a long discourse upon the necessity of the article of the Trinity, and began to behave himself like an Examiner or Inquisitor of Faith, for he asked *Vorstius* (who during the course of the debate had frequently confessed that *Christ* was the eternal Son of God) whether he believed orthodoxy upon that head? *Vorstius* being a little moved at so bold a question, answered with some warmth: *I am not come to submit to your examining, but to complain of your slandering and railing, and to try whether it were possible to mollify you by any means, and prevail upon you to proceed with a more christian spirit for the time to come. Moreover, I require satisfaction for this question; pray shew how I have deserved that such a question should be put to me.* The Burgomaster *Hooft* took part with *Vorstius* in this matter, so that *Plancius* was obliged to be silent again.

The Request of
Vorstius to
the Burgoma-
sters.

Upon this, *Vorstius* addressed himself to the Burgomasters in a fine Speech, in which, among other things, he besought them: *That they would no longer suffer innocent persons to be slandered and defamed in so publick a manner within their city, the eye of the Low-Countries.* He likewise exhorted *Plancius* to forbear such revilings for the future, since they did not become a Christian Teacher, nor could proceed from the spirit of *Christ*, but rather from a carnal spirit; offering further, that if he would communicate to him his thoughts upon the remaining differences, he would return him his Answer in writing. Hereupon he took his leave of the Burgomasters, after thanking them for their favour, and returned to *Steynfurt* with letters from the Committee of the States to the Count of that name, desiring that he and the Counts, his brothers, would grant him his dismissal.

An Order of
the Statss of
Utrecht to the
Deputies of the
Utrecht Syn-
nod.

Whilst these divisions increased in *Holland*, the States of the Province of *Utrecht* sought means to obviate the like evil in their country: wherefore they ordered the Deputies of the *Utrecht Synod*; ' to revise certain Regulations made by way of pro-
' vision in the year 1606, with consent of them, the said States, and comparing them
' with other Ecclesiastical Canons, to add what was wanting, and to leave out what
' was superfluous, till they had reduced them to a proper plan for Church-Govern-
' ment; having an eye throughout the whole to the word of God, the writings of
' the Prophets and Apostles, but in indifferent matters, to the nature, humour, and
' disposition of the inhabitants of the country, and to the present situation of affairs;
' to the end, that all might be done to edification, and not to destruction. And as

for

‘ for the differences arisen in the neighbour-provinces, which also began to spread among the people of *Utrecht*, to attend to them likewise, and consider how the same might be remedied after the most fitting and peaceable manner, consistently with the word of God, without weakening that band of Unity which they were desirous to maintain with their neighbours and allies in all points, and particularly in the business of religion, and with the security of the main foundation of the *Reformation* (which consisted in rejecting human decrees and impositions, and in embracing the scriptures as the only rule of Faith) to take care that the tranquility of the Subject might not be disturbed, but preserved in all godliness and honesty, and in obedience to God and the Government. That plan they were ordered to present to them, the States, by way of advice, to the end they might proceed further therein so as was most agreeable to the honour of God, the edification of the Church, and good of the Country.’ This Resolution was taken the 28th of November.

A^NO D^OM.
1610.

In the same year, *James*, King of *Great Britain* fell into discourse with the Ambassadors of the States of the *United Provinces*, being then at *London*, concerning the Church differences, and told them his mind in the following words: *That those differences ought to be determined by the publick authority, by requiring the Clergy to forbear to mention such disputes in the pulpit, or to spread them among the common people, till the Government, after taking full cognizance of matters, should otherwise direct.* The very same advice did that King give by letter to the States of *Holland*, as shall be observed in its proper place. But some steered different course.

The Advice of
the King of
Great Bri-
tain.

A little while before, one *Herman Barentson*, Visitor and Comforter of the Sick at *Amsterdam*, was discharged from his office, only because he could not come up to the sentiments of some of his Collegues, in the disputes that sometimes passed among them about *Predestination*. This brought the poor man into great distress, being burdened with a wife and children. He had lived before upon a good trade, but found himself forsaken now by all his customers. He made his complaint to the Burgomasters, who taking pity of him, endeavoured to accommodate the business in the Consistory, to the end that he might be restored by them to his former office. But *Peter Plancius* plainly told them; *he might apply himself to his friends at Utrecht, and let them help him.* At last, after many hard shifts, he was forced to go to the *East Indies* in the year 1613, for the support of his family. By the turning this man out of the office of Visitor of the Sick, the Ministers that were of the *Remonstrants* opinion, thought they could easily guess what was to be expected, in case *Plancius* and the rest of the Clergy of his side could attain their ends.

And some of that Order at *Amsterdam* made no scruple, in the transports of their zeal, to call those who did not agree with them in the article of *Predestination*, *Hammalukes*, *Devils*, and *Plagues*. Nay, some were so bold as to regale the Magistrates, at the entrance upon their offices, whilst sitting at table, with pamphlets and papers, in order to animate them against the *Remonstrants*, as was done particularly by one *David Mustard*, Reader of one of the principal churches in *Amsterdam*, with great assurance; and also by *Herman Albertson*, Sexton of the same church, in a little Tract, published by him under the title of a *Mirrour for young Men*. *David Mustard* used the following expressions:

Furious Zeal of
the Amster-
dam Clergy.

—————*pellite ab urbe mala,*
Pellite ab urbe mala quoque semina, pellite pestem,
Qua basis æterni dogmatis eruitur.

In some sermons, the Preachers entertained the people with the behaviour of the *Israelites* at their entrance into the land of *Canaan*, repeating their divine command of driving out the ancient inhabitants, destroying their images and idols, and dividing the country among themselves by lot; together with the threats of those evils that were to befall them, in case they did not drive out those nations; applying the whole to the state of these Provinces, to the end they should act after the same manner. Sometimes they cried out from the pulpit: *We must go through thick and thin, without fearing to stick in the mire: we know what Elijah did to Baal's Priests.* When the time

¹ From the *Memoirs of the Heer Hooff*. *Uitenbogart's Life*, p. 141. and *Taurin about mutual Toleration*, Lib. XII. p. 19.

AN^O DOM. 1611. time drew near for the election of new Magistrates, they prayed to God for such men, as would be zealous even to blood, though it were to cost the whole trade of the town. There appeared a desire of producing some great change in the Government; for they publicly wished, that God would raise up a Gideon or a Jehu for that purpose. They began likewise at this time to endeavour to exclude out of the Magistracy at Amsterdam, all such as were more moderate than others in the business of Predestination, in which some of the Clergy seemed to concern themselves. And it was not only known some weeks before the election, which was at the beginning of the year 1611, what kind of Magistrates we were to have, but even six or seven months before, a certain Minister said to one of the ruling Burgomasters, that there was a design of bringing such a one into the Government, which happened accordingly.

A Question
proposed in the
Council of
XXXVI, at
Amsterdam.

Considerations
on that Que-
stion.

Soon after the election, the Burgomasters proposed, but upon what occasion does not occur to me, the following question to the Council of XXXVI; viz. *Whether any one knew, or had observed, that our Ministers aimed at the Government?* Upon which Question, one of the oldest Members of the Council offered the following Considerations to the Assembly: *That he thought, in case by the expression, our Ministers, the Clergy of other places were to be understood as well as those of Amsterdam, (inasmuch as the present divisions had spread themselves over all Holland) he verily believed, that if the Clergy in general, or some of them in particular, had formed any design of getting the Government into their hands, they would not manage it so bunglingly, as to declare their intentions so plainly; but if any stress might be laid upon probable arguments, he thought the following circumstances well deserved their attention; to wit, The irreverence of the Clergy towards the Civil Magistrates, which had shown itself ever since the year 1578; the loss of Flanders, which was owing to the violent zeal of Ministers; the opprobrious language used by the Ministers in the year 1587; the business of Modet, and others at Utrecht; the attempts of altering the Government at Amsterdam upon the same foot; the opposition and rebellion of the Classis of Alkmaer against their Magistrates and their Sovereigns, the States; the displacing Herman Barentson, one of the Visitors of the Sick; the daily inveighing against the Rulers of the City, because of the great prevalency of vice and immorality, such as Fornication, Drunkenness, Murder, and the like evils, as if they were not as disagreeable to the Magistrates as to them, the Ministers; the introducing foreigners into the Consistory, who acted without any regard to oaths or rules, and without the knowledge or consent of the Magistrates; assuming to themselves the title of the Church of Amsterdam, notwithstanding that very few of the natives were concerned in their transactions; that in the choice of Ministers there was not sufficient authority allowed to the Magistrates, but when notice was given of any Call, they pretended that the matter pressed, and could not bear the delay of a particular inquiry into their characters, qualifications, lives, and conversations; that some years ago, one or more Ministers had demanded money of Gilbert Janson vander Pol, then a Deacon, to be disposed of, without the knowledge of the Deacons, according to the mind of the person desiring it; that not long since money was asked of the Deacons in private, and at their own houses, to be bestowed upon a certain Minister, who had been very zealous for Hillenius and his party, with a promise of getting it allowed when their accounts were passed before the College, or body of the Deacons.*

¹ This Charge related to Plancius and Ursinus, who had asked and received fifty Reals of Eight, or a hundred Guilders, in order to be presented to one Peter Janson, (formerly Minister of Abkoude, but turned out by the States of Utrecht for his seditious behaviour, and afterwards by the interest of Plancius and Hillenius preferred to the Cure of Egmont on the Hoove) who in the business of the Alkmaer divisions joined with Hillenius, and laboured much in promoting the schism. All these matters the Burgomaster thought might well deserve attention.

Reflections cast
on the Magi-
stracy from the
Pulpit.

² Not long after, to wit in May, a Minister was heard to cry with great vehemence from the pulpit, in one of the churches at Amsterdam, that there were within the said City, Libertines or Freethinkers, who hated the sincere Ministers of God, who persecuted them, and endeavoured to turn them out of their office. This was understood to be a reflection upon the Magistrates, because they endeavoured to oppose the heats of some of the Clergy. Besides, several of the chief of their hearers complained that the

¹ See the History of the Relation of Alkmaer, p. 109, 138, 151.

² From the Memoirs of a Magistrate of Amsterdam.

the preaching of the Clergy in that City was not, as it ought to be, calculated for AN^O DOM. the promoting repentance and holiness. The Ministers always talked, they said, 1611. about Grace, and the promises of the Gospel, but very seldom of the duty of man. They seemed to pass over the strongest motives for repentance, though the times required it. Before they entered on their sermons, they sometimes indeed named texts which afforded matter enough to draw tears from peoples eyes; but instead of pursuing the same, they quitted their subject, and spent the time in controversy, disputing by themselves without an opponent, and making conclusions suited to the differences that were then on foot, without allowing their hearers to judge of them. It grieved especially many of the bravest and most ancient *Hollanders*, to see several of the Clergy, strangers born out of these Provinces, domineering, as they thought, and assuming too much power and authority over the natives, and yet still aiming at more. Upon this head we have met with a certain discourse among the papers of the Heer *Hooft*, in his own hand-writing, relating to the affairs of the year 1611, that ought not to be concealed from posterity for many reasons which will appear from the contents of it.

What some thought amiss in the Sermons of the Amsterdam Clergy.

‘ We are now so far advanced in the *Reformation* (*says he*) that not only good, judicious, and honourable persons, and all others that are in no actual office in the Consistory, but even the Magistrates of cities and towns, and some of the chief Officers of the land (though they have several times discharged the office of Eldership with great fidelity) are looked upon as unqualified to judge of the present differences in the Church. Whereas others, among whom are Elders that are not always present in the Consistory, and some of them never there, assume to themselves that judgment from which the former are excluded. This is not just; we ought to indulge one another more, without obliging any to submit his opinion to those of others, much less suffering him to be misled into a separation from our best Patriots by those, who being for the most part foreigners, cannot do it, but with a very ill grace. These men seek to introduce into our country new and rigorous ways, which they know were destructive to their own, as may be partly learnt by the entire exclusion of the ancient inhabitants from the service of the Church; who for the sake of the dangers they had encountered, and what they suffered in their exile, were at first preferred to all others in this City; but now have not been used in many years, others being taken into their places, some of them perfect novices, and others strangers, because the old ones were judged unfit for the work that is now on the anvil.

A Discourse of the Burgomaster Cornelius Peterfon Hooft on the Conduct and Design of some of the Clergy.

‘ It was taken notice of many years ago, that the Clergy of this place were not satisfied with the liberty they themselves enjoyed, but had an inclination to oppress and deprive others of theirs, though they lived peaceably under the Government, and no danger was apprehended from them; but they durst not attempt it with such disorder and violence, during the time of the old inhabitants, who were called to the Government soon after the reduction of the City; for they being contented with that mercy and liberty which God, contrary to all mens expectation, had so wonderfully granted, would have taken the utmost care not to split the ship of the Commonwealth, to the inevitable danger of the lives and fortunes of such an infinite number of men, and of innocent women and children too, upon the rock of a tyrannical power.——It is certain, that those of the Consistory do not behave themselves better in their conversation and manners, than other good and worthy men; why then should not the latter be trusted as well as the former? unless it be looked upon as a misfortune or a disqualification to be born a *Hollander*; as some have had the confidence to say, that the *Hollanders* are not so zealous nor pious as those of *Brabant* or *Flanders*.—All the ecclesiastical troubles and uneasinesses that have plagued our country, take their rise from foreigners: formerly we complained of the putting upon us new Bishops, and introducing them into the Government, and yet we tamely suffer foreign Clergymen to arrogate the like authority to themselves. We permit them to go on without interruption, and to exact from the Churchwardens the expences they are at in traveling forwards and backwards, for promoting their own business and designs, without any order of the Burgomasters, and in contempt of the Government. These men, who, as I said before, are most of them strangers, do presume to prescribe laws to the natives for unusual subscriptions; they will likewise be both Accusers and Judges in the matters which are brought before

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before them, and endeavour to make the Magistrates the Executioners of their sentences. These are the men, who are trying to erect in a Christian Country an *Imperium in Imperio*, or a twofold and concurring jurisdiction; nay who seem to aim at nothing more than exalting the Ecclesiastical above the Civil Powers, refusing to own the supreme authority of the latter, and making no distinction between a Church under the protection of a Christian State, and that which is under persecution. It is aiming at too great authority, when a Church or Consistory, in such a Christian Government, for this or that private cause (not punishable by the Laws of the Land, and which the Ministers themselves connive at in persons of authority, who like great Flies break through the cobwebs) take upon them to cite the common people before their Tribunal, put them to shame, bring them under obloquy and contempt, and by such very partial and prejudicial methods, establish and maintain a second kind of publick jurisdiction. It is very amazing, that we concede such a power to these men, and allow them to intrude themselves into affairs of the greatest moment, even without restraining them by oaths, rules and instructions: which is a liberty never taken by the greatest Personages of the Land upon any account whatever; for the Magistrates of Cities and Towns are restrained to the ordering matters conformably to their Oaths and Commissions. To this it is replied, that the Clergy and Consistories are sufficiently limited by the word of God; as if forsooth that did not affect all other good men in other honourable posts, as much as them; or as if they had divested themselves of all humane passions and infirmities more than other honest people.

There is also another thing well worth our attention, with respect to the Clergy; it is, that their Canons and Decrees are not promulgated like the Laws and Edicts of Temporal Sovereigns. This was one of the matters in dispute with the Classis of *Alkmaer*, who concealed their Journal or Register; and when they were obliged to produce it by the Magistrates, it appeared that some leaves had been torn out of it.

How warmly and fiercely do some now push on the business of *Predestination* and other points. But in case the whole Clergy of the Land, were unanimous in those deep Mysteries, would it not be absurd and unreasonable in the highest degree, for them to press the said opinions upon the States of the Province, to the end that they might oblige all their Subjects to embrace the same, without hearing what could be objected against them, upon pain of death, or perpetual banishment of them, their Wives and Children? And would it not be yet much more absurd and unreasonable, if such a Law were made by a majority of the Ministers, though opposed by a great number of their Brethren, the Clergy, that all the opponent Ministers should undergo the like punishment on that account? Would not that be a sad return, for so gracious success as God has vouchsafed to grant these Provinces under their distress. And yet I cannot find but some such design is upon the anvil. If such a thing should be brought to pass, by the contrivance of the Clergy, and for want of the vigilance of the Government, then Lord have mercy on us! It is true, there is a great Anchor to be weighed; but I am of opinion that it will be better effected by true Wisdom, Divine Art, and the discreet Authority of the Christian Magistrate, than by the Fury and Force of Men: for we commonly experience, that storms and tempests attended with thunder and lightning produce a change of the wind; but when they are composed, the wind returns to its old corner from whence it blew before. By these storms we are bereft of the sweet breathings and harmony of Government and Civil Unity: after so many tryals and sufferings, there seems to remain no hopes or expectation of a calm from those who have occasioned the tempests; yea, it rather seems as if they had driven Peace and Charity out of the world, and that this is their constant endeavour; insomuch, that it is almost *Heresy*, or at least a great fault, to reprove them. Whereas, nevertheless, there is no one thing more recommended to us in the Holy Writ, nor any surer characteristic or mark of our being the Children of God, than sincere love and humility; neither is there any thing more necessary for supporting the same, than a mutual forbearance and connivance at one anothers frailties and defects: of which the examples are innumerable; as are also those of Kingdoms, Provinces and Cities that have been destroyed by discord; which if they had preserved unity among them, might have retained their liberties, and still continued in a flourishing condition. There-

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fore the actions of those (whether Clergymen or Laymen) who labour to foment divisions, ought to be suspected by us. And since the faults of these men do extremely affect the welfare of our Country, and the tranquility of the Subject; and we may, if I mistake not, discover in all their proceedings, that they eagerly aim at domineering over those who do not agree with them in all points (which their Brethren, against whom they are chiefly so violent, cannot in my opinion be charged with;) and since this is not to be born compatibly with the present circumstances of the Land, nor suffered by Christians in general; it is therefore highly necessary, and more than time, that the supream Powers should use all proper means, and proceed with becoming prudence and discretion against these evils; they being such as are diametrically opposite to the fundamental maxims of our Government, and to the occasion of the long and bloody War with the King of Spain, the enemy of our common liberty. — If our Clergy could be brought to a more yielding and moderate temper, how would it tend to the increase of the Church, and to the spreading of the Reformation? And I cannot but think, that many more good men would come to the Communion of the Lord's Supper, if they might be received, according to St. Paul's directions, upon their having examined themselves, without being subject to the rigid scrutiny of the Ministers, as to their intire and absolute agreement in doctrine with the Confession and Catechism, and other burthens which they lay upon them. Our modern divisions and misunderstandings are not so much founded at present upon our agreement or disagreement with respect to the Scriptures, as upon the dispute about the meaning and exposition of certain passages therein, with regard to which no judgment is allowed to the private Members of the Church: as likewise upon humane institutions, that are in a manner set on a level with the Holy Writ, and which we are required inviolably to observe. Whereas in my poor opinion, these ought to be ordained and abrogated with due regard to the state of the times, and so as may tend most to edification, according to the Decrees of the first Council of Jerusalem. I know very well that there ought to be some order observed in a Community, and that irregularities or disorders ought to be obviated, as far as may be done with reason and discretion. But it seems to me, absurd and improper, that people should be so bound and fettered by any order to the opinions of a few melancholy and splenetick men, and especially of foreigners, who are so full of jealousies and suspicions, that they fancy there is an end of all religion and truth among such as do not implicitly follow them in all points.

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About this time there broke out a dangerous sedition at *Utrecht*, (in which some churchmen had a finger too) but it was happily suppressed with the punishment of some of the mutineers. The plot consisted in surprizing the Garrison, changing the whole Magistracy or Government of the City, and restoring Yonker *Richard Kanter* and *Henry van Helsdingen* to the office of Burgomasters. To this end, the conspirators bound themselves by a dreadful oath to keep the whole design secret, wishing, that whoever discovered, or confessed it, might be the Devils property. *Kanter* and *Helsdingen* were, as principal leaders, contrivers and abettors of this Plot, on the 7th of May for ever banished, by the Committee of the States General, by the States of this Province in particular, and by the Courts of Justice in the City of *Utrecht*, from all the *United Netherlands*, upon pain of death, if they returned; the whole estate also of *Kanter* was declared to be forfeited, and half of that of *Helsdingen*. *John Klinket*, *John Ruisch Bastart*, *Gerrit Obyn* the Postmaster, and *Andrew Henrikson*, Sexton and Schoolmaster, being convicted of the same design, were condemned to be beheaded, and all their effects confiscated. But *Klinket*, to whom hopes of mercy had been given, for his ingenuous confession and discovery of the whole mystery, obtained, upon his humble petition, forgiveness of his crime, and freedom from punishment. The sentence against the rest was likewise moderated by the intervention of the Burgomasters, Clergy and Consistory. Their lives were granted them, but they were banished on pain of death if they ever returned, and all their effects confiscated. Some others of the conspirators were clapt up in prison, some that fled were banished for life, some for a term of years:

A Tumult at
Utrecht.

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The Confession
of the Sexton of
St. Nicholas
Church at the
place of Execu-
tion.

The most proba-
ble Motives
which occasion-
ed the Tumult.

one was sentenced to pay a small fine ; and another pardoned for having discovered some of the intended mischief. After which there was a general pardon published for all the rest of the Burghers and Inhabitants that had been any ways concerned in this conspiracy. Three of those who were condemned to lose their heads, and who, when they came upon the scaffold, knew no otherwise than that they should die, confessed their crime publickly ; and the Sexton of St. Nicholas declared in the hearing of all the people : *That he had been so imbibbered against some Ministers ; to wit, Johannes Speenhovius, and Jacobus Taurinus ; that if the plot had succeeded, he designed to have murdered them with his own hands.*

This wicked intention, which the standers-by heard with great astonishment and concern, did he confess of his own accord, without being asked or instigated to it by any body, having disclosed it to no man before the sentence of death was passed upon him. It seemed from hence, that this attempt was levelled also against the *Remonstrants* ; for those two Ministers abovenamed were known to be of their party, neither were the Magistrates averse to them. ¹ And accordingly *Kanter* and *Helsdingen* are esteemed by some to have been *Contraremonstrants*, and to have suffered for that cause. ² Though others think the former had other views in the matter of religion, very different from those of the *Contraremonstrants* ; for having been chosen Burgomaster of *Utrecht* in the year 1588, after the expulsion of *Leicester's* faction, he favoured the church of St. James, and did all that lay in him to disband the Consistory, to bring in other Ministers, and to establish the Ecclesiastical Constitution, which was so odious to most of the Clergy, and afterwards laboured also to introduce *Uitenbogart* to the Ministry and Pulpit again at *Utrecht*. But having been since then kept out of the Government (by others, either through their ambition or hatred, or for having rendered himself obnoxious to them) he could not submit to lead a private life ; nay, at the last, being animated by his own love of dominion, or misled by the factious spirits of others, he suffered himself to be engaged by *Helsdingen*, in the beginning of the year 1610, as one of the heads and managers of the tumults in the aforesaid City, when all was turned topsy turvy by the conspirators, who ceased not till the old Magistrates were forcibly thrust out of the Government, and he and *Helsdingen*, with others, settled in it. This was done with a declaration ; *That there was no Faction nor Popery in the said Revolution.* However, they assured the Papists, at the beginning of the tumult, *That their design was to allow them, as peaceable Citizens, who had joined in taking up arms against the Spaniards, and demolishing the Castle of Fredenburg, some more liberty in the exercise of their religion.* With other Sects they used other arguments, adapted to their respective opinions and passions, in order to stir them up ; and to the Ministers of the City (who saw with sorrow this mutinous temper of the common people, and who did their utmost to pacify them, and to inspire into every one a sense of his duty) upon their application to the Burgomasters, the said *Kanter* spake to this effect : *That the Papists must not be molested in their houses, nor interrupted in the exercise of their religion ; and that the former Magistracy were too severe against them.* At which the Ministers appearing surprized, he desired, *That they would consider a little more maturely of these matters, in order to give their advice at a proper season, how to proceed in the best manner ; since they, the Magistrates, intended to consult further with the Ministers about it at a convenient time.* Before this, at the time of the Negotiations about the Truce, he had been heard to say ; *That a church ought to be allowed likewise to the Romanists, because they had assisted in carrying on the War, and in establishing those of the Religion.*

But after several disorders committed by the armed Mob, and the beginning of a Siege which ensued, he, with the rest of the new Governours, were deposed, and the old ones restored. Then he obtained a pardon for his offences, upon condition that he would for the time to come behave himself quietly, and not engage in any other commotions ; and that in case he did, he should be punished as a disturber of the publick tranquillity, with the loss of life and estate ; and yet could he not forbear joining in this last plot. His fall was much pitied by some, on account of his great age and learning, he being forced to spend his latter days (in which nature requires most rest) in exile, by reason of his turbulent and ambitious temper. ³ His excel-

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¹ Sandef. Lib. V. p. 163.

² Bor. Lib. XXV. p. 18.—Lib. XXX. p. 55. Uiten. p. 64.—p. 136. Cent. Lib. II. p. 77.—Cassaub. Epist. p. 272. His Life, p. 11.

³ Lipf. Epist. Lugd. Bat. 1590. Cent. Lib. I.

DCXLIII. p. 819.

lent learning, of which his Comment upon *Arnobius* and other Treatises, are a clear specimen, conciliated to him the friendship of *Lipsius*, *Casaubon*, and other lights of his age. And accordingly he endeavoured by the means of the latter to secure the protection of the King of *Great Britain* and his intercession for him with the States: But *Casaubon* told him, that being wholly ignorant of what had passed there, he did not see any means of doing him service, and the rather, because the ancient friendship between that Prince and the States was a little cooled; yet comforted him with assurances of a sincere friendship and concern for him, and promises of contributing all that lay in his power to make him ease. He betook himself first to *Antwerp*, and afterwards to *Leeuwarden*, the country of his ancestors; where having entered upon the 72d year of his age, he died in the year of our Lord 1617. He was buried at *Hattem* in *Gelderland*. *Henry van Helsinghen* ended his days at *Amsterdam*.

But to resume the thread of our History: Pursuant to the Resolution of the States, made in *December*, there were several conferences both by word of mouth and writing in the months of *March*, *April* and *May* of this year 1611, about the doctrine of *Predestination*, and the points depending on it, in the *Hague*, between six Ministers of the one party, and as many of the other. Those of the *Reformed* or *Contraremonstrants*, were, *Ruardus Acronius*, *Petrus Plancius*, *Johannes Becius*, *Liber-tus Fraxinus*, *Johannes Bogardus*, and *Festus Hommius*. Those of the side of the *Remonstrants*, were, *Johannes Uitenbogart*, *Adrianus Borrius*, *Edvardus Poppius*, *Nicolaus Grevinkhovius*, *Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus*, and *Simon Episcopius*. These twelve Gentlemen debated long, and with great pains, the differences concerning the five Points, without being able to come to an agreement. The States of *Holland* having heard both sides, gave the victory to neither, but unanimously resolved, on the 20th of *May*, not one dissenting, 'That the aforementioned Five Points should subsist as before the Conference: That the Ministers should be exhorted and required, on both sides, to treat each other with brotherly and christian charity, to join in bringing matters to peace and tranquillity; and to handle the said Points with such moderation and discretion, as was most likely to promote peace and edification.' This was the first Resolution which the States came to, requiring a mutual toleration and forbearance, with respect to the aforesaid five Points, and serving as the foundation of their following resolutions, as containing in general terms, all that has been since more particularly expressed by them. Neither did the Ministers (who still called and owned each other at that time for Brethren) contradict the Resolution, and the Order contained in it, but, both jointly and separately, consented to conform themselves obediently to it, for the time to come; nay, they actually persevered for a good while after in a mutual Church-Communion, and in some places there was even a formal stipulation, or agreement, made between them; a plain token that they looked upon their differences to be tolerable.

The Ministers who opposed the *Remonstrants*, and who then assumed to themselves the stile and title of Deputies of the Church, but were expressly required by the States to lay it aside in this Conference, because the Synods of *North* and *South Holland*, from whom they derived their authority, had been suspended till a Provincial Synod could be called: I say, those Ministers presented, at the beginning of the Conference, a certain Remonstrance, or Memorial, directly levelled against that which their adversaries had delivered in the year before. From this *Contraremonstrance*, as it was then called, they got the name of *Contraremonstrants*.

In this paper, which was published among the other pieces of the Conference at the *Hague*, they declared their opinion about the business of *Predestination*, and the points belonging to it, with remarkable reproaches against the *Remonstrants*.

It may not be amiss to subjoin the opinion of the said *Contraremonstrants* in their own words, as then proposed:

4 They said, that as to *Predestination*, the following doctrines were preached and maintained in their churches, as far as appeared to them; to wit, 'First, That forasmuch as the whole race of mankind being created after the image of God in *Adam*, were involved and fallen in the sin of *Adam*, and were thereby so tainted and corrupted, that

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¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. IV. p. 40. and his Oration to the Magistrates of Amsterdam, p. 31. *al. p. 135. a. l. 42.* the said States in November and December 1616. Uitenb. p. 534. Trigl. p. 553.
² Grot. Apol. Lib. IV. p. 40. His Oration at Amsterdam, his Justification of the Resolution of the States of Holland, taken Aug. 4, 1617. and the Resolution of
³ Hague Conference, p. 13.
⁴ Vid. Ibid. p. 21. Trigl. p. 548. Baud. Mem. Lib. II. p. 34.

Conferences held at the Hague, concerning the Doctrine of Predestination and the Points relating to it.

The Original of the Name of Contraremonstrants.

The Opinion of the Contraremonstrants, with respect to the Points of Predestination, and its Consequences, as declared in their Contraremonstrance.

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that all men since that time are conceived and born in sin, and so by nature are become the children of wrath, being dead in their trespasses, and consequently no more able of themselves sincerely to turn to God, and to believe in *Christ*, than a dead man to rise of himself from the grave: God has therefore exempted and freed a certain number of men from this general perdition, whom he in his eternal and unalterable Council, of meer grace and favour, and according to the good pleasure of his own Will has elected or chosen to salvation by *Christ*, through his just judgment, passing by and leaving all others in their sins.

Secondly, That not only the Adult, who believe in *Christ*, and walk worthily according to the Gospel, are to be deemed the *Elect* children of God, but likewise all the children of the *Covenant*, as long as they do not actually show the contrary; therefore Believing Parents have no cause to doubt of the salvation of their children who die in their infancy.

Thirdly, That God did not consider in such his *Election*, the faith or conversion of his *Elect*, nor the right use and application of his gifts, as causes of the *Election*; but on the contrary, that he resolved and decreed in his eternal and unalterable Council, to grant to those, whom according to his own good pleasure he had elected to salvation, faith and perseverance, and so to save them.

Fourthly, That for this purpose, he has first of all graciously given his only begotten Son, whom he delivered to the death of the Cross, for the salvation of his *Elect*, in such manner, that although the passion of *Christ*, as the only begotten Son of God, is a sufficient ransom for the sins of all mankind, yet, pursuant to the aforesaid Council and Decree of God, it is only efficacious in the *Elect*, or true Believers, for the reconciliation and the pardon of their sins.

Fifthly, That moreover for the same purpose God causes his holy Gospel to be preached, and the Holy Ghost to operate externally, by the preaching of the said Gospel; and internally, by his particular Grace, with such power and efficacy in the hearts of God's *Elect*, that their understandings are thereby enlightened, their wills changed and renewed, that stony heart being taken away, and a heart of flesh given them, in such a manner, that they not only receive thereby a power to enable them to turn to God and believe, but that they actually and freely turn and believe.

Sixthly, That those whom God has thus purposed to bring to salvation, are not only at some time or other thus enlightened, regenerated, and renewed, without any concurrence on their own part, in order to their believing in *Christ*, and being converted to God; but that likewise by the same efficacy and power of the Holy Ghost, whereby they are once converted without their own co-operation, they are likewise continually supported and preserved in such manner, that though the temptations of the flesh do always attend them as long as they remain in this life, by which means there is a continual war between the flesh and spirit, so that they fall sometimes through weakness into grievous sins; yet in this war or strife the Holy Ghost is victorious, and prevails in them, not suffering the *Elect* of God so far to resist the spirit of sanctification, through the corruption of the flesh, as that it should be wholly extinguished in them; and that consequently they shall never lose finally and entirely the true faith once bestowed upon them, and that spirit of adoption which they once received.

Seventhly, That nevertheless true believers take no occasion from thence to abandon themselves carelessly to the sinful desires of the flesh, since it is impossible that they who are rooted in *Christ* by true faith, should not bring forth fruits of thankfulness; but on the contrary, the more they feel and are assured that God works in them both to will and do according to his good pleasure, the more will they take care to work out their salvation with fear and trembling; knowing that this is the only means whereby God vouchsafes to support them, and bring them to salvation: for which purpose also, he uses all kind of exhortations and threatenings in his word; but that is not to make them despair, or doubt of their salvation, but to stir up in them such a fear and dread as children show, by convincing them of the weakness of their flesh, on which account they would unavoidably perish, if they were not strengthened by the free and undeserved Grace of God, the only cause and foundation of their perseverance: so that though he commands them in scripture to *watch* and *pray*, yet neither have they this of themselves, that they are

‘ prepared

‘ prepared for the warfare, that they desire and obtain the assistance of God; but only
 ‘ from the same spirit which prepares them thereto of his special grace, and power-
 ‘ fully supports them in those conflicts.’

AN^O D^OM.
1611.

Thus spake the *Contraremonstrants* of the things in dispute between them and the *Remonstrants*, whom they charged with unjustly accusing the *Reformed* churches of articles which they disowned in their Remonstrance. ¹ But the latter have declared in a book since published by them, and intitled, *A Further Account*, against the former: ‘ That the articles which they in their said Remonstrance rejected, were not
 ‘ proposed as containing the doctrine of the *Reformed* church, but the particular
 ‘ principles and notions of some of the Ministers of that church, as well as of some
 ‘ among the *Contraremonstrants* themselves, whom they would not however have at-
 ‘ tacked, had they not perceived, *that they endeavoured to have obtruded these their*
 ‘ *private opinions, for articles of Faith*, not only by pressing them upon the people
 ‘ more and more as necessary, but likewise by endeavouring to oppress all those who
 ‘ did not exactly conform themselves to every thing therein contained; thus making
 ‘ that obligatory which was before indifferent, or at least which ought to be so:
 ‘ And they further protested, that they had not inserted one word in their said pa-
 ‘ per, but what they could plainly prove to be taken out of the writings of many
 ‘ Ministers (to wit, such as were either *Contraremonstrants*, or in great esteem with
 ‘ them) as they likewise offered to do at the Conference; but then their Brethren, the
 ‘ *Contraremonstrants*, would not hear speak of it, nor suffer the matter to be brought
 ‘ upon the stage (especially the business of *Reprobation*) saying, that their consci-
 ‘ ences would not allow them to enter upon debates with the *Remonstrants* con-
 ‘ cerning those matters from whence they knew before-hand, that nothing but fur-
 ‘ ther confusions in the Church, mutual imbittering of mens Minds, disturbances in
 ‘ the State, and obscuring of Truth would arise.’

The Ministers who had disputed with each other in the abovementioned Confe-
 rence at the *Hague*, drew up likewise on both sides a state of their differences, toge-
 ther with their thoughts and advices about the means which they believed might
 serve to accommodate them. The *Contraremonstrants* pressed on their part for hold-
 ing a National Synod, to the end that the things in controversy might be there deci-
 ded by the word of God; and such measures taken afterwards to preserve Unity, as
 should be judged necessary for supporting the truths of the Gospel, and maintaining
 the peace of the Church; or, in case that could not be allowed of, that then the ac-
 counts of the conferences might be transmitted to the most famous Universities of the
Reformed churches in foreign parts, and both sides submit to their determination.

Various Opinions concern-
ing the means
of accommoda-
ting the Diffe-
rences.

The *Remonstrants* on the other hand, were of opinion, **That both parties for-
 bearing to preach unedifying doctrines, ought by mutual Toleration to preserve the
 peace of the Church.**

After these papers had been read in the assembly of the States of *Holland*, they or-
 dered that the Remonstrances, and all other pieces, presented by both parties, should
 be printed and transmitted to the Nobles, and to each of the Towns, that they might
 seriously consider of them. —

And to the end that no farther divisions should be propagated or fomented in the
 churches, and among the people on account of these differences, the States thought
 fit to confirm and renew their Resolution of the 20th of *May*, declaring, ‘ That
 ‘ as they never had intended, nor did intend, that the opinions of the *Remonstrants*,
 ‘ with reference to the *five Points*, should be imposed upon any body; so neither
 ‘ did they think fit on the other hand, that any should be burthened with opinions
 ‘ beyond the said points, contrary to his conscience; but that all sides should live
 ‘ mutually like Brethren in christian charity, in the spiritual employments they actu-
 ‘ ally had or might have.’

The Resolution
of the States.

² This was the Resolution of the 15th of *September*; and some think it was taken
 before the state of the controversy, and the consequent advices had been presented;
 but from the sequel of affairs, which may be found in the Journals of the States, the
 contrary will appear.

¹ Uitenb. p. 577. Act. Syn. Dort, &c. p. 25.—223.

² Baud. Mem. Lib. II. p. 38. Uitenb. p. 538.

AN^o DOM.
1611.

In the same assembly of the States holden at that time, there was some provision made against the promoting further jealousies and misunderstandings. That which is registered in their books with relation to those matters, is as follows: ' Having perceived, by reading the Advice, signed by four of the *Contraremonstrant* Ministers, that they were of opinion, that certain Points or Articles were likely to be propagated (in Sermons and otherwise) contradictory to the *Reformed* christian doctrine: therefore (though the Assembly of the States have had no other notice of it) in order to prevent further misunderstandings and jealousies which may proceed from these matters, it is agreed to propose the following Resolution in the next Assembly, to be submitted to the further consideration of the Nobles and Cities. It is resolved by the States of *Holland* and *West Freeland*, that the doctrine of the Holy Gospel of our Lord *Jesus Christ* shall be preached and taught in the utmost purity, both in the Churches and Universities of the aforesaid Provinces; and having to that end made a provisional Order, first in the year 1610, and since then in the months of *May* and *September* last past, with regard to a mutual toleration of the several opinions concerning the Articles of *Predestination*, the *Death* of our *Saviour*, the *Operation* of *Grace* and *Perseverance*; having also lately renewed the said Order in this very Assembly, with further explanations thereupon; and expecting that it should be complied with and obeyed, they have further ordained, and do by these Presents ordain, that the points, of the *Perfect Satisfaction* of our *Saviour Jesus Christ* for Sin, of *Justification* before God Almighty, of *Saving Faith*, of *Original Sin*, of the *Certainty* of *Salvation*, and of the *Perfection* of *Man in this Life* (besides the aforesaid opinions with reference to the points before rehearsed) shall not be taught in the Churches and Universities of the Provinces of *Holland* and *West-Freeland*, otherwise than they are taught in the *Christian Reformed* Churches, and as they have hitherto been taught in the *Reformed* Churches of these Provinces; to which all persons are to conform themselves in teaching and preaching, on pain of being treated as contemners of the commands of their Sovereigns, and being actually deposed and discharged from their offices, and otherwise punished according as the nature of their offences shall require.'

Done at the Hague, the Third Day of December, 1611.

¹ This is the substance of what was then projected, and which is quoted by some as a *Formal Resolution* of the States; though others pretend it was entered into the Journals without being regularly put to the question. ² Accordingly the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* stile it in a certain paper which they published, a Project that was indeed proposed, and was taken *ad referendum* by the Nobles and Towns, but not agreed to nor established.

The *Remonstrants* thought that their adversaries were the occasion of this proposal, in order to render them odious, notwithstanding they had fully declared in their Memorial concerning the State of the difference, that they had no dispute with the rest of the Clergy, but in the business of the *five Points* only. But their defence of *Vorstius* had made some of the *Remonstrants* suspected. Besides, we find in the said Journals of the States, where the project or proposal abovementioned is entered, the following words: ' And the said Nobles and Deputies of the Towns, each of them respectively have engaged to labour seriously that these matters may be understood, taught and managed among the Governours and Ministers of the Church, and among their Congregations, in such a manner as may most tend to promote Love, Peace, and Concord.'

Further Proceedings against *Vorstius*.

The Controversy went on however; ³ some of the most zealous *Contraremonstrants*, and those who were on their side, opposed *Vorstius* more and more; some of them carried the quarrel beyond sea into *England*, and endeavoured to strengthen their party by procuring letters from thence. ⁴ But others observed that such practices were a deviation from the paths of the primitive christians, who forbade all appeals beyond the seas, on pain of excommunication. *Vorstius* endeavoured to justify himself by all kind of means both at home and abroad, and with his own mouth condemned the errors of *Socinus*. But the more pains he took, and the greater satisfaction he gave the States in this matter, the more did others rage against him, and against

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¹ The Answer of Amsterdam to the Provinces, Band. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 56.

² Uitenb. p. 544.

³ Grot. Piet. Ord. Hol. p. 6. Corvin. ad Bogerm. Part I. p. 30.

⁴ Grot. ibid. p. 13.

the States themselves too, who endeavoured to introduce him into the Place of *Arminius*. And these contradictions were carried so far, that some were of opinion that the States were not so much accused and defamed for the sake of *Vorstius*, as *Vorstius* on account of the States. At last some found means, by the assistance of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to engage King *James*, who then passed for the most learned Prince of his age, in the quarrel against *Vorstius*, by several letters to the States of the *United Provinces*, and by the Representations of his Ambassador, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, who treated *Vorstius* as an *Arch-heretick*, a *Pest*, and *Monster of Blasphemies*, saying, that his book deserved to be burnt, and his person to be severely punished, by banishment, or even by fire. *Arminius* is stiled in one of the King's letters, an enemy of God, and said to be the first who had infected *Leyden* with heresie in this age. He called the *Remonstrants* nothing but *Sectaries* and *Hereticks*, whose heresies ought to be timely extirpated. He said of *Peter Bertius*, that the Title alone of the book he had written, concerning the *Apostacy of the Saints*, rendered the Author worthy of the fire. In this Letter it was likewise affirmed, that *Vorstius* ought not to be admitted into the University, though he were innocent; there might be other men found in the Church, he thought, who were not branded with such scandal as he, that stood in need of a long penance and many years of probation before he could wholly purge and clear himself. At the conclusion of his Letters the King spoke in this language: *As God has honoured Us with the title of Defender of the Faith, so (if they incline to retain Vorstius any longer) we shall be obliged, not only to separate and cut Ourselves off from such false and heretical churches, but likewise to call upon all the rest of the Reformed churches, to enter upon some common consultation, how we may best extinguish, and send back to hell, these cursed heresies that have newly broken forth. And as for Ourselves, We shall be necessitated to forbid all the Youth of Our subjects to frequent an University that is so infected as that of Leyden.*

AN^O DOM.
1611.

King James of
England op-
poses Vorstius
and the Re-
monstrants.

And causes his
Books to be
burnt.

A Memorial of
the King con-
cerning the Af-
fair of Vorstius.

At the same time the Ambassador desired the States, in the King's name, to make some Regulations with respect to religion, in order to check the boundless extravagance of disputes, which produced nothing but parties and factions; and moreover to abrogate entirely the liberty of prophesying, so greatly extolled and recommended to the States by *Vorstius* in the Preface of his book against *Bellarmin*.³ Whatever the States replied to the King, in order to give him satisfaction, was in vain; he caused the books of *Vorstius* to be burnt in *St. Paul's* church-yard, and at both the Universities; and pressed them continually to banish or keep him out of *Holland*: but when notwithstanding all this, he was kindly received and suffered to come and live at *Leyden*, the Ambassador gave in a Memorial full of protestations, on the behalf of the King, to the States, against the injustice, harm, and scandal offered, as he thought, to the *Protestant* Religion, by the receiving and entertaining of *Vorstius* (whom he stiled a *Wicked Atheist*) at *Leyden*; complaining of the force and violence done to the League between the King and the States, which being founded upon the support and defence of the *Reformed* Religion, was, as far as lay in them, violated and broken by these proceedings — against all which he, the King, would shew his resentments.

This passed in *December*: After which the King published his Declaration about the business of *Vorstius* in several languages; containing an account of all that he had done in that affair by his Ambassador and Letters to the States, and the reasons that obliged him to concern himself with another's Government, namely, *His zeal for the Glory*

² Declaration du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, p. 3. &c. Baud. Mem. Lib. II. p. 53.

³ Bertius maintains in that Book, the Title whereof is, *Hymenæus desertor, five de Sanctorum Apostasia Problemata duo*; that is, The Deserter *Hymenæus*, or two Questions about the Apostacy of the Saints; that, first, one who is justified, may fall from that Justification: secondly, that the Justification which such a man fell from, was nevertheless a true Justification.

And it has been observed by some, that several English Divines both then and since have advanced and defended the same Positions (particularly William Thompson in his book, intituled, *Diatriba*, that is, a Discourse proving that one may lose Grace and Justification for ever, and for a time) without being censured on that account. Yea, the famous John Overal, formerly Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Dean of *St. Paul's*, and after-

wards Bishop of *Lichfield*, writing about these matters, declares the Opinion of the English Church concerning Predestination, and the Points depending on it, in these words: Certainly that Notion of the Perseverance of all those who have once believed and are regenerated, about which there is such cavilling, was never approved by any of the Fathers, but rejected by all Antiquity; and more than sufficiently confuted by the continual experience of all Ages, and it has only been started in these last times; being introduced into the Church by the Jealousies arisen between *Zwinglius* with his Followers, and *Luther*. Vid. Collection of Papers printed at London, 1651. p. 55. As also the Answer to the Contraremonstrance of the Contraremonstrants, printed at the Hague, 1617, p. 187.

³ Declarat. du Roy, p. 8. Uitenb. p. 563. Baud. Lib. II. p. 70, 71.

A^N° D^O M. 1612. *Glory of God, his Love for his Friends and Allies, and Fear of the same contagion in his own Kingdoms.*

Vorstius
makes his De-
fence before the
States of Hol-
land.

A Resolution of
the States
thereupon.

So strong a current repelled the affairs of *Vorstius*. He desired and obtained of the States of *Holland* a hearing in *March* 1612, when in a full Assembly he justified himself against the accusations of his adversaries to the satisfaction of most of the Members; desiring likewise that he might be permitted to avoid the storm which blew so violently upon him, and abstain for a while from the discharge of the office he was called to, but upon which he had not yet entered. The States deliberating upon his business, many among them were of opinion that he had fully cleared himself, and that he ought to be immediately admitted into his office. Some were for dismissing him with an honourable Testimonial. But at last it was judged and resolved that it would be best and most serviceable for him forthwith to deliver copies of the Apology, or Defence, which he had made, in the *Dutch* and *Latin* tongues; that so the States might notify the same to the King of *Great Britain*, and the most proper measures might be taken to give that Prince satisfaction; to which end the said Apology should be taken into further consideration with the first opportunity. It was likewise ordered, that *Vorstius* should draw up a clear, plain and full answer, in one Volume or Treatise, to all the books and papers that had been published both at home and abroad, in the space of a year, against any of his books, or that should be published in the approaching first three months: and to the end that he might do it with care and exactness, according to the importance of the matter, he should be allowed a whole year, or a year and a half; that in the mean time, till the States should otherwise direct, he should forbear the discharge of his Professorship, of which nevertheless he should enjoy the Stipend; and the Committee of the States, the Curators and Burgomasters of *Leyden* should adjust with him a place where he might dwell quietly and securely, provided it were neither at the *Hague* nor at *Leyden*.¹ Pursuant to this Resolution it was thought fit he should settle himself by his own consent at *Gouda*, for the purposes already mentioned, and for certain reasons of State, but without prejudice or disparagement to his former and present services, and that he should remain under the protection of the States of *Holland*.² *Grotius* relates, that the States exhorted him, 'to examine his words and writings between God and his own conscience, in order to defend that which was justifiable; but to atone for what he could not defend, by a sincere acknowledgment of his mistakes.' This was the more reasonable and necessary, because even some impartial persons, though convinced that he had been too vehemently opposed, were yet of opinion, that in his book, concerning *God* and the *Divine Properties*, he had sometimes treated of them in such a crude manner, that it looked as if he was about to infuse into the minds of men strange opinions, never before heard of in the church of God.

For a certain writer since observed, that had he had any other views, he acted very imprudently, in treating things of so great moment after such a manner; adding, that he would do well to explain his opinions so clearly, that good men in particular might no longer have any cause of suspicion. But before he could follow this advice, the ill-will of his enemies got the upperhand: Zeal has no ears, nor can the mouth of prejudice or prepossession be easily stopped when it is once opened; and the aversion to him was now grown so great, that a certain Gentleman of no small figure in *Zeland*, being informed by *Uitenbogart* that *Vorstius* was to quit *Leyden*, could not forbear showing great joy, and said thus, *he ought to be turned not only out of Leyden, but likewise out of all the States dominions*. The Minister exhorted him not to entertain such tyrannical opinions: He cried, *Why! not against Hereticks?* To which *Uitenbogart* answered; *When all the Hereticks are banished the land, I'll go along with them; but who shall defend our country?* Then the zealous Gentleman owning his mistake, said, *We must make a difference*. Others wished they might see *Vorstius* burning at a stake.³ The English Ambassador too shewed his aversion to him; for writing to the King his Master upon occasion of the sudden death of *Elias van Oldenbarnevelt*, Brother to the Advocate of *Holland*, he used these

A Letter of the English Ambassador Winwood to the King. expressions: *Oldenbarnevelt, the Pensionary of Rotterdam, lately one of the Ambassadors of this State to your Majesty, and one of the Deputies to the States of Holland, went yesterday well to bed, and was found dead this morning in his Brother's house, where*

¹ Uitenb. p. 574.

² Piet. Ord. Holl. p. 14.

³ Uitenb. Journal on the Year, 1612.

⁴ From the Copies of G. R. Doublert.

where he resided. The judgments of God are inscrutable. This event occasions much discourse; ¹ for he was not only a Patron of Arminius, and Defender of Vorstius, but likewise a Persecutor of those of the Reformed Religion. The Divine Justice has leaden feet, but iron hands. A^N° D^OM. 1612.

By these words, Persecutor of those of the Reformed Religion, he seems to accuse him of ill-will or severity against the Contraremonstrants of Rotterdam. And some think he was of opinion that the Magistrates were bound to prevent those separate meetings which they were then setting up, and which were afterwards prohibited by the Government.

² It was likewise said, that the Advocate Oldenbarnevelt was too great a favourer of Vorstius and the Remonstrants, nay, Winwood cried, That Uitenbogart governed the Advocate, and the Advocate the States. And Karon the Heer van Schonewall, Ambassador from the States in England, writ word to the Advocate, that there was a report in that country, that he was imprisoned at Woerden; a presage of the misfortunes which afterwards befel him. Some said, that the affairs of the Remonstrants had succeeded better, if Vorstius had not been called. Prince Maurice hearing Vorstius spoken of, said one time; It is given out by many, that I have written in favour of the Call of Vorstius: what I did was by the advice of Uitenbogart, who so highly commended him to me; but I think that matter was pushed on a little too hastily.

This coolness of the Stadtholder much embarrassed some of the Remonstrants. And it is thought by some that the aversion they soon after discovered in that Prince, was chiefly owing to the favour they found with Oldenbarnevelt, and the dependance they had on him who was obnoxious to the Stadtholder. It was thought by the Remonstrants, that the counsels of the Advocate tended to moderation, as did their own, which they endeavoured to convince him of, that he might help to screen them from oppression, and bring matters to mutual forbearance and peace. To this he seemed very much disposed of his own accord, but was of opinion that the mismanagement which he apprehended in Church affairs could not be obviated or prevented for want of good Ecclesiastical laws received and confirmed by the Government. He therefore laboured with all his might to incline the States to establish the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the year 1591, and give it the sanction of a Law. Most of the Members of the States of Holland approved this scheme of his, but others opposed it, delaying to give their resolutions upon that business, till the differences arisen in Church matters, could be accommodated. And it was at a consultation about these matters, that one of the Burgomasters offered his sentiments, some time before, in the Council Chamber of Amsterdam, in the following words:

Oldenbarnevelt seeks to introduce the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Year 1591.

‘ This affair, Gentlemen, of the Governments regulating Church matters by their own authority, is of the more weight and importance, since the first project or scheme of it was founded upon the care and experience of the late Prince of Orange, of glorious memory, and occasioned by the behaviour of some of the Clergy, to whom the loss of Flanders is owing. To which may be added (for we all remember it) the danger these Provinces were in, under Leicester’s administration, which was also increased by the preposterous zeal of some Clergymen. What happened on that occasion, both here and elsewhere, we know very well, as also how God was pleased to deliver us from it, without any notable hurt to the said Clergy. For which reason, those people ought, methinks, to have shown more easiness since, and concurred too in preventing all disturbances. But since, God help us! we are now engaged the third time in the like inconveniences by the proceedings of some of the Clergy, it is high time, in my opinion, that we should begin to provide against them. Above all, I look upon it to be absolutely necessary, that from henceforwards all matters of importance, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, be no otherwise transacted than by the consent of the lawful Government; leaving only to the Clergy the office of preaching, and administering the Sacraments.

A Speech of one of the Burgomasters, delivered in the Council at Amsterdam, concerning the Ecclesiastical Constitution.

N

‘ Let

¹ Winwood speaks here of Arminius according to the Opinion of his Master King James, who called him the Enemy of God; which seemed the stranger to some, because it was known, that whilst he was alive, people spoke of him with praise in England. Among the Letters of Laudius we meet with one from the learned Divine Richard Thompson, dated July 27. 1605. to the following purpose: You write favourably about Arminius; though the name of that person is not so obnoxious with us as you

imagine, for I knew him formerly very well, before he taught publicly in your University; since then he has been known here by many others. Wherefore our Divines enquire diligently after Arminius, as often as any Students come over to us. I rejoice therefore, and congratulate your University, that has so great a Man in her service. Ex Epist. Baud. Cent. III. Epist. CC. Printed at Leyden, 1620.

² Uitenb. Journal.

A^N° D^OM. 1612. Let us have no duplicate of the Sovereign Power, without a subordination in our Country; lest the Ship of the Commonwealth split the fourth time upon the same rocks. And we ought to be the more on our guard, since besides the misfortune we our selves have tasted, we are likewise convinced: that the creating of troubles and divisions has been the general vice of the Clergy, and their Synods in all ages; of which the famous Council of Nice itself can bear witness; as well as many great Divines of this past and present times.

The Resolution
of the States.

But this speech was in vain; the other Members of the Senate or Council had other views. And accordingly it was given out, that under the cover of this new Ecclesiastical Constitution, there was a design of altering Religion. But in opposition to these slanderous reports, the States, or most of their Members, declared: That ever since the *Reformation*, there had been a diversity of opinions among the Divines and Clergy of these Provinces, about the business of *Predestination*: and that the making Ecclesiastical Constitutions had been understood to belong to the Civil Magistrate, from the first drawing the sword against *Spain*, till that very time.

It was moreover agreed by the States: That provisionally, or till further order, the aforesaid Church Discipline of the year 91, should be pursued and put in practice by their authority in all the Towns, Villages and Lordships of *Holland* and *West Freeeland*, provided they desired and approved of it; as well in respect to the choice of Ministers — as likewise to the calling and holding of particular and Classical Assemblies, and other matters; and that all persons inhabiting in the said Towns, &c. should be obliged to comply with, and permit the exercise of it, without any opposition.

Before this, the States had required: That peace and unity should be every where endeavoured among the Clergy, and in Ecclesiastical matters; to the end that the honour and glory of God might be propagated by them, for the edification of the good people, and for the preservation, and increase of love, peace and tranquility. They ordered with all, that a copy of the account of the Conference at the Hague, should be sent to every one of the Nobles, as also to the Magistrates and Senators of the Towns, and to each of the twelve Ministers who assisted at the said Conference, to the end that all of them might maturely consider of the same in the fear of the Lord; and that the States might with the first opportunity, do what was further proper and necessary in those matters.

For this purpose the States of *Holland* had caused a certain number of copies to be wrought off by their own Printer, which he was to deliver to them, without retaining one single copy, or distributing it to any others. And the States General, at their desire, forbade the reprinting of it.

An Ecclesiastical
Constitution
of the City
and Country of
Utrecht.

The States of *Utrecht* observing what past in *Holland*, endeavoured in like manner to regulate church affairs, in order to the preservation of the publick tranquility; and for that purpose, they called a Synod of all the Divines in their Province, which was to meet at *Utrecht*. In this Synod, at which the Deputies or Commissioners of the State presided, there was on the 28th of *August*, a certain Ecclesiastical Constitution agreed on, with the unanimous approbation of all present; which was published by the order of the said States, to be put in execution provisionally.

The *Contraremonstrants* looked upon it as tending to overturn and change every thing in the doctrine, ceremonies, and manner of Church Government: but they were told by the *Remonstrants*, that the difference between that and other Ecclesiastical Constitutions, consisted only in some things of less importance (with respect to which every Church ought to be left at its liberty) and that for the rest, it was entirely calculated for christian peace and toleration, retaining what ever was necessary. In this Constitution, the States spoke in their own names, having caused their resolution formerly taken about this matter, to be printed in the front of it.

We declare, said they in one of the Articles, our sincere intentions to be, that all the Pastors and Ministers under our jurisdiction, shall confine themselves (as they now do) to the fundamental points of the Christian Religion, extracted from the word

‘ word of God, and contained in that which is called the Symbol, or Creed of the Apostles, or the twelve Articles of our Faith ; and more largely in the Treatise named the Confession of Faith of the Churches of the *Netherlands*, understood in a scriptural sense, and with a regard to the agreement of the confessions of all other *Evangelical Reformed* Churches, collected into one harmony in the year 1581; without bitterly inveighing against, or contradicting others in their sermons, writings, or otherwise on account of any little differences or variations in matters that do not relate to the fundamentals of salvation, and without giving them occasion to fall into sects and schisms, by reviling, censuring and condemning them: But on the contrary, that all shall endeavour to promote christian peace and unity, till they can meet each other in one sense and opinion.’

A^N D O M.
1612.

They appointed eight persons for calling Ministers; four of whom were to be of the Magistracy, publickly professing the *Reformed* Religion; and four of the Consistory, to be commissioned by that body for the mentioned purpose. These were to look out for a proper person, and present him to the Council and Consistory, in order to be approved, or rejected. But in case the person happened to be disliked by the Council of the Town or Place, or by the Consistory, then the aforesaid eight Commissioners were to proceed to a new nomination. If it so happened that any dispute arose about the election of a Minister, the States decreed, that they themselves, or a committee of their body should have the cognizance of it, and that it should be finally determined by them: to which every one should be obliged to conform.

The order with reference to the calling of Ministers.

They also agreed upon certain points of doctrine, as articles for examination, according to which every new Minister was to declare: ‘ What he thought of God, of his existence and properties: of the holy Scriptures, their perfection, clearness and simplicity, authority, and certainty: of the Creation and Government of the World: Of Sin, its origin and force: of the Law and the Gospel, together with the differences and use of each: of Christ’s person, office and merits: of faith and repentance: of the justification of a sinner before God: of the obedience of faith, love, and good works; together with their reward: of the Church: of the offices established in it by Christ: of the ministration of the Holy Gospel: of Holy Baptism: of the Holy Supper: of Christian Discipline and Church Censures.

Articles for the examination of such Ministers as were newly called.

The newly admitted Minister was to swear: First, ‘ that he would faithfully serve the Lord Christ in his Ministry; that he would adhere to, and teach the doctrines of the Prophets and Apostles, expounding them agreeably to the Scriptures, with a good conscience, according to the best of his judgment, to the honour of God, and the greatest edification of his People, without ever perverting the sacred doctrine to serve his carnal passions, or private inclinations.—— Secondly, that he would be true and faithful to the States of *Utrecht*, and the Magistrates of the place. That he would oppose and hinder whatever he thought was repugnant to the publick good, by admonitions and reproofs, as soon as it came to his knowledge; and if necessary, by seasonable notice to the Government, to the end that they might provide against it. Moreover, that he would persevere in his Call in times of adversity as well as prosperity. *Lastly*, that he would submit to the Political State, and Laws of the Land, and place of his habitation—— Promising to serve God, the Government, and Community in such manner, as not to be hindered from rendering to God, in the discharge of his Ministry, what was due to him according to his holy word.’

An Oath required of Ministers newly admitted.

By virtue of this oath, the said Ministers and their Descendants were to be considered as Burghers of the Cities in which they resided, and to enjoy all their rights and privileges.

As to the disputes and contentions which daily arose about the doctrine of *Predestination*, and the points relating to it, it was ordered: ‘ That according to the Apostle’s exhortation, *Rom. xii. 3. every Man should think soberly, and not too highly of himself*; and consequently should treat these matters, when there was occasion to speak of them, in such a manner, that none might have just cause to think, that there was any thing taught in our Churches from which it could be concluded, that God had created any Man to damn him; or, that Men were necessitated to sin; or, that God had invited any one to salvation, to whom he

An order with regard to the disputes about masters of Religions.

AN^O DOM. 1612. irreversibly decreed, not to grant it; or, had done any thing which had the least appearance of injustice. — That on the other hand, the Minister should be careful to ascribe the beginning, progress, and end of our salvation, not to the natural Strength of Man; but only to the pure, undeserved Grace of God in Christ. And though it was allowed to Ministers and Teachers amicably to dispute about these and the like points in the Universities and elsewhere, as often they met together, and to inquire into the truth of them — Yet the States did not approve of bringing them upon the stage in their Sermons.

Such disputes
to be carefully
avoided in
their Sermons.

They likewise ordered: ' That none should be molested in the least, nor accused, though they did not teach, or think more deeply on these matters, than, *that God has from all eternity, according to his good pleasure, founded upon Jesus Christ our Lord, elected and ordained to everlasting salvation, all and every one of those, who through his unmerited grace believe in the same Lord Jesus Christ, and who persevere to the end in the said faith.* And on the other hand; *that he has reprobated, and ordained to damnation, all, and each of those who despise his grace; rendering themselves unworthy of it by their unbelief, and obstinately continuing in the same unbelief.* —

Of the Cate-
chism.

In one of the Articles of this Ecclesiastical Constitution it is said, that in such places where the *Heidelberg Catechism* was used to be expounded in the afternoons on Sundays, there the said custom should be retained, but in the manner following: ' That after the Minister had examined the Children, he should read to the people (as is practised in some of the *Reformed Churches*) a text out of the Bible, relating to the subject upon which he intended to preach, according to the order of the Catechism; to which he should so adapt the questions and answers of the Catechism with scriptural explanations, that it might appear that he was not expounding the words of Men but of God.' All which was to be done provisionally or till further order.

Of Infant
Baptism.

There was also another Article concerning Baptism, which required, ' That the Covenant of God made with the Children of Christians, should be sealed with the holy Sacrament of Baptism, as soon as it could be administered; and that it should be performed in the publick Congregation at the time of Divine Service. But that in such places where there was not such frequent preaching, two days in the week should be set apart for the administration of it, when desired. — But in case the Child should be so sick, and the Parents weakness so great, that they could not stay till the appointed time without offence, such child might be baptized out of the proper time, and in a private house (especially in the Country) rather than the weak parents should be prejudiced against our Religion, or occasion should be given to their making use of a stranger for this purpose.'

Of Psalms and
Hymns.

The said Constitution made mention also of the manner of singing Psalms in Churches, and directed: ' That besides the Psalms of David, and others commonly used already, there might be as many other Scriptural Hymns, relating to our Saviour's Birth, Circumcision, Baptism, Passion, Death, Resurrection from the Dead, Ascension to Heaven, and the Mission of the Holy Ghost sung in Churches, as, according to the practice of other Evangelical Reformed Churches, could be introduced with decency, in order to excite in the minds of the people, spiritual meditations upon the Gospel-benefits procured to mankind by Christ their Saviour; provided such hymns were fitly composed, and previously revised by such persons as the States should appoint; and not introduced into any Church but by leave of the Government, and of the Magistrates and Consistory of every place.

Of holding
Synodical As-
semblies.

Concerning the holding Synodical Assemblies, it was ordained: ' That as often as it should be found necessary to call a Provincial Synod, the Deputies of the foregoing Synod should signify the same to the usual Commissioners of the States, with their reasons why they thought it necessary to hold such a Provincial Synod; and lay before them the points or matters which they thought useful and proper to be treated of in such an assembly, together with their own opinions thereupon: to the end, that the said points having been seen, considered, and reported by the Commissioners, they the States might resolve and decree what they thought fit, in relation to the calling or deferring the Synod, and the affairs to be transacted therein,

‘ therein, according to the circumstances and occasions of times and things. — AN^o DOM. 1612.
 ‘ And that such Synods should be holden under the inspection and direction,
 ‘ authority and moderation of such Commissioners as should appear there on the part
 ‘ of the States; and whatever past therein should be reported to, and ratified
 ‘ by the said States, if they thought fit.

It has been supposed that *Uitenbogart* (who at the request of the States of this Province had assisted at the Synod of *Utrecht*, in order to bring matters to a happy issue) had a hand in the drawing up of this Ecclesiastical Constitution: according to the terms of which, the Ministers of the Province lived amicably together, bearing with one another in love; notwithstanding that they were not all of one opinion with respect to the aforementioned ecclesiastical differences, but some, even the most of them, were of the party of the *Remonstrants*, and the rest *Contraremonstrants*.

2 But one of the latter, *Cornelius van Dungen*, Minister of *Zutphen*, was deposed about this time by the States, though not on account of his doctrine, but for refusing to live peaceably with the other Ministers of the Classis of *Utrecht*. He had likewise, as was said, been very active in the civil dissensions and tumults of the year 1618, to the great prejudice of the Country; and endeavoured at that time to lay a foundation for Schism and Faction, by encouraging some of the Burghers of *Utrecht*, who were *Contraremonstrants*, to leave their Ministers, and run to hear him out of Town on Sundays.

3 This same year there was a subscription agreed on in the Synod of *Gelderland* holden at *Franecker*, to a certain writing, importing, that they held the doctrines contained in the Confession of the *Netherlands*, and in the Catechism of *Heidelberg*, to be agreeable to Scripture in all points: and that they obliged themselves to teach and maintain the said doctrines both publickly and privately; and to renounce and disclaim all errors contradictory thereto, and to joyn in opposing them. — But not only some of the Ministers belonging to that Province, but some of *Overyssel*, having more maturely considered the matter, were of opinion, that by their subscribing the said agreement, they tied themselves too strictly to humane institutions, contrary to the first principles of the *Reformation*. And they declared not long after, that they concurred in the opinions of the *Remonstrants*.

The rest of the Clergy still prest for a National Synod. *Sebastian Damman*, a Minister at *Zutphen*, and *Antonius Thyfius*, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Harderwick*, requested of the Deputies of the Synod of *Utrecht*, by order of that of *Gelderland*, ‘ That two Ministers might be deputed from the Synod of *Utrecht* to joyn with other Churches, in order to address the *States General*, that as soon as possible, they would call and hold the long-desired and expected *National Synod*; to the end that the sad and deplorable divisions arisen in the Church, and continued therein for some time, might be duly healed and removed.’

To this those of *Utrecht* answered; ‘ That they likewise most heartily lamented the divisions and alienation of minds among the Clergy, arisen on account of certain different opinions in the matter of *Predestination* and the points relating to it; and that they desired nothing more, than that proper means might be found out, whereby they might be induced to embrace and bear with one another in christian peace, which would be the way to prevent all further troubles and even the ruin of the Church: (they added) That they were not averse to this proposal of their brethren of *Gelderland*, and therefore should not decline concurring with them in procuring a National Synod, as far as lay in their power; at which Synod every man ought to appear free and unbiassed by any previous resolutions or pre-engagements, and there in the fear of the Lord to try all things, without prepossession, by the word of God, the only touchstone. But since the advice given by some of their Collegues in the year 1607, relating to the plan and manner of holding the said National Synod, had been approved not only by the Deputies of the Synod of *Utrecht*, but also by the States of the said Province, and imported that, in pursuance of the said Resolutions of the *States General*, the revision of the Confession and Catechism should be there made; they could not join in bringing on that Synod,

¹ Teurin. of mutual Toleration. Part I. Cap. 12. Sect. 14.

² Uitenb. p. 596.

³ Uitenb. p. 597. Baud. Mem. Lib. II. p. 89.

AN^o D^o M. 1612. *nod, upon any other foot. Nevertheless, they were willing to lay before the States of Utrecht, the Request that was offered to them by order of the Synod of Gelderland. And in case their Lordships the said States should at any time think fit, in concurrence with those of other Provinces, to hold a National Synod, for the peace and tranquility of the Church, upon any other foot, they would not scruple to appear there, but be ready in such case to send their Deputies with proper powers, to the place which should be appointed to that end, in order to assist with their best counsels in promoting every thing that should tend most to edification.* — This Answer bore date the 31st of July, and was signed by *Jacobus Taurinus*, and *Henricus Casarius*.

A new Petition for a National Synod.

The Answer of the States.

After this, some of the church of *Amsterdam*, who had been formerly impowered to sollicite the calling a National Synod, did, with the assistance certain other Church Deputies of other Provinces, present a new Petition to the States General to the same purpose, on the 27th of September following. The Answer returned them was, That their High Mightinesses were very much inclined to gratify them, but that the Deputies of some Provinces declared that they were not sufficiently impowered thereto by their Principals. That their High Mightinesses would however use their endeavours with them to procure further instructions; and when the same were procured, would come to such further resolutions as should most conduce to the service, welfare, and preservation of the publick peace both in Church and State; desiring in the mean time, that the Clergy in general would live together like brethren, in sincere love and friendship, and suit their preaching and admonition accordingly, and to the edification of the christian community.

The aforementioned Church Deputies did at that time likewise intreat *Uitenbogart*, that he would assist them in getting the consent of the States of *Holland* and *Utrecht*; to which he shewed himself disposed, provided that they would petition for a Synod upon the foot it was granted six years before; but most of them would not hearken to this, endeavouring to carry their point without being tied to the condition of revising the *Netherland Confession* and *Catechism*. Thus their Petition was fruitless.

A Placard against the Romanists.

2 On the 27th of March, there was published a Placard against the *Papists* (who endeavoured to make a hand of our differences, in which they succeeded but too well.) It was issued by order of the States General, and contained certain directions for preventing the coming of the *Jesuits*, *Priests*, and *Friers* into the country; it likewise prohibited the subjects binding themselves by oath, or otherwise, to support the Papal Power; and their keeping Conventicles, and making collections for promoting the *Romish* Superstition. When this Placard was proclaimed at the *Hague* in the Court of Justice, certain *Papist* Lawyers left the place, that they might not hear it read.

A false Report of the Papists.

3 About the same time, or a few days after, there was a report in the *Hague*, that a great quantity of arms had been found among the *Papists* at *Harlem*, in order to a rising, and that it had even been resolved by them to massacre all the *Reformed* in that town, at the *Hague*, and elsewhere, upon the approaching *Easter Sunday*. This report was so strong, that the Magistrates of *Harlem* thought fit to make a search there, but found nothing. Some were of opinion, that this false alarm proceeded from a panick fear, industriously created in the common people; for it was given out, that, at the request of the *French* Ambassador, *Monseigneur Refuge*, there was a resolution taken to grant one of the churches to the *Papists*, and to change the religion; but there was nothing at all in it. *Henricus Rosaeus* it seems, giving some credit to these things, dropped the following words in his Sermon upon a Fast-day, being the 18th of April, in the Great church: *It is to be feared that the Papists may, some time or other, become our masters.*

A Tumult in the Great Church at the Hague.

It happened just at the same time that a boy sleeping against one of the wooden seats that belonged formerly to the Monks in the Choir, fell down, and his feet striking upon the side, made a great noise; upon which some of the people thinking he was in a swoon or fainting fit, ran thither; which induced others to rise up, and look about; the women who were in the body of the church being frightened, ran out screaming over one anothers backs, overturning chairs and stoves, and throwing away their books, veils and muffs, striving who should first reach the church door, and

² *Uitenb. p. 598. Baud. Mem. Lib. II. p. 95.*
³ *Ibid. Lib. IV. p. 207.*

³ *Uitenbogart's Journal on April 18. and his Life p. 96.*

and making each other believe that the Massacre was begun already, on the other side of the church; upon which others, pale with fear, wrung their hands, lamenting with dismal cries the fate of their husbands or children: the doors were kept shut on purpose, for fear of mischief, by the thronging and crowding of the people: This made some of them within fancy that the Papists had invested the church, which increased the terror. Some women, who had got out before, ran home as fast they could, crying all the way, that they were massacring the whole congregation in the church: upon which some soldiers were sent that way. This occasioned a new disorder — The Minister all the while called to the people from the pulpit, and told them, *There was no danger; intreating them to sit down, and join with him in prayer to God.* No body minded him; however, he began to pray: then some fell upon their knees, and the rest were quieted with much difficulty. From so small a matter did there arise so great a tumult. After this it was resolved in the Consistory, that at the next time of worship, the congregation should be told, *That there was no occasion of fear, and that they ought to trust God and their Governours.*

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About this time, and somewhat earlier, the Ecclesiastical differences that had lain smothering some months at *Rotterdam*, broke out into an open flame, which continually threw out furious sparks. *Cornelius Geselius*, Minister of the *French* and *Dutch* congregation of that place, being of the *Contraremonstrant* persuasion, had, upon the earnest exhortation of the Magistracy, in the month of *June* of the foregoing year, promised to live peaceably with his brethren; and to conform himself to the Resolution taken a little before by the States of *Holland* about the Church quarrels. And so he did at first, in some of his sermons; but soon after he entered into violent disputes against the *Remonstrants*, both in the pulpit and in private conversation. ¹ He did, as the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* writ to all the Councils of the Towns of *Holland* and *West Freeland*, *disturb the minds of the people of Rotterdam, and increase the uneasiness of those who were already disturbed; endeavouring to make a schism in the Church, and to persuade the weak and unstable multitude that his Collegues were not orthodox, or sound in their principles, insomuch that they might not partake of the Lord's Supper with them, with a safe conscience.* Upon this, some of the Members not only refused to hear *Nicolas Grevinkhovius*, one of those Ministers who had stickled most for the opinions of the *Remonstrants*, but kept away also from the sermons of others, such as *Franciscus* and *Samuel Lansbergen*, together with *Christopherus Hellerus*, who indeed had not signed the famous *Remonstrance*, but however lived peaceably with the *Remonstrants*, and with their Collegue *Grevinkhovius*. Both the *Lansbergens* had openly maintained, that people ought to exercise a mutual forbearance on account of the differences among them, *without separating*. This inflamed *Geselius* the more, and with him his followers. The Consistory and Magistrates besought and required him to keep the peace; both the one and the other being of opinion, that he ought to live in a brotherly union with his Collegues, and demonstrate the same by an indifferent administration of the Sacraments; yet retaining his own notions, and proposing them discreetly and in an edifying manner to the congregation, without violently inveighing against those who differed from him, and consequently to avoid as much as in him lay, the making of a schism; or if it were made, to endeavour, by his example, to reduce those who had separated themselves, to the fellowship of the Church.

But he refusing to comply, the Magistrates resolved he should give an account of his actions, and enter into a friendly conference with *Grevinkhovius*, against whom he seemed to be most prejudiced, in the presence of them the said Magistrates, and of the *Low-Dutch* and *French* Consistories. They required that he should either produce what he had to object against *Grevinkhovius*, on account of his doctrine, or hear and answer what this latter had to say to him on the same account. By such a conference the Magistrates were minded to inquire into the causes of the disturbances in their town, to the end that they might redress the same as they saw fit, *without any infringement of the Rights of the Church*; nay, even with the advice and approbation of the Consistory itself, and, if necessary, with the advice of other churches; and this they intended only provisionally, till the States could call a lawful Assembly for adjusting all differences.

A Conference
appointed be-
tween Corne-
lius Geselius
and Grevink-
hovius, but
avoided by the
former.

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*A Declaration
of the Govern-
ment of Rot-
terdam on
that occasion.*

But *Geselius* and *Adrianus Smoutius* (formerly Minister of *Roon*, but now out of service) whom he had called to his assistance, found, or made great difficulties in entering upon such a conference, and sought so many evasions to delay it, that at last the Gentlemen of the Council, after having deliberated about the matter, declared, and called those who were present in order to hear the said conference, to witness; 'That it could neither be imputed to them, nor to *Grevinkhovius* that the matter was not brought to a friendly debate; whereby every man being let into the knowledge of the difference, might have judged of it according to his own conscience: That they did not doubt but in such a case the difference would have been found much less than it appeared to the people, who heard nothing but outcries of new and false doctrines, which, as was pretended, were introduced into the Church of *Rotterdam*, without being able to come to a true knowledge of those doctrines, or to hear what could be alledged in their defence. They therefore exhorted the good people not to believe for the future such accusations against their Ministers, but to preserve a due esteem of them, and to maintain peace among themselves; at the same time assuring them that they would regulate all matters for the good of the City and of the Church.

*Geselius dis-
carded.*

In opposition to this, *Smoutius* made solemn appeals as from force and violence: the consequence of which was, that the Magistrates found themselves obliged to discharge *Geselius*, to prevent further divisions and disturbances, prohibiting him to exercise any ecclesiastical function within their town or jurisdiction. Then it was that he and his adherents or followers began to assume to themselves the name of the persecuted Church, and to meet together in private houses, where *Geselius* encouraged them by his exhortations, in which he was assisted by some Ministers of the neighbouring Classes, particularly those of *Dort* and *Gorkum*. By this means the schism, the concourse, and the boldness of his party became greater and greater; and the seeds of sedition were observed to be springing up apace. The Magistrates kindly admonished *Geselius* to forbear these practices; but he answered: *I do not think I am legally discharged from the exercise of my office, since my own flock (so he stiled the Separatists) will not forsake my Ministry. I therefore think myself bound to feed them with exhortations, prayers, discourses and other religious exercises: And this I cannot cease doing, till they shall release me.* It was represented to him that those Separatists had abandoned the established Church without just cause, and even in defiance of all ecclesiastical discipline, and consequently were not qualified either to continue him their Minister, or to discharge him; but to that he replied: *I cannot own the publick Church of this Town for the true Reformed Church, nor for any branch of it; but those only that have separated from it; as was sufficiently agreed and declared by the assembly which Peter Plancius summoned at Amsterdam; when he and five other Ministers were required by the States, to meet six of the petitioning or remonstrating Ministers at the Hague, in order to dispute with them about the differences.*

By this it seemed, as if it had been already resolved in the *Amsterdam* Assembly, to acknowledge for the *Reformed Church*, those only that separated from the *Remonstrants*. The Magistrates observing how obstinately *Geselius* stuck to his point, and looking upon it as tending to increase the divisions, decreed at last upon the sixth of *February* of this year, that he should depart from *Rotterdam* and its dependencies within eight days, and never return, on pain of being punished at their discretion. But he refused to go, though urged by several of the Burghers, some of which were likewise well affected to him. Upon this he was conducted out of Town, the fourteenth of the same month early in the morning, by the Bailiff and some of the publick Officers, at the command of the Magistrates. Four days after he was thus turned out, the Letter we mentioned above, was sent by the said Magistrates to all the Councils of the Towns of *Holland* and *West Freeland*, to give an account of, and to justify their proceedings in this affair of *Geselius*.

*He writes a
Defence.*

Against this Letter *Geselius* writ his Apology or Defence on the twenty-second of the same month, addressed to the said Councils; in which he denied the most material charges against him, and among other things, said, that he had avoided touching upon deep and mysterious points in his sermons, and had only proposed edifying truths

truths in general; that what he said in general terms his Collegues applied to themselves in particular; for when he made mention of *the enemies of the Church* in general, he was asked, *Whether by those enemies he did not mean his Fellow-
Ministers?* And when he discoursed in general terms of *Deceivers*, and false Teachers, his Collegues would ask him, *Whether he did not reckon them in that number, or think of them at the same time?*

After his being turned out of *Rotterdam*, he preached immediately at *Delfshaven* and *Schiedam*, with great violence; he was afterwards called to *Edam*.

At *Rotterdam* the separate meetings went on, notwithstanding the Magistrates declared them unlawful, and forbid them by a publick Proclamation, bearing date the 5th of *March*, of the same year, in which Proclamation they said; ——— That they did not design by it to prohibit any Ministers of the Reformed Religion, coming from other parts to preach in their Town; but on the contrary, that they should readily allow them to preach in their churches publickly, provided such Ministers gave in their names to the Consistory of the place; and provided also that they conformed in their publick preaching to the Order of the States made in May of the last year, concerning the Ecclesiastical differences, by way of provision.

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Private meetings forbidden at Rotterdam.

¹ Pursuant to these conditions, the *Separatists* might have been served by peaceful *Contraremonstrant* Ministers, if they had pleased; there was likewise among the City Ministers, *Christophorus Hellerus*, against whom they did not pretend to object at that time. They went on however with their Conventicles within the City, running likewise from thence, and from other places, into the neighbouring villages, to *Contraremonstrant* Ministers, with incredible zeal through thick and thin, through dust and mire; which gave occasion to some of the hottest and most indiscreet *Remonstrants* to distinguish them by the name of the *Dirty Gueuxes*.

² At *Schiedam*, about this time, they received some of the separating *Rotterdamers* to the Lord's Table, in direct opposition to the Resolution of the Classis taken two years before, which was registered in their Journal at that time by *Eleazar Zwalmius*, now Minister of that town: 'The Brethren of the Classis have warned and charged the Brethren of *Schiedam*, not to admit any member of the church of *Rotterdam* to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in their church, during these divisions, without an Ecclesiastical attestation.' Upon which Resolution, *Ruardus Acronius*, who was then Minister of *Schiedam*, was heard to say; *The Classis may resolve what they will, but the church of Schiedam will do as she pleases.* And those of *Schiedam*, with many more *Contraremonstrants*, seemed to be of opinion, that they ought entirely to separate from the *Remonstrants*.

And in the month of *May*, this year, they began to send about the following question to some of the churches: *Whether those that allow of the Five Points of the Remonstrants ought to be esteemed as Brethren, and suffered to continue in the Ministry of the Church?* This was thought by some to be adding fuel to the fire of discord.

Since then, the *Separatists* began to keep their Conventicle at *Rotterdam* more publickly in a Granary, or Warehouse, without any regard to the orders of the Magistrate, and even broke open the doors when they had commanded them to be shut.

At *Amsterdam* there was newly brought into the pulpit one *Goswinus Geldorpius*, Minister of *Sneek*, to the great grief of those who wished to have seen men of a better spirit called to that office; knowing how zealous he had shown himself with *Bogerman* for coercing Hereticks, and in prosecuting the *Anabaptists* in the aforesaid town of *Sneek*. He was son of *Henricus Geldorpius*, a person of great learning, who from the violence of the zealots in his time, presaged the danger that threatened the work of *Reformation*, as he declared by the following Distich:

*Principium fuit ex iratâ plebe tumultus,
Finis ab iratâ plebe tumultus erit.*

³ This narrowness of spirit, and aversion to the *Remonstrants*, was carried so far by some, that at *Amsterdam* they began to suspect even those they had counted *orthodox*, if they observed them to converse, or hold any familiarity with persons obnoxious to the Ministers; as if they were infected by the opinions of their friends.

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¹ Uitenb. p. 588. Baud. Mem. Lib. II. p. 97. Dec. 15. 1612.

Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 186.

² From the Memoirs of a principal Magistrate of Amsterdam.

³ S. Lansberg's Letter to the Magistrates of Schiedam,

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This afforded no small matter of grief to the moderate party, who sometimes could not forbear among themselves to make the following complaints: 'It is incompatible with the constitution of this country, and particularly of this City of *Amsterdam*, as subsisting chiefly by trade, friendly dealings, and mutual civilities, to live in such a suspicious and jealous manner with our fellow-citizens. We were wont to say formerly, that, *The better any man was, the less capable would he be of suspecting other men to be bad*: But now the most suspicious men must pass for the best, rejecting entirely that old adage, which was in every man's mouth, even in the hottest times of *Popish* persecution, *De occultis non judicat ecclesia*; that is, *The Church does not judge of secret matters*. If it be lawful so lightly to judge amiss of men from their conversation with persons that are of no dishonest character, one may with much more reason, from the proceedings of the venerable Gentlemen of the Consistory, form a judgment which would not be much to their advantage; since they (who are a great and considerable body, upon whom the eyes of the world are more turned, than upon private persons; and who have been very careful to preserve a perfect unity in opinions among themselves) have not long since, after mature deliberation and invocation of God, called hither the Minister *Goswin Geldorp* from *Sneek*, though they knew, by his writings and otherwise his bitterness against the pretended Hereticks; whereby they give us but too just cause to fear that they are all of them together of his mind in those matters; which may be of very ill consequence, and lay a foundation for all kind of persecution and restraint upon conscience.

Some of the Clergy maintain that the Magistrate is not to be regarded in the Call of Ministers.

On occasion of this Call of *Geldorp*, it has been observed by some, that the Consistory of the City of *Amsterdam*, have now drawn to themselves the entire choice of Ministers. And though the part which the Burgomasters till that time seemed to have in the choice, was rather an outward form and show, than reality, since they steered only according to the compass of the Church, without any regard to the merits of the Candidate; yet some of the Members of the Consistory had the assurance to maintain, that the authority of the Magistrates was not to be acknowledged in that matter, and if it should be acknowledged, yet it ought to be done with a salvo to their own rights. They likewise used several incivilities and threatenings against some of the Elders and Deacons, natives of the country, because they sometimes opposed their brethren in the business of Elections.

¹ At *Warmenbusen*, in pursuance to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the year 1591, (which was at this time provisionally approved by the States) *Petrus Æmilius* had been called as Minister; but in order to exclude him, who was a *Remonstrant*, the people being excited by some from other parts, proceeded to locking up the church-doors, shutting the pulpit, and barricading the entrance to the church. But the Lord of *Warmenbusen*, *William Bardefon*, Son to the late *William Bardefon*, formerly a Burgomaster of *Amsterdam*, obliged the Bailiff of the place to break open the doors: upon which complaint was made against him to the States; but they declared upon the 4th of *August*, that what had been done in the matter of this Call, and the putting it in execution, was lawful and just, being done in consequence of the rights of the Magistracy, and in maintenance of the Ordinance of the States. They were however of opinion, that the Classis of *Alkmaer* should take care to provide a Preacher for the church of that place, the first three months; yet the Call of *Æmilius* did not go forward, and we find him Minister of *Outdorp* and *Otterlick* near *Alkmaer*. In the mean while, the Lord of *Warmenbusen*, and those of his party, met with great difficulties in bringing about another Call, conformable to the said Order; and the more, because that part of the Classis which had made a schism before, and which endeavoured to exclude from the Ministry all such as were of the *Remonstrants* opinions, opposed him, who was a favourer of the same opinions, not only in the business of *Æmilius*, but upon several other occasions.

¹ From the Memoirs of a Magistrate in those times. Uitenb. p. 600.

ANNOTATIONS on the Twentieth Book.

THERE is some mention made in the last Page of this Book concerning the dispute with the Lord of *Warmenbusen*, about the Call of a Minister; as also concerning the Right of Calling and Election, which some of the Clergy of *Amsterdam* arrogated to themselves. Many laboured to extort this privilege entirely from the Civil Powers, and to bring it into, or fix it in the Church. With relation to which we have several things to observe, particularly what *Grotius* says in several places of his Treatise, intituled, *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa sacra*: or, *Of the Right of the Sovereign, with respect to Ecclesiastical Matters*.

In the Xth Chapter and 3d Section of that Book, p. 275, he says, 'That the election of Pastors naturally belongs to the Church or Assembly of the Faithful in each place; yet not so absolutely, but that there may be some variation in that matter. For, there is a distinction to be made between an *unalterable* right, and that which only continues to be a right till the Legislators shall otherwise ordain. The right that belongs to every Church or Assembly of the Faithful to choose their own Minister or Teacher, is of the latter sort. That the choice is lawfully made by the Church, may be demonstrated even by the law of Nature; for every Society has a natural right to do every thing necessary to its own preservation, in which right is included that of bestowing offices. Thus a number of Travellers have a right to choose to themselves a Guide for their journey; a number of Voyagers a Pilot or Steersman for their ship; and a free nation has a right to choose a King. From whence it follows, that if there is no certain manner of election instituted by the law of God, and in case there is no particular provision made by human laws, then the Church has the right of choosing its own Minister. But whoever will maintain that right to be unalterable, must prove that unalterableness either from the Law of Nature, or the Law of God.' Which *Grotius* thinks is not deducible from either.

In the 15th Section, p. 293, he asserts, 'That the Election of Ministers may be exercised by the Government; not that this must necessarily be done, or at all times; but, when it so happens, it is not inconsistent with any divine law. They who pretend the contrary, says he, accuse numberless Princes both in the present and former ages of impiety; which certainly is great presumption, seeing there can no divine law be produced that forbids it. Now though this ought to suffice, (for whatever the law of God does not restrain, is open to the Civil Powers) yet have we reasons and examples at hand, to corroborate this

our position. The principal reason is, that all actions (and therefore certainly those which others are at liberty to do naturally) if they be not otherwise restrained by the nature of things, may likewise be lawfully performed by the supreme powers. All persons have a natural right to choose Tutors or Schoolmasters for their children, and Guardians to take care of them; those that are sick, make use of such Physicians as they think fit; Merchants elect Directors over their Companies; and yet in many places the management of Orphans and their concerns is appointed by the decrees and orders of the Magistracy; as are also Physicians for the sick, and Masters for the instruction of youth, even with the exclusion of others from the same employments. In some places too, the Government place proper Directors at the head of Companies of Merchants, without being censured on that account. If therefore the supreme powers have such a right in matters, in which every private person had a right before, much more have they then in things that belong to all the people in general; forasmuch as the people's power is devolved upon the Sovereign, which nobody that has but a moderate knowledge of laws can be ignorant of. No wise man will deny, but that there may be sometimes just causes to induce the Government to assume to themselves the choice of Teachers. For it may often happen, that those errors which are sprung up in the Church, contrary to the word of God, cannot be otherwise rooted out; there is no other way many times to prevent divisions: the suffrages of the Clergy may be frequently biased by faction, and the elections of the people attended with riots and tumults; of this there are many instances even in the purest ages. Add to this that the circumstances of times may be such, as to render it impossible for the Sovereign to hold the reins of dominion, if he do not take care to provide faithful and useful Pastors. And certainly the *Roman* Emperors paid dear for parting with that right, as all Histories bear witness.' He likewise rehearseth several examples of Sovereigns, who, before, and under the *Mosaic* law, as well as in the times of Christianity, made use of the right of choosing persons into Ecclesiastical offices. *See* Sect. 16.—20. p. 294,—301.

In the 29th Section of the same Chapter, p. 321.—He says, 'That the Counts of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *West Freeland*, did, from the very beginning of their governments, confer the offices of Pastors or Teachers in towns and villages, on such persons as they only judged qualified for the same; unless it were in places where it could be made appear that Right belonged to others; and that this custom continued to the time of the last war with *Spain*.—

That

That there were likewise many ancient Charters still remaining, whereby it appeared, that among other privileges which the said Counts granted to their Nobility, there was that Right of Patronage, or appointing Pastors.—For my part, *says he*, I cannot conceive why the same Right should not still subsist; for certainly the States, by assisting to bring on the *Reformation*, have not deserved less authority in this matter, than formerly the Counts. In the *Palatinate* the Pastoral offices are bestowed according to the pleasure of the Council, which, by the order and authority of the Elector, presides over the churches. In the Canton of *Basel*, the churches out of that City do not concern themselves with the election of Ministers. The people receive with submission the Pastor sent them by the Magistrates of the place, though they never once heard him preach. At the beginning of the *Reformation*, many Pastors were satisfied with this only Call. *Musculus* has these expressions: *A Christian Pastor ought not to trouble himself about his Call, nor to doubt whether his Call be christian and lawful, whenever he is called by a godly Magistrate or Prince to preach the Gospel.* The Doctrine of the *Reformed* churches does not deprive the Sovereigns of the Right they derive from God: Neither did the States of *Holland* ever think that they lost this Right by turning Protestants, as may be seen by their Resolutions about the business of Ecclesiastical discipline, in the year 1586. See the XIVth Book of this History.

Grotius proceeds to say, in the 31st Section p. 329. 'I only endeavour to discover one thing in this whole discussion; viz. what may be most convenient in this present si-

tuation of affairs, not what is best at all times; for, whether we consider the former or the latter ages, we shall find, that the manner of choosing Ministers has frequently varied, not only in several countries and several ages, but likewise from year to year, and between one town and another; so little certainty is there in a matter which the law of God has left in uncertainty. And indeed, where the enquiry is not so much about the right, as about the best manner of choosing, it is almost impossible to recount what may be urged in defence of each particular opinion with a shew of probability. Bring me a *Cyprian*, or some that lived in his age, and we shall not need to object against the choice of the people: Let the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council return, and I will readily consent that the choice be left to the Bishops: Let a *Theodosius*, a *Valentinian*, or a *Charlemagne*, sit at the helm of affairs, and there will be no danger from the choice made by the Civil powers. But we live in the most corrupt age of the Church: so that after having diligently examined into things, we meet with difficulties on all hands; wherefore we can prescribe nothing for a constant rule. And yet if one was obliged to give his advice, I should not dislike that manner of proceeding which was customary in the time of *Justinian*, provided this precaution were used, to wit, *That no Pastor be imposed on the people against their will: And withal, That the supreme Powers preserve their right of rejecting the choice, if possibly there should be any mismanagement to the prejudice of Church or State.* This Right was often put in practice, not only by the Kings of the *Franks*, but by the old *Roman* Emperors.

The End of the Twentieth Book.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN and ABOUT the
LOW-COUNTRIES.

BOOK XXI.



AS the Universities, or their Professors, were looked upon to be the causes of the Ecclesiastical dissensions; so, on the other hand, the Curators of that of *Leyden* seemed very solicitous at the same time to promote mutual toleration and peace in their Academy. *Franciscus Gomarus*, with some discontent had left that place the last year, departing for *Middelburg* in *Zeland*, whither he was called for Minister, and to instruct the youth of that Town in the *Hebrew* tongue as well as in Divinity. ^{AN^o DOM^o 1612.} The *Remonstrants* tell us, that he perceiving the flames of that fire which he had kindled, to blaze above the tops of the houses, was apprehensive of being consumed; and that he therefore fled from it as fast as he could, and besides, that he went not long after to *France*, where being made Professor at *Saumur*, he fell out with the famous *Du Plessis*, the great pillar of the *Reformation* in that kingdom.

² But the *Contraremonstrants* say, that he having met with a great deal of trouble from *Arminius*, feared that *Vorstius*, who was then expected to be made his Colleague at *Leyden*, would give him no less; and that being quite weary of these vexations, he had reason enough to resign his office, which the Curators filled with *John Polyander*, Minister of the *Walloon* Church at *Dort*, and a Teacher and Promoter of the *Contraremonstrant* opinions; but who was thought to be more moderate and peaceful than others, which made his learning the more valuable. This was followed with the Call of *Simon Episcopus*, Minister of *Bleiswick* (who was every where known to be a *Remonstrant*, and had helped to maintain their notions at the conference of the *Hague*) to the Professorship of Divinity in the aforesaid University of *Leyden*. The Curators thought that the circumstances and necessity of the University required it; there being but one Divinity Professor. They therefore pitched upon him, 'to the end that (so runs their Letter to him, of the sixteenth of February of this year) he might discharge the Professorship of Divinity in such manner, as he in his conscience thought would tend best to the promoting the honour, advantage and interest of the University and Students of *Leyden*; by reading lectures, by disputations, conferences and the like.

³ This introduction of *Episcopus*, together with *Polyander*, tended, as the Curators alledged, to secure the liberty of prophesying, or expounding the holy scriptures in the University of *Leyden*; and in time to bring over the young Students, by their example, and by the practice of mutual toleration in the schools, to the promoting of

¹ Causes of the Netherl. Eccl. Diff. p. 39.

² Trigl. p. 265.

³ Uitenb. p. 590.

of peace in the Church, when they, the said Students, should happen to be called to the Ministry.

Episcopus entered upon this important office in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and on the twenty-third of *February*, he pronounced his inauguration speech, and on the twenty-eighth read his first lecture, with great applause of the *Remonstrants* and their party, who looked upon him to be endowed with such judgment and understanding, such learning, eloquence, piety, good temper and discretion, that something very great and good was to be expected from him, for the benefit of the *Reformation* and *Christendom*, if he did not meet with too much obstruction.

But others objected many things against these encomiums, and in opposition to him, extolled *Polyander* to the skies. *Fredericus Spanheim*, who in our days was made Professor of Divinity in the same University, and who is well known for his bright parts and great learning, styles *Episcopus* a man of an acute genius, and armed with every thing that might serve to defend the worst of causes, and who being much esteemed by some of the greatest men in the Government, was for that reason the more dangerous. But upon *Polyander*, whom he extremely crys up for his learning and prudence, together with *Festus Hommius* and *Daniel Colonius*, he bestows this honourable testimony, that by their interposition and assistance, the orthodox opinion was defended in the University, taught in the Churches, and preserved in the Colleges of Divinity; and that they baffled by their zeal, all the artifices, contrivances and endeavours of the *Remonstrants*; and that Truth, after the expulsion of Error, was by their means enabled to hold up her head again. So different were the judgments that men past on them, according to their different opinions and passions.

It is however certain, that these Professors, notwithstanding the diversity of their sentiments, lived so well with each other at the beginning of their administration, according to the views and intentions of the Curators, that there had not been for a long while, so much peace and such prosperity of affairs in this University. Yet some say, that the peace between him and *Episcopus*, was little better than external, and that it fell far short of internal and sincere friendship, which is the soul of peace: and that accordingly he, *Polyander*, when some were speaking much in praise of his Colleague *Episcopus*, broke out in the following expression: *I can bear nothing so ill as contempt*. They add, that he afterwards joined more and more with *Festus* and *Colonius*, and by secret practices did all the hurt he could to the *Remonstrants*, till at last, upon the turn of the times, and the course of affairs, he suffered himself to be drawn into open enmity with him.

A sort of Inquisition set on foot in the jurisdiction of the Counts of Benthem.

There happened something this year in the jurisdiction of the Counts of *Benthem*, which seemed to be a consequence of the *Dutch* ecclesiastical dissensions, and which some in this country would fain have imitated. It was said, that reports were spread as if those Counts were encouragers and favourers of the *Socinian Heresies*; and it was therefore thought fit to make a strict enquiry among the Ministers of those parts, in order to discover each man's private opinions, and so to deliver the Church from *Hereticks*. Dr. *Hermannus Ravensberg*, who had succeeded *Conradus Vorstius* at *Steinfurt*, as Professor of Divinity, was the warmest promoter of such a scrutiny, and the chief Inquisitor. This new *Inquisition of Faith*, was made by questions upon certain articles drawn up in *Latin* for that purpose. The copy of which, as it has since come to our hands, runs thus in the *Low-Dutch* language:

Articles of examination.

- 1 First, Do you believe that the Divine Essence is simple and indivisible; or that our God *Jehovah* is One in number?
- 2 Secondly, That in the Unity of the Divine Essence, or Godhead, there are three distinct, equal and coessential Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?
- 3 Thirdly, That *Jesus Christ* in one person is very God, begotten from all eternity, after an ineffable manner, by the Father; and also very Man, born in time, of the Virgin *Mary* without sin?
- 4 Fourthly, That *Jesus Christ* is given, and ordained by God, as a Prophet, Priest, and King.

² The rise of the Eccles. Diff. in the Netherl. p. 39. Episc. Op. Tom. lib. II. p. 19. b.

³ Relat. manu Wiffel. Brunlevij Scripta.

⁴ Ex. Epist. H. Ravensberg. ad West. Brunl. Scripta.

Fifthly,

‘ *Fifthly*, That *Christ* has not only declared to us salvation, and the way to it; AN^o DOM. 1612.
 ‘ but also by his Death and Passion has redeemed us from everlasting death, having
 ‘ paid an all-sufficient ransom for our sins, and accordingly made a most perfect at-
 ‘ tonement for us ?

‘ *Sixthly*, That *Christ* preserves and secures true believers constantly and infalli-
 ‘ bly in the once-acquired and prepared Grace, and powerfully applies to them the
 ‘ same Grace by his Spirit, the Word, and the Sacraments ?

‘ *Seventhly*, That children and infants, as well as adult persons, are included in the
 ‘ Covenant of Grace ; and that the sign and seal of the said covenant, (which the
 ‘ ancients termed the Sacrament of Admission into the Church) namely, Water-Ba-
 ‘ ptism, ought by no means to be denied or with-holden from them ?

To these questions all Ministers were obliged, without any hesitation, to return a
 categorical *yea* or *no*. This Inquisition began in *October*, with the Pastor of *Rbeda*,
 who answered to their satisfaction. On the 13th of the same month, the said que-
 stions were put to the Ministers, Elders, and Churchwardens at *Tecklenburg*, in the
 presence of the Counts ; and afterwards to the Pastor of *Lidden*, with the like event.
 The Count *Adolph*, who went about with *Ravensberg*, and other Clergymen, to
 countenance the inquiry, proceeded next to the village of *Lengrich* : When they
 were come thither, they caused the Minister *Wessel Brunleven*, a friend of *Vorslius*,
 to withdraw, and calling in the Elders of his church, examined them about the Life
 and Doctrine of their Teacher. They declared unanimously, that they never obser-
 ved any thing *heretical* in his sermons, nor any thing in his behaviour unworthy of
 his Call. Then *Ravensberg* proceeded to the Test of the *Seven Questions*, to which
Brunleven gave the following Answer : “ That he officiated in that parish in which

‘ he had been born and bred, and never had any thoughts of quitting the *Reformed*
 ‘ church, though perhaps he might not agree exactly in all points with every Mem-
 ‘ ber of that Church ; that he had been once examined when he was to be admit-
 ‘ ted into the Ministry, and allowed to be qualified for it, by those who were not
 ‘ in the least suspected of Heterodoxy ; that he never preached or taught any thing
 ‘ contrary to Scripture, or the principles of the *Reformed* Religion, of which his
 ‘ Auditors, to whom he appealed, could bear witness. Moreover, that this kind of
 ‘ scrutiny, or enquiry, was not usual in the Church of God ; that the obliging
 ‘ men to answer in so categorical a manner was dangerous ; for it might easily happen
 ‘ that a man should approve of the Article itself, and yet object many things against
 ‘ the form of proposing it. It was from such innovations, not customary in the
 ‘ church, that *Popery* had its beginning in times past. From these the oppression of
 ‘ the Church might be dated. He therefore begged they would not lay such a bur-
 ‘ then upon him, to the prejudice of the church’s liberty.”

*The Answer of
 of a certain
 Minister to the
 Inquisitors.*

Ravensberg, on the contrary, pressed in the name of the Count for a more parti-
 cular answer, to the end it might be known, **Whether his Belief was conformable**
to the Count’s belief. For, said he, **his Lordship earnestly desires, that his Mini-**
sters belief should accord with his own. To this *Brunleven* replied : “ I do not at all
 ‘ doubt of the Count’s *Belief*, and hope it is sound ; but I think it very hard that my
 ‘ Faith should be compared with, and brought to the touchstone of any other man’s ;
 ‘ seeing that God has left us no other rule of faith but his word only. I shall be
 ‘ ready to obey the powers in all things, provided they do not lay this burden on
 ‘ me. Yea, to show how far I can go in this matter, I will immediately, and with-
 ‘ out delay, though it be contrary to the usage of the church, proceed to make a con-
 ‘ fession of the Articles of my Faith, provided I may do it in my own words, as I
 ‘ shall draw them up. This request is surely reasonable, for no body knows so well
 ‘ as my self, my sentiments about these Articles, and consequently none can express
 ‘ the sense of my mind better than I.

When this was refused him, he pressed that such a liberty might be allowed him, at
 least with respect to God and his Nature ; for he thought that in these dangerous times,
 no other words or terms ought to be used than those that were spoken by the holy
 Spirit. *Ravensberg* maintained, that those articles were the pure word of God, or at
 least consisted of scripture expressions ; and so he persevered in his demand, as the

*He is dischar-
 ged from his
 Benefice.*

Some

AN^O DOM.

1612.



His Confession
with reference
to the Articles
of Examina-
tion.

Some days after, when the Pastors of *Wersen* and *Lotte* had been brought to approve the *Seven Articles*, *Ravensberg* writ a Letter to *Brunleven*, in which he pretended to justify the reasonableness of the *Inquisition*; exhorting him once again to obedience; but in case of refusal, allowing him, by the express leave of the Count, to declare his opinion upon each Article as he thought fit. This he did in the following words:

‘ *First*, I believe that there is one single and indivisible divine Essence; and that *Jehovah*, our God, is numerically One.

‘ *Secondly*, I believe that in the Divine Essence, or Unity, there are three distinct persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

‘ *Thirdly*, I believe that *Jesus Christ*, in one person, is true (not a made) God and Man, begotten by the Father, after an unexpressible manner, before all ages, and equal to him; and in the fulness of time, born without sin of the Virgin *Mary*, being the Son of *David* according to the flesh, but according to the spirit of sanctification, declared the Son of God with power.

‘ *Fourthly*, I believe that *Jesus Christ* is given us by God for a Prophet, Priest, and King.

‘ *Fifthly*, I believe that *Christ* has not only shown us the way of salvation, but also by his death and sufferings, redeemed us from everlasting destruction, and paid a full and sufficient ransom for our sins; so that he has wrought for us the most perfect satisfaction.

‘ *Sixthly*, I believe that *Christ* does certainly and incessantly preserve and defend true believers, in the once acquired and prepared Grace.

‘ *Seventhly*, I believe that infants, as well as the adult, have a right to the Covenant of God, and that the Sign and Seal of that Covenant, namely *Baptism*, ought not to be with-holden from them.

The *Drost*, or chief Magistrate of *Teklenburg*, *John van Munster*, Dr. *Ravensberg*, *Arnoldus Rump*, Pastor of the said Town, and *Joachim Neander*, the Counts Chaplain, being come together in the church of *Lengrich*, to consider of this Confession, required *Brunleven* to confirm it with an oath in the presence of the Count. He answered, it was unreasonable, and contrary to the custom of the Church, and that he had never taken an oath in his life. After much contest, it was agreed, that instead of swearing, he should subscribe it; and for that purpose, that he should repair to *Rbeda* the next day, being the 19th of *October*. At this place, besides those that had been at *Lengrich* the day before, there were present the two Counts, *Adolf* and *Frederic Ludolph*, together with the *Drost*, and the Ministers of the town. Here *Ravensberg* declaimed again upon the good intentions of the Government, in appointing such an Ecclesiastical scrutiny; wherefore, says he, addressing himself to *Brunleven*, we cannot but stand amazed at your shiftings and disobedience, since their Lordships, the Counts themselves, have not refused to render an account of their Faith. Then *John van Munster* asking leave, turned himself to the Count *Adolph*, and questioning him upon each Article, the said Count testified his consent by a repeated *Yea*. Then *Munster* examined Count *Frederic*, who did not answer quite so positively, however they acquiesced in it. After the Counts had been catechized, *Munster* himself and the *Drost* of *Rbeda* were examined by *Ravensberg*, and then *Ravensberg* by *Munster*.

The two Counts
of Bentheim
submit to an
Examination.

After all this ceremony, he acquainted *Brunleven*, that he must promise under his hand, that he would not broach his particular opinions publicly in the pulpit, nor propose, promote, or propagate them in private, as long as he continued to exercise his office in that place; and that in the space of half a year, he would provide himself of some other conveniency. Thus far *Brunleven* relates the matter, in a certain writing of his, that has fallen into my hands, without saying whether he spent the half year at his Living upon the terms specified above, or whether he quitted it forthwith.

The *Remonstrants* considered this proceeding as a kind of *Inquisition*, calculated for the discovering and condemning the disciples of *Vorstius*, and for prepossessing men by that means against them the said *Remonstrants* in *Holland*, and elsewhere; who

* Ex Epist. H. Ravensberg. ad Wess. Brunl. scripta.

who were looked upon as his friends, and whose case had not yet been judged by the A^N D^O M^T Church. The *Contraremonstrants* stiled it a *zealous care: The discovery of an evil creeping into the Church: The rooting out the weeds of Heresie, and necessary Reformation.* 1612.

About the same time, there were likewise *Twelve Articles* proposed to the Ministers of the County of *Benthem*, of the same tenor almost with the other *Seven*, upon which *Brunleven* and others had been examined, but increased by the addition of certain Points; which, as translated from the *Latin*, run thus:

‘ That God has elected us in *Christ Jesus* from the beginning of the World, according to his own good pleasure; to the end that we should lead holy and innocent lives. *Articles proposed to the Clergy of Benthem.*

‘ That the Will of God is, that all who believe and repent shall be saved; but that he will certainly condemn to eternal damnation all unbelievers and impenitent persons who obstinately persist in their impiety and infidelity to the end.

‘ That in the work of Salvation, the beginning, progress, and conclusion, are to be ascribed to God solely and entirely; but not to human strength, works, and merits, neither in whole, nor in part; though when God works our salvation, the Faithful may be said to co-operate through his Grace.

At the end of the copy of these Articles, was added Articles relating to doctrine: These are to be proposed to the Professors and Tutors in the University of *Steynsfurt*, in order to require their confession, and to expect their concurrence. But if they happen to disagree in some small or trivial points, yet the Professor of Divinity at least shall be indispensably required to declare his consent thereto; and the rest may be told, that they must keep to themselves their particular opinions, to the end that they do not cause disturbances among the youth, nor by publishing them, render the University suspected of heterodoxy. Besides these, the following personal Articles shall be added:

‘ *First*, Whether every Professor and Tutor can declare with a safe conscience, that he is no favourer of *Socinianism*; and that he neither desires, nor ever did desire, to propagate the same, nor ever endeavoured to do it? *Other Articles of Enquiry designed for the University of Steynsfurt.*

‘ *Secondly*, Whether any one has brought out of *Poland*, or received from thence, any books containing the doctrines of the *Socinians*?

‘ *Thirdly*, Whether any Professor, or Tutor, has held any conversation with the late expelled *Socinians*, and *wherefore, how far, and after what manner* he managed the same?

‘ *Fourthly*, Whether any of the Professors have ever paved the way to *Socinianism*, in their Lectures or Disputations, or proposed any of those Theses, on account of which this University has been formerly suspected, for matter of disputation?

‘ *Fifthly*, Whether any of them ever attempted to instil into the minds of their scholars or pupils, any of the principles of the *Socinians*?

‘ *Sixthly*, Whether any of the *Socinian* errors are in vogue among the Students or Scholars?

‘ *Seventhly*, Whether any body ever endeavoured to make any alterations in the *Heidelberg Catechism*?

At the bottom was written: ‘ *Other Articles may be added, and every man may be required to give his Answer upon his Oath or his Conscience.*

This paper discovers the views of the composers; but whether any examination ensued at *Steynsfurt*, or with what success, does not appear, neither what was the event of the enquiry at *Benthem*.

Sibrandus Lubbertus, then Professor of Divinity at *Franeker*, relates, in a certain Letter which he writ to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that there had been a solemn Visitation in the country of *Benthem*, and that those Ministers who had been educated in the heretical doctrines of *Vorstius* were discharged from their Cures, to the end that the contagion might not be diffused further. But *Uitenbogart*, who published the said Letter the next year with marginal Notes, speaks thus of that affair: *but we are told by Vorstius, that in this visitation, there was one Minister put out,*

AN^ODOM. 1612. out, or that quitted his place, as far as he knew: and that was not for Heresy, but because he did not answer to the satisfaction of the examiners, and refused to submit to any further inquiry.

This seems to me to relate to the business of *Brunleven*, the Pastor of *Lengrich*, a Village in the County of *Teklenburg*, which was under the jurisdiction of Count *Adolph*, the eldest Son of the late Count *Arnold*. But as for the County of *Steynfurt*, it fell to the share of his Brother Count *William Henry* when their Patrimony was divided. Now this latter had very different notions about Religion, having a great esteem for *Vorstius*, and adopting the opinions of the *Remonstrants*. And accordingly things were afterwards so disposed, that *Brunleven* was called to the Ministry at *Steynfurt*, and lived theretill the year 1632.

In this very year 1612, there was published in *Holland*, a Pamphlet without the Author's name, which so wittily exposed the mischiefs of the quarrels among the Clergy, and their consequences, that some learned Men have since compared this little tract to the most ingenious Satires that ever proceeded from the pens of the ancient Greeks and Latins. The writer, as has since been discovered, was *William Meerman* (Son to the Heer *Gerard Francon Meerman*, formerly Burgomaster, and afterwards Scout of the City of *Delft*;) he is stiled by *Hoof*, a noble genius. This person, not ignorant of letters, had long been a Sea-faring man, and went this very year upon an expedition to the North-West of *America*, in order to discover a new passage that way to the *East Indies*: but he never returned.

In this Pamphlet he speaks like a Tarpaulin, and rubs the sore places with the salt and vinegar of his serious Satire; of which he thought they stood in need. He endeavours every where to shew that some of the reliicks of *Popery* are to be found in our *Reformation*. For which reason he stiles his Book *COMEDIA VETUS*, or the *Old Game*. He tells every one his own, the *Remonstrants* (to whom he seems mostly to lean) as well as the *Contraremonstrants*.

He compares the transactions of the Church to a Sea-voyage, giving disguised names to every thing. The *Ministers* he calls Fishermen and Steersmen, the States Directors. The *Remonstrants* are named new Steersmen. 'There were some, says he, that had a mind to introduce a new invention of spherical Maps or Charts, maintaining that they came nearest to Nature, and were especially useful for the conducting men in so long a Voyage, as was that to the other World. But the greatest number of Mariners who had thus sailed by the help of Charts, projected on a plane, (he means the *Contraremonstrants*;) cried out, that this rendered Navigation dangerous, and would by no means suffer that the new Steersmen should be taught such things. Thus the game began among old and young; every one had a mind to make a tryal of the new Charts, but they were told by the Pilots that they could not make a sufficient tryal without having first performed the great Voyage. Upon this they all lay gazing at the Sun (to take an observation) from morning till evening; and dazzling their eyes till they saw all things confused, two for one, green for blue, red for yellow, and did nothing but scold at one another about these colours.' Speaking of *Vorstius*, he recites what was objected against him on one hand, and alledged in his defence on the other; 'That he had something more in his noddle than the invention of spherical Charts. — Well might the Ship's company cry out, we are sinking, we are sinking. This fellow will run the Ship aground, and ruin us with his bold sailing. — He dares carry the Ship so near the Rocks, that one may see the Billows foam again, and one might almost step upon them; and another while into such shoal water, that a Haddock cannot creep between the Keel and the Sands. — Then he makes

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An Extract of
a certain
Pamphlet, en-
titled *Co-
media Ve-
tus*.

He calls the *Persecutions*, *Surges*: elsewhere he means by that word, dangerous subtilties. The *Levant* is Greece, or the Greek Church, which would not own the Pope of Rome for the Head of the Church. The new Bishops whom King Philip endeavoured to introduce, he names the new Admirals: the *Inquisition* the rigid Admiralty: the Spaniards, the white Moors: by the noble Sea Knight he understands the Prince of Orange: the Duke of *Alenfon* or *Anjou*, to whom some of the Provinces of the Spanish Netherlands submitted in the year 1581, he stiles the strange Master, that came overland from the West: he calls the Earl of *Leicester*, *Leesetter*; that is, a bungling Surgeon, or Bone-setter, who know-

ing nothing of the firmness and tenderness of our joynts, breaks an elbow, whilst he sets a finger or thumb; and in other cases makes use of causticks no less improperly: Master John betokens the Advocate *Oldenbarnevelt*: The young Hero, Prince *Maurice*. The spherical Maps or Charts, the doctrine of the *Remonstrants*; the plane Charts, that of the *Contraremonstrants*: The Pyrates, the Socinians: the Hill, the Minister *Hillenius*: The Tunny, Venator: the new Chart-maker, *Vorstius*: the Cabin, the Stadthouse: the Steerage, the Church: the Quarter-deck the Pulpit: the Points of the Compass, the principal Articles of our Faith: and so on.

‘ makes off from land again after the Pyrates, under pretence of haling their Ships; ^{AN^o D O M.}
 ‘ but on a sudden grows so intimate with them, that they ask him whether he will ^{1612.}
 ‘ joyn with them for plunder, and if he will, they will make him their Commadore.
 ‘ 1 Nay, some of his most favourite Seamen deserted to the Pyrates, and as it is
 ‘ thought, not without the knowledge of the Master, and would have made a party
 ‘ to seize and carry off the 2 Admiral of *Freeſland*, in order to which they had pro-
 ‘ vided themselves with all kind of Arms and Ammunition. 3 He himself is such
 ‘ a Philosopher, that he can tell us the real size of the Sun to a hair’s breadth; as one may
 ‘ say; whereas a body would think, it is not to be measur’d at all: and abundance of things
 ‘ more, about the shining of the Sun, and whether there was always light init, or whe-
 ‘ ther it be no more than a *Burning-glaſs*, *Looking-glaſs*, or a *Lanthorn*. Ay let him
 ‘ be made a *Burning-glaſs*, and his skin a *Lanthorn*, for lighting others. But his Com-
 ‘ rades on the contrary say, the man is wrongfully accused: that if he had been some-
 ‘ times a little too nice in founding, or carried his Ship a little too near the shoals or rocks;
 ‘ he was nevertheless 4 a good Pilot, and knew what he did; having never struck, nor lost
 ‘ her. 5 And if he had ever haled, or conversed with the Pyrates, it was only to discover
 ‘ their harbours, their ships and their strength. As for their making him their Comma-
 ‘ dore, it was not his desire, but theirs. What had been done by some of his most intimate
 ‘ Cronies, he knew nothing of, neither was he to answer for other people’s misdemea-
 ‘ nors. Nor was he to be twitted, that the Ships went out of season, and could not live
 ‘ in Sea. As for measuring the Sun, and its light, that was a slander raised against
 ‘ him. If he had gazed at it a little more than was good for common eyes, he made
 ‘ no ill, nor new use of it, nor practised any thing contrary to truth, and the anci-
 ‘ ent rules of Navigation: He designed it for the best, and to save others eyes, that
 ‘ could not bear so strong a light as his. As for the rest of the mistakes he prayed
 ‘ that he might not be unjustly charged with them, but that his enemies should
 ‘ prove what they said, and then talk of tanning his hide, and of burning him.

After having said what he thought fit about the disputes at Alkmaer and Rotter-
dam, he returns to Vorſtius again, and ſays of him. ‘ That his enemies had made
 ‘ him so black and dirty, that a dog would not touch him; but according to my
 ‘ weak apprehension (*says he*) it were better never to trouble themselves with a man
 ‘ that is so odious to them. But what is the truth of the matter? They do not be-
 ‘ have like dutiful children, but in plain words, they say, the man must be dis-
 ‘ carded; and thus they disclaim their own Father, nay, if they could, they would
 ‘ make a Bastard of him. — It is true, say they, the Directors are our Masters,
 ‘ but alas! what do they understand of Sea matters? — Is there any contro-
 ‘ versy about a point of Navigation, we will settle it among our selves, 6 and summon
 ‘ the whole company of Navigators to decide it. If they have a mind to come
 ‘ and look on, with all our hearts. But the good old men that helped to scower the
 ‘ Seas with my Father, were not used to talk this language; but admonished the
 ‘ Directors not to let themselves be bantered and bamboozled any longer by the jar-
 ‘ gon of their Steersmen, but to take the Rudder into their own hands, and to
 ‘ have an eye to the Sails, and make themselves masters of their own goods, which
 ‘ God had put into their hands. — When the 7 Steersmen heard that the Di-
 ‘ rectors would not immediately say *Amen* to their prayers, what did they do?
 ‘ they bore away from their Owners, sheltered themselves under the lee of a Man
 ‘ of 8 War, able alone to command the Seas, haled the Captain, and informed him
 ‘ of their distress. — What shall one think of such deserters, who set up one
 ‘ flag when they are outward bound, and another when bound home?’ *Then he*
talks of a Vision, of a Spectre, a Seraph of a Man that appeared upon the shore,
and pursues his discourse thus: ‘ This figure came on board us, and being asked who
 ‘ he was, he answered, the Heer *Hierarch*; upon which every body began to
 ‘ suspect he was some shrewd person, though they did not all of them know what
 ‘ that hard word signified, and St. *Peter* makes not the least mention of such an
 ‘ office or thing in his Epistles. They were told that it imported governing or
 ‘ *domineering,*

P 2

¹ The Students, see Trigl. p. 596.

² The University of Franeker.

³ This relates to his Book of God and his Attributes, &c.

⁴ A Professor.

⁵ See Vorſt. compleat answer printed 1612. His Præ-
 cursor. 1611. His Apolog. Orat. 22 March 1612.

Vid. & Epist. Eccles. Ann. 1660. Edit. p. 347, 350,
 and 423.

⁶ The Synod.

⁷ The Clergy.

⁸ King James.

AN^o DOM. 1612. *domineering*, which they thought was no good preface. This apparition being asked who sent him, replied, he came from his Brethren, *the Universal Steersmen*, with instructions to treat on their behalf with the Gentlemen Directors. Well, what a jest is this, *said some of the Company*, are our *Steersmen* then become our Masters? No, no, friend, said their President, we own no *Ambassadors* from our own folks; if they want any thing, let them come and ask it of us themselves. Upon this the pretended Ambassador began to appeal to I know not what obsolete Commissions and blind Sea-Charts; and from thence he took upon him to prove, by the shortest way, that the Directors had no authority at all. The President chid him roundly for that, requiring him to forbear all such talk, and to own the rights of his superiors, into whose hands God Almighty had put the staff, which he shewed him so near at the same time, that Mr. *Ambassador*, who was a sharp and dextrous fellow, caught hold of it at the wrong end, and endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands. There we should have seen a notable battle, had not the curtain been dropped, and the rueful spectacle hid from our eyes. — *In his Conclusion, or Epilogue, he speaks thus*: Stay a little, do not let us part yet, I see some of you clap, others hiss, and some laugh outright. The wisest among you will easily forgive me for correcting their faults with the same broomstick among the common herd. They know well enough that a Tarpaulin is no Courtier, nor understands how to give every man his due, *i. e.* to spare the bad, and extol the good to the skies. Others I perceive already complain grievously that I prophane their Order, and disclose mysteries. As for the latter part of this accusation, I plead guilty; as for the former, no body is made an ass of here, but he that would pass for Holiness itself, and yet prophanes not only his own Order, but the holy things he administers. The riding on the Asses on *Palm-Sunday* (as a token of humility) has long enough been discontinued in the Church; it is high time to revive the custom. We ought not to resemble the Courtiers of this world, who are always quarrelling in behalf of their Lords, or Patrons, as if their service and interests were much promoted by their Servants janglings; but we ought to behave ourselves as servants of a King, **whose kingdom is not of this world**; whose honour is not advanced, but rather lessened by our ambition; who has indeed many sycophants and lip-servants in his train, but they do not belong to his family. — Do not jest thus with your consciences, as if you could cheat God, the Devil, and the World all at once. The great ceiling of the church is a good cloak indeed, and will cover a great deal, but it cannot hide and smother all. In the mean time the faithful Ministers are to be pitied, seven of whom cannot cleanse so much as one Chimney-sweeper can defile. Ay, but in the mean while we can get no justice done us. That is your own fault, Gentlemen, who will repair to no other Tribunal than where the sentence is ready hammered out. Why, would you have us go where they understand nothing of the matter? I answer, are not your own Sovereigns, who are able to make head against all the wisdom of the world, who appoint and annul all the Laws and Judges by which we are governed; are not they able to furnish us with counsel enough to determine our differences wisely? Ay, but this is a spiritual business, which requires a good judgment, and cannot be managed rightly by every body. — But, if men of good judgment are necessary, there is no lack of such; and if it be a business that cannot be managed by every one, why then do they fill every mans ears with a science that we either cannot understand, or may as well be without? But a litigious temper is not to be pacified; though it should get the better, it requires something more still. — We should be wise enough if we did not desire to be over-wise. Whether the North-West passage be represented crooked or strait, if it has still the same outlet; shall we therefore forbid one another to navigate the Sea? How perfect soever the musical instrument is, what Master can warrant all the tune? the Notes are well enough regulated, but we run so many divisions, that no body can understand the Aire. Ay, ay, but this is all talk, and therefore to make an end of the matter, we must assemble the Seamens Gild, or Fraternity. My dear children, what a confused house shall we have? it will be just like a hay-loft. We may exercise our selves in dispute a little, but not about the point of a *Spanish* needle; but not so as to make

our

our friends first strangers; and next enemies. You your selves know very well, A^ND OM.
1612.
that the quarrellous lads among the boats-crew are good for nothing but to provoke and exercise one another, to keep their limbs supple, and by some slip or other to break each others necks. Therefore, if the Fathers of our country do not moderate this high-flying or climbing, and the wisest of our steersmen do not oblige their mad children to keep upon the common level, it will happen to them in time, as to the rash Shepherds, who whilst they hunt the wild Goats over the rocks and precipices, instead of catching their game, lose themselves.——Let the Goats and Mountains alone therefore: if you love hunting, drive the *Black Swine* here below out of the corn, those enemies of mankind, those professed demolishers of noble palaces; those who take indeed no hire to work in the Lord's vineyards, but upon the decease of a rich father, sweep away a child's portion from the rest of the heirs; Garden-Vermin, that like toads fix upon the best plants and flowers, and early insinuate their poison into the young and tender roots.——

The good instructions and warnings that abound in this little Tract, and the scarceness of it, as well as the danger of its being lost in the great ocean of books, tempted me to insert this small Abstract of it. This author writ at the same time another treatise; but which was not published till long after, under the title of the *Mad Driving*; it was a continuation and defence of the former, but imperfect, yet abounding with judicious thoughts, witty strokes, and cutting satire.

You enquire of each other, *says he, to the violent Steersmen*, who is likely to prove most zealous for the cause you have embraced, but not of moderate and impartial men, how to compose the war that is broke out,——Your sottishness (to call it by no worse or more deserved name) has at least deserved to be ridiculed, and your bitter actions to be tempered with sugared mustard.——Inconsistent subtilties are the labyrinths in which you would be glad to entangle the process or dispute, that there may be no end of it, no sentence ever passed upon it, nor any Judge able to take cognizance of it.——What was first allowed to be indifferent, is now become necessary; not that it is better comprehended by you now, than formerly; but because you see farther into the consequences, and are aware that an indifferent matter may easily be determined by Arbitrators; not to mention Judges. Accordingly you seem to fear nothing more, than that you should have for Colleagues, such as would acknowledge the authority of christian States and Princes in ecclesiastical matters.——If your Lords or Patrons wrong you, it is not to the higher powers you appeal, but to the lowest and meanest part of the community, who are devoted to your interests; and if that will not do, then you fly from the justice of one Province to another, fancying that you can obtain no justice among us, because we have no Court of *Inquisition*, or Chamber of Conscience.——That which pure love and charity has conjoined, pure and undefiled conscience will not separate. Consider, you are so great a member of the body, as is almost equal to the whole body itself; and what a wound would it be to be torn off from each other? Had you as much concern for your own real interest, as love of wrangling, you would soon be sensible what a treasure peace is, and how much more of practice than speculation there is in religion. You have at this time invented so many meanders, or windings, that the Apostles themselves, if they were to appear in your Spiritual Courts, would not be able to understand your language; insomuch, that if they should return to the world, they would be in continual danger of being ensnared in their discourse. The Council of God must be sifted through our dull brains, as through a *searce*, if we would be perfect in the way of salvation; and yet we insist so much upon this our faint glimmering knowledge, that if people do not think as we do, we will not allow them to know any thing.——But you cry, that among our Governours, there are some who are not only disaffected to our interest, but are even engaged in a contrary one. I answer, the better and greater part is for you, and the whole body is devoted to give you satisfaction, as plainly appears, both in and out of the country: if there be some such as you speak of among them, consider how necessary it is that your zeal should be qualified by the presence of such, who like good Patriots, have with

2

you

AN^o DO M.
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you freed their souls from slavery; or if they are still in some measure either enslaved under the yoke of *Popery*, or inclined to libertinism, consider whether your tyrannical discipline and lofty looks be not the occasion of it, having given them a greater aversion to you than they ought to have; and whether, if you would lay aside that your domineering sanctity, they might not also be brought off, and abdicate their *Babylonish* fooleries, or their Enthusiastic spirit. — Do not confide neither so much in the external professions of men, for they are false and dissimulated, and do then most deceive us when they appear most zealous — We are for separating the Goats from the Sheep so precisely even in this world, as if we had a mind to leave nothing for God to do in the next; and yet he will certainly scrutinize the Sheep themselves once more, and divide the sound from the scabby. We are so careful to avoid this contagion, that for fear of it, we bring a worse disease upon our selves. —

Some Account
of a Satire,
called, Sardi
Venales.

About the same time, or a little later, did *Peter Cunaus*, one of the Professors at *Leyden*, and of the greatest Lights of his age, publish a certain Satire, under the title of *Sardi Venales*, or *Buy my Sprats*, which he inscribed to the Heers *Rombout Hogerbeets* and *Apollonius Schotte*, Counsellors, or Assessors, in the supreme Court of *Holland*; in which he lashes the faults of the Learned, without sparing the Divines themselves; for he was of opinion that there were some even among them that were to be looked upon as a scandal to their holy Order, and that the correcting their failings might tend to the promoting the *Reformation*. I shall only insert for brevity's sake, a taste of that author, as translated from the *Latin*. After having censured several of their faults or defects, he at last introduces *Wisdom* speaking after the following manner:

It is at length well and prudently resolved to oppose the faction of the Clergy, which has treated me with so much injustice and contempt, that I could wish to be I know not where, rather than in my own kingdom; it does so abound in all parts of it with uneasie, litigious, and turbulent spirits, who certainly not imitating me, but my counterfeits, expose religion, and all that is sacred, to scorn. In truth, I do not find among them the least marks or footsteps of my institutions, for many of them were in their younger years, *Barbers*, *Schoemakers*, *Carpenters*, or of such like servile employments, and led their lives accordingly. Afterwards, perceiving that my Priests, and the Propagators of my Ceremonies, were so highly esteemed (for the common people are willing to fight for them, are ready to faint when they chide, and hang upon their lips) they thought it a brave thing, and so indeed it is, and therefore they laboured with all their might to procure to themselves the like authority. But none of them took pains, or zealously exerted themselves, to attain to learning. That is a matter of difficulty, and a task for men; they therefore went a shorter way to work, they made use of fraud and tricks. Every body knows how easie it is to walk with an erect countenance, with a proud and stately look, to drop sentences from a smooth and voluble tongue, and the like, which seem to promise great wisdom. And they appear not so much to be born for the office, as to be qualified by some divine inspiration; for it seems to be infused into them *that the false things are, the more they are to be practised by them*. What is there then that cannot be effected by labour and art, since nature itself, the most simple of all things, is changed by affectation? For this reason, they first cheat the un-thinking mob, whom they may deceive without concern, and with advantage. The mob, I say, which is careless, and makes no difference between truth and falsehood, and looking only upon the outside of things, is carried away by their wheedles which way soever they please. These sit round about them, opening and shutting their ears like a pair of bellows, and approving whatever they hear. But this is not so strange; for how few does one meet with, even among the wisest, who profess in this great and almost godlike matter, wherein happiness is briefly comprized, *nihil admirari*, that is, *to wonder at nothing*. My heart trembles in me, when I reflect with my self, that dull and illiterate Masters or Teachers should boldly assert things that are not known nor understood with any kind of certainty, as if they were demonstrable: *Divine matters are involved in great obscurity, and may*

* *Erasmi, Adag. Chiliad. I. Cent. IV. Adag. 5.* * *P. Cuni. Sardi Venal. Lugd. Bat. Typ. Raph. 1612. p. 85.*

may with more holiness and reverence be believed than comprehended: for the majesty of the most High God, who dwells in the bright regions, is far removed from the eyes of mortal men, governing himself and his kingdom, without the intervention of any other powers. The holy men of old did only pronounce a few oracles by his inspiration, which if they had been plain and clear, it would perhaps have fared better with mankind. And yet, though the knowledge of these affairs is attended with so many difficulties, no body thinks himself blind in this obscure and dark night; but the less any one knows, the more he pretends to know; from hence arise our difficulties, men will judge of obscure matters, as if they were altogether certain, and fasten upon the rock of every opinion, though driven upon it as by a storm. And I cannot tell whether I should call this ignorance or self-conceit, for they will never own that they have learned any thing wrong; just as if it were a great crime to abandon known and rashly embraced errors, and to unlearn what one had before learned amiss. What they once advance, be it never so absurd, must remain as stiff and unmoveable as a stake, so that they make use of, what alone is necessary to the support of their cause, obstinacy, and fortify their kingdom with force and faction: and what I take to be worst of all, false opinion is a very fruitful thing, seeing it will never stop where it began; for they that depart from truth, do immediately split into various parties, they thwart one another merely out of a spirit of division, and so from one error there arise numberless, and every one of them differing from the rest.

AN^o D^o M.
1612.

*Non mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum,
Omnia Sectarum percurrere nomina possim.*

The causes and motives of all this, are the founders of each sect, who push on those that are of a superstitious temper with such fury as if they were mad, or stung with a Gad-bee. There is nothing that can more irresistibly deceive with a fair appearance, than the pretext of religion; for whoever uses the majesty of God for a cloak, comes with such good credentials, that others chuse rather to believe than judge of what they once receive from him whom they follow; they swear to his words, having obstinately resolved to embrace all his foolish whims and dreams. Now if this be not slavery, I would feign ask, what is, or where is the liberty of those men who are necessitated to defend what is prescribed, and, as it were, imposed on them. Certainly, Fortune, if I may so speak, plays with the life of man, forcing each to act his part according to her wild caprices; some she makes Servants, some Lords; and others their own Masters: Knights, Freed Men, and Slaves, are names I know that proceed from ambition or injustice; but these, if one considers the matter aright, do not affect the whole man. Contemplate your souls, the source of which is the immortal fire, images, and parts of God himself. They are all of the same nature; know therefore, that they have always and every where been free, not by virtue of the *Roman* or *Imperial* laws, but those of Nature. What is the matter then? why, it is that abominable and accursed power of Tyrants, which can only vent its rage upon your bodies; and yet those who opposed and subdued it, were formerly honoured with divine worship: how much then, think you, ought those people to be detested, who lord it over your reason, and teach servitude to that most noble part of you which alone is incapable of being enslaved? I am tired and grieved for their sakes. Being therefore weary, I give up the cause, I quit the stage, and make them room to precipitate themselves into a destruction of their own chusing. I seek another country, another habitation, but am as yet doubtful in what part of the world to look for it. Henceforwards I shall never own any for my citizens, but those that leave reason free, and who never go further than that which appears probable to them; for the bounds of knowledge, as well as of all other things, are appointed to feeble mankind, and when the Father of Gods and Men sent me down to the earth, it was his pleasure, that I should not be entirely revealed, nor absolutely concealed from the eyes of the world: it is just and fitting, that people stop at the threshold of my Temple; in vain do men seek to discover the mysteries that are hid in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or most sacred recesses.

After

AN^O D^O M.

1613.

A Conference at
Delft.

After this manner, and by the interlocution of *Wisdom*, did *Peter Cunæus* endeavour to make the Clergy unlearn their *failings*; some other lines of his book that are sharper and more satyrical than these, and pointed against particular persons and things, I designedly pass by, to avoid as far as possible, the very appearances of partiality.

I go on therefore with the sequel of our transactions. In the year 1613, there was a new conference between some of the Clergy at *Delft*. Some people entertained hopes that the fire of Church-divisions might have been extinguished by that means: But it fell out quite contrary. Count *William Lewis* of *Nassau*, the Stadtholder of *Freeſland*, a man of admirable conduct in the War against *Spain*, staid some weeks at the *Hague* at the same time. The *Remonstrants* think he was a great enemy to their cause; yea, *Uitenbogart* tells us in his Journal, upon the 28th of *March*, 1612, that he had it from the mouth of the Heer *Mylander*, Prince *Maurice's* Secretary, that the said Count endeavoured to perswade the Prince his Nephew, that it was his interest to oppose the *Remonstrants*, or such of the Magistrates as were most inclined to them. But now this Count had proposed to some of the Clergy on each side, that is, *Remonstrants* and *Contraremonstrants*, to meet together in a smaller number than they had done before at the *Hague*, in order to make another attempt for peace and unity. And the States of *Holland*, who left no stone unturned in promoting so holy a work, directed their Committee to give it all the countenance they were able.

Accordingly, on the 25th of *February* there met at *Delft* three *Contraremonstrant* Ministers, *Bogardus*, *Becius* and *Festus* on the one part, and three of the *Remonstrant* persuasion, namely, *Uitenbogart*, *Van de Borre*, and *Grevinkbovius* on the other.

Upon the proposal, and at the desire of *Festus Hommius*, it was thought proper to commit nothing to writing, unless there were some prospect of a mutual toleration to be unanimously agreed upon among them all, and reduced into a scheme, in order to be communicated to others for their advice and approbation: and besides, that whatever was said or done by the three *Contraremonstrants*, should only pass for their own private and personal act.

At the two first meetings before and after noon, they discoursed about the calling a National Synod, about Toleration, and reciprocal Complaints. The *Remonstrants* would have treated first upon the *Five Points*, and required that the same should be declared tolerable. The *Contraremonstrants* returned for answer, that they could make no other declaration about those Points, than they had done before, without the advice of the Churches. To this it was replied, that such a declaration was only desired of them in their private capacities; but the former refused to make it, till the *Remonstrants* had explained themselves upon several other points and questions, which they seemed resolved to propose besides the aforesaid *Five Points*; adding, that they did not only insist upon such an explanation from the three *Remonstrants* there present, but from all the rest of their opinion; and even that also, without giving them any assurance, that in such case they should be tolerated in the business of the *Five Points*; and without promising on their own behalf that the *Remonstrants* themselves should then be suffered. This was far enough from any accommodation. Nay *Bogardus*, a Minister of *Harlem*, said plainly: *That the opinion of the Remonstrants with reference to the Five Points, was not to be tolerated.* About evening, when they were going to part, *Festus* and the other *Contraremonstrants*, proposed, that each side should commit to writing that which had been debated by word of mouth. This proposal appeared very strange to the *Remonstrants*, as remembering what *Festus* himself had stipulated so lately: Matters being still far from being brought to any appearance of an accommodation, in which case, and no otherwise, something was to be drawn up by common consent. However, they were willing to gratify him and his friends in their desire.

They drew up therefore a short account, inserting in it what they had maintained, and pressing for what they had before demanded, with reference to a declaration of tolerating the *Five Points*. But the *Contraremonstrants*, instead of explaining

² *Resol. States*, p. 25. Nov. 1612.
Uitenb. p. 601. *Trigl.* p. 607.

³ *N. Grevink. Apol. Edit. Rott.* 1617. p. 112.

⁴ *Trigl.* p. 644, 647.

plaining themselves upon the said demand, insisted at the same time, in a large writing (which seemed to be ready drawn up, for it could not have been prepared in so short a time as between that evening and the next morning) that all the *Remonstrants* should declare themselves upon above thirty articles. They gave them at once to understand, that in their opinion there could be no surer, nor more convenient means proposed for putting an end to all these troubles, than the calling a National Synod, to the decisions of which they would freely submit. The *Remonstrants* replied to this: That their adversaries lay in wait for them, and that these articles were the toils in which they designed to ensnare them. Nevertheless they received the articles, and said they would consider of them with their brethren, seeing that all of them were required to make the same declaration, and that they would labour to obtain such a declaration, but there must be time allowed them to do it in. This was granted, and they were told that they might take six or eight weeks for that purpose. The *Remonstrants* upon their request, were likewise promised that the aforesaid articles should not be divulged within that time: notwithstanding which promise, some copies were given out the very same day, which past from one hand to another, and soon after appeared in print: by which means it was rumoured throughout the country, that the *Remonstrants* were big with many and great *Heresies*. It was given out every where, that they would not declare or explain themselves: that there were just reasons for suspecting them, and that upon the account of many weighty matters: that the suspicions did now increase: that there were no means left to restore the peace of the Church, or to bring about an agreement, unless those suspicions were removed by a plain declaration: that a sincere Minister and Teacher of the truth, ought to be ready and willing to account for his opinions upon the fundamental articles of doctrine, when the peace and tranquility of the Church could not be obtained without such a declaration; and lastly, that those who refused it, were not serious in the pursuit of peace, or else had departed from the unity of doctrine.

After this, *Uitenbogart* gave the following account of the said conference in one of his books: 'the Articles, to the number of XXXVI, proposed at the Conference of *Delft*, under a feigned pretence, were not once moved, or brought upon the stage by the *Remonstrants*, but deceitfully invented by the *Contraremonstrants*, in order to hide or obscure the differences about *Predestination*, under the odious show of many others, and to give a colour to the diffused rumour, that there were secret designs which their adversaries durst not own; thereby to render the cause of the *Remonstrants* yet more suspicious.' And a little lower he compares the Colloquy of *Delft* to a former Conference between *Luther* and *Zwinglius* at *Marpurg*, in these words: 'The *Remonstrants* said, they would explain themselves as soon as the business they come about was liquidated. Was that any thing strange or new? The *Remonstrants* were here treated by the *Contraremonstrants*, as *Zwinglius* was by *Luther*. For, as that meeting had been then projected by the Landgrave of *Hesse*, so was this likewise brought about by a Great man. *Zwinglius* thought then, that they were to treat of nothing but the article concerning the *Sacrament*, which was what they publicly differed about: but when they met at *Marpurg*, and began to treat, *Luther* said, that he must debate with *Zwinglius* and his party upon the whole *Christian System*, seeing that they were heterodox in other points besides that of the *Lord's Supper*. But what did *Zwinglius* reply? This Congress was appointed for no other purpose but this, nor are we to discourse upon any other articles than that of the *Sacrament*: if that could be adjusted, he would freely debate all the rest. It is just so here: they imitate the unreasonable demand of *Luther*, and we adhere to the equitable answer of *Zwinglius*.

It was also observed by *Grotius* afterwards, concerning this way of conferring at *Delft*: 'That it was always understood, even by the States and the Magistrates themselves, that they ought to proceed by way of charge or accusation, and not by way of inquisition; and to fetch proofs from abroad, not to extort them from the parties themselves who were accused. If there were any proofs of extravagant doctrines, why did they not proceed *more Ecclesiastico*? If none, why then were men of good name rendered suspected

The Conference at Delft compared with that between Luther and Zwinglius at Marburg.

* *Uitenb. defence of the resolutions of the States of Holland, for the peace of the Church, printed at the Hague, 1615. p. 194.*

A^NO D^OM.
1613.

The Resolution
of the States of
Holland, with
respect to what
passed in the
Conference at
Delft.

¹ Thus likewise did the States proceed; who being assembled in *March*, and having understood first from *Festus*, and afterwards from *Uitenbogart*, (with both of whom they discoursed separately) what had passed in the Conference at *Delft*, and the remarks made thereupon by both parties, did by a solemn resolution, require the three *Contraremonstrants*, who appeared last at the said town of *Delft*, to draw up in writing, and afterwards deliver to the Committee of the States, or to the three *Remonstrant* Divines that were at the said Conference, after what manner they proposed that the several opinions, in respect to the *Five Points*, might be taught and tolerated, to the edification, peace, and rest of the Christian Church, and good community; to the end that they, the States, might consider what was proper to be done in it, and act accordingly for the service of the country, and the benefit, peace, and tranquility of the Church. And they judged it neither useful nor convenient to urge the *Remonstrants* to any declaration concerning the articles or points insisted on by the *Contraremonstrants*; or that any new matters should be stirred on either side, it being the intent and purpose of the States of *Holland*, that all things relating to the maintenance and preservation of the pure doctrine of God's word, and to the obviating whatever was contrary to it, should be done by their authority, order, and disposition. And as for the Deputies of the cities of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, and *Enkhusen*, (who scrupled to conform themselves to the resolutions of the Nobles, and the rest of the cities without first consulting their Principals) the States requested them to bring the matter to as good an issue as they could, and to communicate to the Committee of the States the resolutions of their Masters to joyn with the Nobles and Towns.

An Order of
the States a-
gainst assuming
the Character
and Authority
of synodical
Deputies.

A Letter of the
King of Great
Britain to the
States Gene-
ral.

It was moreover agreed in the same Assembly, by the majority of votes, that none of the Clergy of the Province of *Holland* and *West Freeiland*, either within or without the country, should presume to arrogate to themselves the character or authority of Deputies of the Synod of *Holland* and *West Freeiland*, without a previous order from the Lords, the States of the said Province, or their Committee. The States had a mind by this resolution to prevent the attempts of some persons that made use of the synodical authority after the adjournments of particular Synods.

² On the 6th of the said month of *March*, *James* King of *Great Britain* writ a Letter to the States of the *United Provinces*, about the affair of their ecclesiastical differences, of which the Heer *Noel de Caron*, their Ambassador at his Court, who had been at the *Hague* not long before, had given him some account in writing. In this Letter the King thus expresses himself: 'We inform you of what experience has taught us, that such differences are rarely to be decided by the conferences of Divines; but that it is much more proper to put an end to them by publick authority, forbidding your Clergy to touch upon such disputes in the pulpit, or among the common people; and strictly requiring them to preserve peace by a mutual toleration of the differing opinions which each side has embraced concerning those points; at least so long till it shall be otherwise appointed by the aforesaid publick authority, after due cognizance of matters. And We think we have so much the more reason to exhort you to this, forasmuch as having seen in a certain Letter sent Us by the Heer *Caron*, your Ambassador, the opinions of both parties, and the reasons upon which they found those opinions, very largely discussed; We do not perceive either of them to be so absurd as not to consist with the truth of the Christian faith, as well as with the salvation of mens souls.'

Afterwards the King writ another Letter, on the 21st of *March*, to the States of *Holland* and *West Freeiland*, of the like tenor. But people said that this advice was begged by some in these Provinces, and that matters were managed accordingly.— It was also reported, that the Heer *Hugo Grotius* was the person that drew up the account of these differences in question, which was put into *Caron's* hands, by whose artifice the King's advice was obtained. ³ But that Great man declared, that he had never seen the said account before it was communicated to his *Britannick* Majesty, who also had writ his Letter before he went to *England*, and that he had not the least hand in it. *Grotius* further said, that he knew very well, and had learned it even from the King's own mouth, that his Majesty had seriously considered the points in difference, and that finding none of them to be fundamentals, he had maturely weighed

¹ Grot. Apol. p. 41. ² Epist. Eccles. p. 393. Baud. Mem. Lib. V. p. 2. ³ Grot. Apol. Lib. VI. p. 56.

weighed the advice he gave. ¹ But be that as it will, several eminent persons, who were inclined to moderation, were much pleased with such writing from *England*, hoping that from that time forward, the hot-headed men would lose all hopes of abusing the King's authority to gratify their passions.

² Not long after, in the month of *May*, the States of *Holland* and *West Freeſland* were made acquainted with a Letter received from the King of *Great Britain*: Wherein he communicated to them an account he had received of some pernicious proposals for destroying the Government of these Provinces. And it being thereupon represented, that since the last meeting, great pains had been taken by many improper methods, both within and without the United Countries, to wrest and countermine the good intentions of his Majesty, expressed in his letters to the States General, for the putting a stop to the divisions among the Clergy, and the good Communities, and to foment and increase the said divisions, and even to embroil affairs by all kind of means: that it likewise plainly appeared, that the *Jesuits*, and other persons addicted to the *Romish* superstitions, had been sowing their seed among our people, and endeavoured to reap a plentiful harvest, as had partly appeared very lately, from a certain infamous libel, published by one of that Order at *Mentz*; as also by a seditious letter found in the church at *Horn*, as well as by the dangerous discourses holden in several towns and places, contrary to the interest of the present Government, the true Christian Religion, and the unity of the good Subjects: that in order to promote yet further the uneasinesses, distractions, and animosities among the people, the points that had been delivered and exchanged, in the month of *February*, between the six Ministers that met at *Delft*, had been lately published, contrary to the resolution taken at the last Session; and moreover, the treatise intituled, *3 Summa Baronis*, with two orations of *Whitacre*, and a certain scheme of Articles drawn up at *Lambeth* in the year 1595, had been printed, which had never before been consented to, or published in *England*, and the publication of which was even prohibited: besides, that at the meeting of the Clergy in the *Classis* of *Alkmaer*, some of the Ministers of the villages had been guilty of such insolencies before the Commissioners deputed thither by the Committee of the States, that they did not scruple at a certain time to tell them publicly: *That they were well informed that the States of Holland and West Freeſland were not unanimous in the Ecclesiastical differences, and the Resolutions taken thereupon*; and in relation to the letters of King *James*, that, *there was a great difference between the Monarchical Government of that Prince, and this of the States General*: besides, that the Ministers of the villages, in the jurisdiction of *Alkmaer*, had proposed to the said Commissioners exorbitant conditions, which they insisted should be granted them, before they would hearken to any accommodation with the Ministers and Consistory of *Alkmaer*: that in a much greater town many sermons were purposely made against the opinions of the *Remonstrants* about the *Five Points*; that in the towns of *Horn*, *Schoonhoven*, the *Bril*, and in other places, much pains had been taken to animate the people to discord, to rebellion against the higher powers, and to the breach of the publick peace: and that all these things being seriously weighed and considered, it could not but be supposed that these wicked designs had been purposely contrived for the ruin of the Commonwealth, as the said advice from the King of *Great Britain* had insinuated.

These matters being therefore debated, the Nobles and Deputies of the towns unanimously agreed, that each of them in their respective stations would seriously attend to the said advice, and use their utmost endeavours to oppose all those evil designs, and to promote unity. And the said Nobles, and the greatest part of the Deputies of the towns were of opinion, that the foregoing Resolutions, concerning a mutual Toleration, and the asserting the Authority of the States, and the Magistrates of particular places in Church-matters, and every thing thereunto belonging (agreeable to the advice contained in the two Letters of King *James*) ought to be put in execution, all Contravention punished, and the re-establishing Peace and Unity among the people seriously endeavoured. But the Deputies of a few towns declared that they had not any further instructions upon the business of Religion, than what they had formerly communicated to the Assembly; but that however they would make a favourable report of the whole to their Principals.

¹ See Grotius's Letter to Oldenbarnevelt, in *Uitenbogaert*, p. 613.

² From the Resolut. of the States of Hol. in May 1613.

³ Peter Barrow was formerly Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in England, and a Remonstrant. See *Uitenbogaert*, p. 93.

A^N° DOM.

1613.

A Resolution of
the States with
respect to the
differences a-
bout matters of
Religion.

After this, it was again deliberated at a meeting of the States, which began on the 17th of July, how all the occasions of religious differences might be best removed; and after several methods and ways were proposed, it was the opinion of the majority: 'That at the ensuing Assembly they should proceed upon the same foot as had been done about a year before; *to wit*, by making a moderate Order about tolerating the different opinions concerning *Predestination*, and the matters relating to it; that is to say, the *Five Points* debated at the Conference: and this being done, that they should then go on to appoint such an Ecclesiastical Constitution as should seem best calculated for the preservation of the true *Christian Reformed Religion*, and for the prevention of all new disputes and divisions.

At the same Meeting the affair of one *Abraham Viven*, a Braſier, was also discussed. This man (I speak in the terms which the States made use of themselves in their Resolutions, out of which this account is taken) had behaved himself at *Rotterdam* and thereabouts above a year before, very unseemly, disorderly, and factiously towards some of the Clergy, refusing to go to the churches of the *Reformed*, and to obey the Orders of the Burgomasters; for which reason, after the Magistrates had born a long time with him, he was ordered to leave the town, and upon his refusal, the Scout turned him out, enjoying him not to return any more. The Burgomasters, Aldermen, and Common Council thought they had acted in this matter agreeably to their usual authority, and according to the foregoing Resolutions that had been frequently taken by the States, and by them prescribed to the cities and towns, by which the Burgomasters and other Magistrates were charged and impowered to cause all persons, that should presume to say or do any thing to the prejudice of the Government or Jurisdiction under which they lived, as unprofitable members of the town or country to which they belonged, to be removed from thence without any further Process or Tryal at law; and such removal or banishment was declared valid and effectual, notwithstanding any appeal to other Tribunals or other higher Courts. Nevertheless the President and Court of Justice of *Holland* had presumed to take cognizance of this matter, upon the application of the aforesaid *Viven* to them.

A Petition of
the Magistrates
of Rotterdam.

The Resolution
of the States
thereupon.

Upon which the Deputies of the Town of *Rotterdam* had prayed that the States would be pleased to explain themselves: 'It being therefore deliberated, it was thought fit, and accordingly declared, That for the preservation and maintenance of the authority of the Burgomasters, and the rest of the Magistrates of the town of *Rotterdam*, (notwithstanding the former Resolutions and Decrees might be explained as only extending to incidents during the war) no cognizance in this, or the like cases should at any time be taken by the said President and Council, or Court of Justice.

During this Session of the States there was something likewise done relating to *Adrian Smout*, formerly Minister of *Roon*, concerning which we find the following Resolution in the Journal of the States: 'The said Assembly having been also informed, that *Adrian Smout* had presumed to compose a certain Treatise, and dedicate it to the States of *Holland* and *West Freeſland*, intituled, a *Scriptural Pea*, determining whether the doctrines which are controverted at this time are fundamentals of salvation or no: and that not only in the Dedication of that book, but likewise in several parts of it, the Author expressly endeavoured, contrary to several Resolutions of the States, and Letters and Orders of their Committee, as well as against known Truths, to stir up the people to tumults and seditions; and besides, that the said book was published, notwithstanding the Author was forbidden to do it by the Magistrates of the town of *Rotterdam* where he dwelt; several means being therefore proposed to be used for the preservation of the peace, and for the interest of these Provinces, in respect to the abovementioned affair; and the same having been maturely deliberated, it was resolved, *first*, That the said *Adrian Smout* should be cited against next *Saturday*, the 20th of this month, to the end that he being heard in a full meeting, the matter might be determined in such manner as should be most for the service of the land. Accordingly the said *Adrian Smout* being summoned and appearing in the Assembly, it was resolved before, upon deliberation, to acquaint him in the said Assembly, that the Lords, the States, were not satisfied with the reasons he had offered for contravening their Resolutions, and the

Commands

Commands of the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*; but that however, their final decision should be adjourned till the next Sessions, and till they had consulted their Principals; and in the mean time he should retire provisionally to the Town of 'S *Gravesande* within four days after the order was notified to him, and not stir out of the jurisdictions thereof, before, and until his affair were determined in the approaching Sessions; and all this on pain of being arbitrarily corrected as the Committee should direct, to whom the matter is earnestly recommended in pursuance of this resolution.

AN^o DOM.
1613.

¹ *Uitenbogat* writes concerning the same *Smout*, that he was according to the directions of the States, confined to the Town of 'S *Gravesande*, because he neither could justify his book to their satisfaction, nor would acknowledge his fault. And his zeal was likewise so extravagant, that the Heer Burgomaster *Cornelius Petersen Hooft*, asks in a certain letter concerning him, *whether any man ever heard, or could produce an Author that equalled this Smoutius in slander and scandal?*

² Before this he had been turned out of the Church at *Roan*, where he did not officiate above the space of a year; but however he preached after that in several separate meetings, of the *Contraremonstrants*, and used his utmost efforts to oppose the *Remonstrants*, and promote the separation.

³ About this time there happened something at *Amsterdam*, upon the baptizing two children, the one by *Uitenbogat*, the other by *Episcopus*, which occasioned much discourse: On the 14th of *February*, *Peter Plancius* being to baptize the child of *Uitenbogat's* Son's Wife in the old Church, instead of asking the Father and the Witnesses the second question, which ever since the National Synod in the year 1586, was used according to the Formulary of the Reformed Churches; namely, *whether they did not acknowledge the doctrine contained in the old and new Testament, and in the articles of the Christian faith, and accordingly taught in the Christian church, to be the compleat doctrine of Salvation?* I say, instead of asking this question, he proposed it according to another Formulary; thus: *I ask you whether you do not acknowledge the doctrine here taught, and which is moreover contained in the old and new Testament, and in the articles of the Christian faith, to be the true and perfect doctrine of Salvation?*

An account of what happened to Uitenbogat, as he assisted at the baptism of a child.

Uitenbogat not sufficiently attending to this deceitful change of the words, answered, *yea*. Upon which they spread a report, not only through the City, but over all *Holland*, that he, by answering in the affirmative, had publicly recanted his opinion about *Predestination*, and the other doctrines depending on it; which provoked him warmly to explain his meaning with reference to the said answer, by a letter to *Plancius*.

Not long after, *Episcopus* was desired to stand at the baptism of his Brother's Daughter; but he scrupled it very much, fearing lest they should serve him as they had done *Uitenbogat*: But they assured him it should be avoided, by delaying the christning till the turn of *Plancius* was past, especially since there was no other Formulary lying on the Pulpit, nor used at *Amsterdam*, than with the word, *accordingly*. But when the child was to be baptized on the 2d of *April*, there happened something which has been variously reported, ⁴ but which *Episcopus* himself in the following Letter, that he writ to *Uitenbogat* the next day, relates thus:

Dear and Honoured Brother,

I cannot forbear acquainting you with what has befallen me here at *Amsterdam*, much after the same manner as happened before to you, but from another man, from whom I could never have mistrusted it. Yesterday, the 2d. of this month, being at the New Church in order to stand as Witness to the baptism of my Brother's Child, *Gasper vander Heiden* asked me bluntly, and with a loud voice, this formal question, together with the second question which is wont to be put to the Parents and Witnesses: *Whether I did not own all that was contained in the old and new Testament, and in the articles of the Christian faith, and that was taught there to be the true and perfect doctrine of Salvation?* Having proposed this question,

A Letter of Episcopus to Uitenbogat, giving an account of a like accident which happened to himself on the same occasion.

² *Uitenb. Notes on the Hist. of F. de Ury. p. 82. Apol. Rot. 1617. p. 133, 140, 154.*

³ In the year 1607. Vid. *Grevink.*

⁴ *Uitenb. Hist. p. 609. and Life. Lib. X. p. 198.*

⁵ *Uitenb. p. 611. S. Curcel. Præf. S. Episcop. Oper. Part I. p. 3.*

AN^o DOM. 1613. on, he cryed: *What do ye answer to this?* To which I replyed as loud as I could: *That for my own part, I acknowledged that doctrine to be true, which was taught according to God's word and the articles of the Christian faith, agreeably to the contents of the Formulary, in which the word accordingly is inserted;* and presently my Brother followed me, saying, *and I too;* and afterwards two other persons in the same tone with us, unknown and unexpected, praising us, and promising to bear their testimony of us wherever it should be necessary. This having past, *Vander Heyden* fell to reproaching me very indecently, and said: *I was very bold and presumptuous to talk after such a manner in the Church of Christ Jesus; that if I made any scruple, I ought to have come to his house, and there disclosed my mind to him in private; for I knew well enough where he lived.* And when I replyed: *That in case the Brother was not satisfied with this limitation in the ordinary Formulary at the end of our Catechism, then would I depart, and not assist at the baptism of the child.* He said again: *You are a young man, and ought not to talk so confidently; you have heard what has been here taught, that Man is nothing but dust and earth (for he had just preached upon that text in Genesis, Dust thou art &c.) and therefore ought not to be so proud, insolent and self-conceited.* In the mean while the rest of the Ministers, who were then present, to the number of five, as *Hallius, Lemaire, Triglandius, Ursinus* and *Geldorpius*, went on with the christning; and I, to avoid any further disorder, having satisfied my conscience, held my peace, and made no return to what he had said in a manner sufficiently uncivil. But when I took my leave of them with a friendly salute, there was not one that moved his hand towards his hat; *Vander Heyden* himself turned his back upon me, affecting to talk with the Clerk: after which, I was so haled and pulled, and insulted by the common people, especially those of the female sex, that you would have been amazed to see it: however I greeted them all as civilly as I could; and being unwilling to sneak out of the Church as one that was conscious of having done amiss, I was in the mean time attacked by one man in particular, who asked me whether I had any thing to object against *Triglandius*, because I had taken Notes the Sunday before at his Sermon? To whom I answered: *That surely I was at liberty to write after a man that spake in publick.* And as to his question, whether I had any thing to object, I said: *I should declare that at a proper time and place, but that it was unseasonable to talk of it now.* But he insisting that I should declare myself now, I told him plainly, I did not intend to do it. Immediately I was surrounded with numbers of people, reproaching me for what had past between *Vander Heyden* and me, some of whom I got rid of by giving them good language; but others among the crowd, which continually increased, hearing neither sense nor reason, cryed: *Away with these Mutineers! for shame you seditious tribe of rogues and vagabonds! let us give them a mark: inasmuch, that the Dogwhipper himself bawled out: Where are they? let me come at them; do but show me them:* and laying hold on me, there might have been some disorders committed, if my Brother had not interposed. And this was plainly observed by all the Ministers who were about the font; but they did not stir one foot to our assistance, nor endeavour to disperse the mob. Upon this I resolved with myself to go to them, and thereby quiet the tumult: But I found them in such a temper, that after having heard me, they treated me as rudely as the people; inasmuch that we should have been used yet worse, if the people had known what past between us. *Vander Heyden* asked me: *Whether I was the Professor Episcopius? What I did in the Church, and why I did not keep out?* I told him: *That he knew the reason as well as I, and that it was no occasion sought for by me, but the effect of pure necessity, to wit, the birth of my Brother's child.* I asked him besides, *What moved him to put such a question to me, and not such as he was wont to propose out of the Formulary?* he replyed: *That he had a mind to saddle me with the Order of the States, which required him to put such questions.* I not understanding what he meant, said: *That he knew well enough what was drawn up and approved by the Synod of LXXXVI. and accordingly practised here; and therefore I could not imagine what he meant by making such an alteration, just at this time; nor what harm there was in such an answer* as

* Trigl. p. 662.

‘ as I had made ? To this he did not say much, only, *that he would lay before* AN^O D^O M.
 ‘ me the Order of the States. Therefore if you know any thing of this matter, be 1613.
 ‘ pleased to let me know it, though it does not seem to be of any great moment.
 ‘ *Ursinus* asked my Brother, why I had not objected against the first question con-
 ‘ cerning Original sin ? to which he replied : *Because he has no scruple about it.*
 ‘ *Hallius* asked : *Whether I did not own their church for a Christian church ?*
 ‘ To which I answered : *That this was a very odd question, since I myself came*
 ‘ *thither to assist at the baptism of a child, or to be witness of it, according to the*
 ‘ *custom of the Church ; and that there was a great difference between teaching all*
 ‘ *truths, and teaching only those truths that were necessary or fundamental.* I own,
 ‘ said I, you do the latter, and therefore are a Christian church ; but not the former :
 ‘ and that is what I have objected against, as you very well know, and so I do still ;
 ‘ and being therefore pressed, I am obliged to make use of this limitation or excepti-
 ‘ on, that I may not wound my conscience. This having thus passed between us,
 ‘ one of those persons that had declared his concurrence with us, being likewise pre-
 ‘ sent, said : *That he understood it so, and could not satisfy himself otherwise ; and*
 ‘ *therefore must otherwise have answered yea against his conscience.* You would
 ‘ have been amazed to have seen how pleased the rest of those people were upon
 ‘ such an answer ; just as if their consciences having been imprisoned, were now
 ‘ become free, and that they could speak their minds. Parting then, and saluting
 ‘ the Ministers, there was not one of them who returned the compliment, or
 ‘ shewed the least signs of civility, but they suffered me to be insulted again by the
 ‘ women and therest of the mob : though they were a little more moderate than be-
 ‘ fore ; till being got out of the church, I heard some of the men cry out : Now
 ‘ boys, *stone the Rogues, stone the Mutineers.* But God preserved us this time from
 ‘ being Martyrs or Confessors either ; for the people vanished before us, just as if
 ‘ there had never been any. This is a short and hasty account of a matter which
 ‘ has caused so much noise and uneasiness in this City ; insomuch that I was sent
 ‘ for by the Burgomasters, whom I satisfied so well, that I believe the like will
 ‘ not soon happen again. For want of time, I shall say nothing of that : only
 ‘ inform you by way of conclusion, that *Jacobus Triglandius* formally opposes
 ‘ and pretends to confute our Replies and Exceptions at the Conference. If this late
 ‘ trouble had not happened, I would as formally have opposed him, and challeng-
 ‘ ed him to a dispute ; but being dissuaded from it, I shall not fail, as long as I
 ‘ am here, to write what he says, and employ others to continue the same. Fare-
 ‘ well, and remain recommended to God, both you and all yours, by your humble
 ‘ Servant,

April 3d, 1613.

SIMONEPISCOPUS.

There was the following Postscript added :

‘ Dr. Polyander, having been here last Sunday, is said to have given this judg-
 ‘ ment of the Sermon of *J. Triglandius* : *It was a noble sermon ; it was a plea-*
 ‘ *sure to hear it : Now I commend those of Amsterdam, where one may speak so free-*
 ‘ *ly : at Leyden it is quite otherwise.* This I had from very credible persons,
 ‘ but I beg you to say nothing of it, till I have discoursed with himself ; for I
 ‘ hear he has spoken very handsomely to *Heydanus*, of what lately passed on my
 ‘ side : saying, *that he could not imagine I would have done as I did, unless I had*
 ‘ *been obliged to it : that I was of a very peaceable temper, and that he knew me to*
 ‘ *be so ; and therefore, that I must have been provoked ; for,* continued he, *if you*
 ‘ *had asked him right, he would not have opposed you.* I would not but that this had
 ‘ happened, for it occasions many speculations.

‘ It fell out about the same time, that a certain Smith working at his Forge, and
 ‘ seeing *Episcopus* pass by, ran after him with a glowing iron, and with zeal as hot as
 ‘ that, designing to have thrust it in him, and crying : *You Arminian, you disturber*
 ‘ *of the Church !* but by flight, and the intervention of others, he escaped the effects
 ‘ of

A^NO D^OM.

1613.

A Conference
between the
Burgomasters of
Amsterdam
and the Profes-
sor Episcopus

of his rage. His Answer at the baptizing the child was sent over to *England*, by those who were in hopes of being supported from thence, and was not so well approved by the King, as that of *Uitenbogart*; whether it were that the latter appeared more prudent and peaceful than the other. The Burgomasters of *Amsterdam* seemed likewise to be of the same opinion; for having sent for him before them, the day after the business of the christning, they acquainted him: 'That they had heard with great concern, how that he being one of the Witnesses at the baptism of his Brother's child, had by his answer occasioned a great disturbance in the church; about which there had been many complaints made, and that it did not become him to speak against the doctrine of the Church. To this he answered: That he was sorry for the disturbance, but that he was not the cause nor occasion of it, as he knew; that he did not think that his returning an answer to a publick question which, contrary to his expectation, had been proposed to him out of an unusual Formulary, was opposing or contradicting the doctrine of the Church, but only discharging his own conscience.' ¹ Upon this the Burgomaster Bartholt Kromhout replied: 'That since he knew what happened to *Uitenbogart* before, he might easily have guessed that he should not escape better, and therefore he ought to have first discoursed with the Ministers, and to have desired them to make use of such a Formulary as he could have answered to without scruple. ² Then Episcopus represented: 'That he had maturely weighed the matter, and had heard so much said about it, as made him think, that what had happened to *Uitenbogart*, would not have befallen him, being informed also that *Plancius* had excused himself for having used the wrong book, (*Here Burgomaster Jacob de Graef interrupting him, said: That is a mistake; he declared before us all, that he never used any other*) and besides, that certain of the Magistrates had taken it ill, that some of the Consistory had reprov'd *Plancius* on that account, and that one of them having spoken to a certain Minister about it, was answered, that it should be so no more. ³ However, that knowing how turbulent a spirit *Plancius* was, he had taken the opportunity of *Heydanus's* preaching, whom he looked upon to be the most moderate, and one, who since what had happened to *Uitenbogart*, had used the Formulary right and well. After this, says Burgomaster Kromhout to him: You had done better had you held your tongue.' Episcopus replied: 'Though I had done so, my Brother would not have been silent: besides, that would have been taken for consent. He added further, That he desired no alterations, he asked no innovations, nor that *Heydanus* should say any thing contrary to his conscience, or the discipline of the church, which had been always practised by him, but only that the Formulary should be followed, or understood in the sense expressed by the Synod in the year 1586. But the Heer de Graef answered: It is not so drawn up, and appointed by the Synod. Episcopus rejoined: That it was certainly so framed and agreed to; but whether it was so received at *Amsterdam*, and by all the other churches, he did not pretend to say, but yet that it appeared so from the books that either lay on the Pulpits, or were brought by the Sexton for these purposes; adding, it was so drawn up on occasion of the same accident almost that has happened now again, because those who scrupled to answer to these questions, were forced either to get their children to be christened by the *Papish* Priests, or suffer them to go unbaptized. To prevent which, the aforesaid alterations were made by the Synod. Ay but, said the Heer de Graef, it was not very honourable for a Minister to recant what he had said, or to own that he had read wrong, or even to allow any contradiction or interruption: You yourself, continued he, would think it very hard if any body should do the like by you in your Lectures or Sermons.' To this the Professor replied: That nothing of that nature happened here, neither as to interruptions nor contradictions, but that he had done no more than to return an answer being asked; and that a Minister was not dishonoured by another man's answering more than yea, for the discharge of his conscience, or reminding him of something he had omitted, provided it were done decently. —

¹ Uitenb. p. 617.

² From a certain Account of Episcopus written about this time.

³ Episcopus says in a Letter which he writ to A. Borrius on the 6th of April this year; 'That all the Amsterdam Ministers, *Plancius* only excepted, used the

true Formulary of Baptism, with the word *accord- ingly*; yea, that *Plancius* himself did it sometimes, and that *Heydanus* had never used any other before; and further yet, that *Triglandius* made use of it the very next day. *Epist. Eccles.* p. 394.

After

After this, *Episcopus* addressed himself to the Burgomasters in the following manner: 'I beseech your Honours, since you are for my keeping silence, that you would yet consider, whether there was any crime in the answer I gave? Whether any man can answer more reasonably or christianly? Whether the meaning of the question is not, or at least ought not, to be, such, in a *Reformed* church, that that only which was taught there *according* to the word of God, should be reputed the Truth? And if that be the meaning, why should an answer, comprehending such a sense, be taken ill? Besides, I could not answer otherwise than agreeably to what I had declared, having strong objections against the doctrines taught here by some people; and since I do not live at *Amsterdam*, nor hear what your Ministers preach, I could not answer safely, but by making such an exception. Unless therefore your Honours would have none come as Witnesses to Baptism but such as daily hear your Ministers; it is but just, that you should allow people to make such exceptions, or limitations, in these times especially, in which men think and believe so differently, even with respect to some points that are promoted with so much warmth.' Upon this the Burgomaster Gerrit Jacob Witzen said: 'That indeed the Formulary of the year 1586, was not used by *Heydanus*; but that he assured him, he knew no other than that he had used it. Very well then, replied *Episcopus*; but why did he take in such ill part an answer that was reasonable, and agreeable to his own sense and practice? He assured me, says the Burgomaster, that he did not know you. I must needs confess, says the Professor, I verily thought he did it on purpose; first, because he knew that I was in town: secondly, because my Brother was not a stranger to him: thirdly, neither was he ignorant that my Brother's Wife lay in, and that probably I should soon appear at the child's christning: besides, I could observe, that there were many more Ministers present than usual: And lastly, but chiefly, because he had never done any thing of the like nature before, no not even after *Plancius* had treated *Uitenbogart* in the same manner. And whether he knew me or not, he ought not to have treated me so ill for such an Answer. Would it had never happened, said some of the Magistrates. *Episcopus* replied, It were to be wished that your Honours would be pleased to establish such a Formulary as should be inviolably observed, in order to prevent further inconveniences; worse than this may possibly happen, or at least people will refuse to bring their children to baptism. One of the Magistrates replied thus: Could we but cure all scruples so easily! it were to be wished that both sides would use endeavours to establish Peace and Tranquility in these unsettled times; and that you, Gentlemen, did not sometimes give occasion to ask such questions. That is true, said the Heer de Graef, if you had no objection against the Catechism or Doctrine of the Church, you would not make any difficulty of answering to this question.' Upon his saying thus, *Episcopus* replied: 'I have given no man reason to suspect that I have any objection against the Catechism: my Answer does not regard what is taught in the Catechism, but what is taught in the church; besides, certain doctrines here taught, might very well be denied to be true, without subverting the fundamentals of religion. There is a great deal of difference between approving every thing that is taught, and consenting to the doctrines contained in the Catechism: And as for us whom your Honours exhort to labour after peace and quietness, we know not what we should do more, than what we daily show and demonstrate; we are prepared to enter into all good measures and counsels as formerly, and to pursue them, wishing only that any body would point them out to us. If we have formerly writ against our Brethren, necessity urged us to it, and what is once done cannot be recalled. Advice can only be given for the present or future time; and what reason can be shown, why this is not given, especially to such Ministers as I daily hear make Sermons in this town so diametrically opposite to the Resolutions of the States, and against the *Re-monstrants* and their opinion at the Conference; and who seem to calculate all their actions for promoting the divisions, and fomenting hatred and party-rage, not without slanders and reproaches? Against such as these, even according to the advice of his *Britannick* Majesty, some authority ought to be exerted, and their daily preaching against their brethren, against whom they stir up the people to the destruction of charity, to be prohibited. This should be taken care of, if your Honours hope to establish Peace and Moderation, or would encourage us to do so. And I dare

AN^o D^o M. 1613. aver to your Honours, that the whole matter depends on this. Let but the Ministers forbear to instil into the peoples minds those points that are contraverted, and to inculcate them as necessary to salvation; or if they be really perswaded in their consciences that they are so, let them speak out, and not keep our souls in suspense about Peace and Union, but fairly renounce the brotherhood, and so let us part. The Heer de Graef interrupted him and said, ' Either part, or else agree in the same opinions. Episcopus answered, There is no reason for us to part, or leave the country, we cannot do it with a safe conscience, nor would our Congregations suffer it without great disturbances. There are some that love us as dearly as the Congregations here do their Ministers. To come into one opinion will not be very easy neither; unless your Honours would be pleased to take such measures as might effectually put a stop to the animosity which is daily observed here. But do not you know, replied the Burgomaster, that if we exert our authority, there are many that must be made sensible of it? That the other allowed, and added, ' The nature of the thing teaches us this, else we must admit of a concurrence of jurisdictions. At last the Heer Gerrit Jacob Witzen said, We desire you to forgive and forget the treatment of Heydamus; let all suspicions and jealousies vanish, and assist all of you in bringing matters to such a point, that you may be able to live in mutual peace and rest. I am not, says Episcopus, naturally inclined to revenge; my office and my duty likewise teach me better; I will banish all jealousy too, rather than yield to it against his positive declaration, that he did not designedly treat me so; charity requires thus much of me: in the mean time, I engage myself to exert my best endeavours for promoting the peace and tranquility of our country. That will be acting like a good man, said the Magistrates; and so they dismissed him.

At this Conference none opposed Episcopus more than Burgomaster Jacob de Graef. That Gentleman, a vigilant and active Magistrate, a person of great judgment and inviolable integrity, was at this time a zealous Patron of the *Contraremonstrants*, having no good opinion of the *Remonstrants*; yet it happened afterwards, that he being at a meeting of the States, was so affected with the relation which Uitenbogat (one of the most eloquent Preachers of his age) gave there of the affairs of the *Remonstrants*, that he was staggered very much, and upon his entering into a closer and more familiar conversation with Uitenbogat at his house, and reading by his advice some of the books and papers writ on that side, which he had never looked into before, and weighing and considering their arguments, (as he himself has since owned) he changed his mind concerning the Differences of those times. Having entertained a better opinion of the doctrines, actions, and views of the *Remonstrants*, he joined not long after with that party which endeavoured to steer towards Moderation, and to prevent a schism in the Church. And when he could not prevail, he embraced that side which, as he thought, was most in the right, and yet suffered the most wrong; nay, he did not scruple, after the *Remonstrants* were turned out of the publick Churches, to adhere to their private Conventicles, continuing among them to his dying day.

The Proceedings of Grotius in England, with reference to the Ecclesiastical Differences.

To obviate in the mean while the restless endeavours of that part of the Clergy who kept a correspondence with certain Divines in England, some of the principal men in Holland endeavoured to make use of the Heer Hugo de Groot (or Grotius) Advocate-Fiscal of Holland, who was then in England, about some affairs of the East-India Company. This Gentleman, who was in great esteem with all the learned men in that island upon the fame of his wonderful genius, did his utmost endeavours to satisfy the King concerning the good intentions of the States of Holland with respect to the Ecclesiastical divisions in that Province, and to apprize his Majesty of the true situation of affairs. He conferred with the Bishop of Ely, the Dean of St. Paul's, and the famous Casaubon (who since the murder of Henry IV. of France was settled in England, and in favour with the King) all three of whom declared that they would not in these deep disputes exceed the bounds which the *Remonstrants* had set to themselves; and that the greatest men in that country were of their opinion. Here also Grotius discovered that the English Ambassador Winwood sometimes gave an account of

¹ Uitenb. p. 613.—17.

² Vide Grotius's Letter in ditto.

of church affairs, from the *Hague*, to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in favour of the *Contraremonstrants*, and to the disadvantage of the other party ; which being represented to the King, exasperated him very much. But *Grotius* endeavoured to satisfy the King upon all these points, and to inform him of the state of them. ¹ And accordingly he met with a favourable reception from his Majesty, but not from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had before entertained unkind thoughts of that learned man.

AN^o DOM.
1613.

Among the *Contraremonstrants* who kept a correspondence with the *English* about these ecclesiastical differences, *Sibrandus Lubbertus*, a Professor at *Franeker*, was one of the most forward. This man having writ against *Vorstius*, dedicated his book to the said Archbishop, and sent him a Letter at the same time, in which he bore hard upon the States of *Holland*, the Curators of the University of *Leyden*, and the *Remonstrants*, on account of the calling *Vorstius* to the Professorship. He described the Government as favouring heresies, and patronizing errors ; and would fain prove that the States had no right to meddle with ecclesiastical matters ; and as he always used the same language in other writings, it was thought proper that *Hugo Grotius*, to whom it belonged, *ex officio*, as the States Advocate-Fiscal to vindicate the Prerogatives and Sovereignty of his Masters, should publickly confute him. Accordingly he composed that book which he called, *Pietas ordinum Hollandiæ* ; or, *The Piety of the States of Holland and West-Friesland*, tending, as he tells us, to vindicate the good and pious views of the States in relation to religion. This book was published in *Latin*, *French*, and *Low-Dutch*, with the knowledge and approbation of the Committee of the said States ; and having been perused by several learned men both at home and abroad, it was judged to be of use. ² *Casaubon* writes concerning it to *Grotius*, in these words : ‘ I have read your book with great pleasure. There has not appeared a finer piece in many years, nor more worthy to be perused, being in my judgment very well adapted to the present times. I could wish you were to publish many such books, were it not still better and more desirable, that all occasions might cease once for all, of exercising your Style in this kind of polemical or controversial writing.’

Sibrandus Lubbertus writes a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, reflecting on the Conduct of the States.

Grotius writes in defence of the States.

In this defence or justification of the piety of the States, the Author maintains that ‘ The States were unjustly accused of patronizing those heresies that have been anathematized by the primitive church ; that the toleration of the points which were controverted in these Provinces was reasonable, and not without example ; nay, that this was the only way, in his opinion, to heal, not only these, but likewise all the other divisions that plagued the christian world ; that it was no new thing neither for the Civil powers to interpose in order to the accommodating ecclesiastical differences, and whatever they agreed upon conformably to the word of God, and the practice of the ancient Church, ought not to be called in question only upon the head of *Authority*. And to show that the Government had not less power than the Elders who are made use of here as Co-adjutors, or Assessors, of the Ministers, *he proves*, that the office of Elders, who are appointed for a certain time only to be present at the Consistory, without performing any ecclesiastical function, was merely founded upon human institution (which however he neither condemns nor rejects) but by no means upon any command from God. *He further says*, That those of the Clergy who so freely exposed the infirmities of their Rulers, were not all of them exempt from those or the like failings ; that some of them did not confine themselves within the bounds of their vocation, but meddled with political matters, and the disposing of publick employments ; but, *he adds*, that he would not charge the Order itself, nor the major part of them.’ He makes mention too of the loss of *Flanders*, by the opposition which the Prince of *Orange* met with there from some of the Clergy, and of the admonition given by the States of *Holland* to the Ministers in the time of the Earl of *Leicester* : adding, ‘ That what he now writ was designed not only as a warning to the Clergy, to the end that through their imprudence they might not hurt themselves and others ; but likewise as an argument to convince the people, that they ought not blindly to follow the Ministers in opposition to the Decrees and Orders of their Governours, from whence great inconveniences had often proceeded. *At the Conclusion of the book he speaks thus* : It really grieves me that

The Contents of his Book.

R 2

I cannot

¹ *Casaub. Epist. p. 971.*

² *Ex Epist. Casaub. Nov. 1613. ad H. Grot. dat. libello cui titulus, Bona Fides Sib. Lubbert. prefixa.*

A^N° D^OM. 1613. I cannot treat of this subject without blaming the conduct of some persons, who are of an Order, which I wish were the most holy of all, and so esteemed by the people. But those pious men, whose lives and preaching are uniform, will not take it ill of me. There was a *Judas* even among the Apostles: nor is it without reason that we say, **The truth of religion does not depend on the manners of the preacher.** I dare affirm in the hearing of our adversaries, that if they make comparisons, they have nothing to reproach us with. — Those that have raised this storm, can never be the proper persons for laying it. Unless the Civil powers interpose between the contending parties, and become Umpires, we are undone: This is what the States have now under their consideration, —

By this Treatise, which was calculated to justify the rights of the States at home, and their honour abroad, and to curb detraction, the Author drew upon himself much contradiction, but which, as he thought, was not equal to the Cause that put the pen into his hand. This was no more than he expected, and therefore, as he himself writes, depending on the sincerity of his intentions, he had the courage to stand all those slanders, which they who fight with strong and full grown vices can never avoid. ² In a certain letter which he writ to that very learned man *Gerardus Johannes Vossius*, at that time the Rector of the *Latin School* at *Dort*, he discourses after this manner: 'They complain that I treat *Sibrandus* too sharply: But they that excuse him who made so rude an attack on the Civil powers, why don't they apologize for me too, who ought to have the honour of my Order as much at heart as he has that of his. Or do they think that the Government may be exposed with less danger than the Clergy? Certainly they are much mistaken; for the Magistracy can very easily re-establish the Clergy in their former credit, but whenever the Magistracy lose theirs, nothing but tumults, seditions, and at last the utter ruine of the State will ensue. Is it less tolerable that I should obey my *Hollanders*, especially after they have been accused, than that he should obey his *Freeholders*, whom we never molested? They who are offended with my touching upon some of the malversations of the sacred Order, have matter enough to be angry with many Historians. If I ever publish my Annals, they will speak out no less plainly. He that reads Ecclesiastical History, what else does he read but of the faults of the Bishops? — It is odious to rake into old sores: true enough, if we were not afraid of their breaking out anew.

Two Ministers at Amsterdam inveigh against the Government from the Pulpit.

³ Not long after, upon a fast-day in the month of *November*, two Ministers of *Amsterdam* took upon them to inveigh against the Government from their pulpits at the same time, and in the like violent manner, but upon different texts of scripture. *Rudolphus Petrus* in the morning, and *Gasper Heydanus* in the afternoon. They cried: 'That the Church was hard beset by many enemies, and persecuted by many that lay in her bosom, in order to extirpate that pure doctrine which had been sealed with the blood of so many Martyrs: that some pretended to revise and correct the *Confession* and *Catechism*, which were as fine and pure as silver tried seven times in the furnace: that the Clergy could not only not obtain the privilege of being heard by the Civil Powers under these pressures, but that even these joyned in distressing and aggrieving the Church.' When they had thus irritated the Congregation, they seemed to comfort them in the following manner: 'God, *they said*, would doubtless in a short time deliver them from all the troubles with which they had been afflicted by their enemies: for He would not fail to help and deliver them who were forsaken by all men, upon their earnest prayer, and numerous sighs poured out towards him, and which would immediately reach his ears.'

This way of preaching offended some persons, who had otherwise no ill opinion of these Ministers on account of their gifts and good qualities. ⁴ A certain Magistrate of no small reputation, made the following remarks upon the account he received of this sort of preaching: 'I would fain know, *said he*, what those men mean when they talk of the *Cross* and *Persecution*. If it be to be called a *Cross* and *Persecution*, that people who are at liberty to utter every thing that comes into their thoughts, without fear of punishment, cannot oblige every one that hears them to say amen, and to let them have all the talk; then must we believe that

² Grot. Epist. ad Gal. p. 49. Cal. Novemb. 1613. Script.

³ Ex. H. Grot. ad G. J. Voss. Epist. post.

Epist. Ecclesiast. & sp. 210—

⁴ From the Memoirs of a principal Magistrate of Amsterdam.

⁵ Vid. Ibid.

the Martyrs, all of them, died for the confession of the doctrine of *Predestinati-* A N^o D O M.
on, as it is taught in this City. But it is far from that ; because we know that 1613.
 most of them died for points which are now no longer questioned. By teaching
 the contrary, they impose upon our judgments and mislead the people. Besides, by
 their odious appellations, they put the *Remonstrants* upon the level with *Papists*,
Arians, *Anabaptists*, *Free-thinkers*, *Enthusiasts*, *David Georgians*, *Pelagians*, and
 the like. It is likewise a false suggestion, that the *Remonstrants* persecute the
Contraremonstrants, for it is just the reverse of that ; seeing that the latter will
 not tolerate the former, whereas the former are desirous to tolerate the latter, and
 that all our troubles arise from the opposition which is made against such tolera-
 tion. — We are safe enough, *says he in another place*, under the present
 Government, with respect to Religion, since none of our Rulers seek to restrain
 the freedom of it ; all that is desired or endeavoured, is that others may enjoy
 the like freedom in such matters wherein they happen to differ from us. Is it
 not better to connive at that, than by an unseasonable opposition, to ruin both
 parties, and to pave the way for the return of the *Spaniards* ? Which if it hap-
 pens, none of us all will be able to keep our footing here.

The Clergy that composed the *Walloon* Synod holden at *Delft* this year, behaved quite otherwise in relation to these ecclesiastical differences ; for there happened a dispute between the *Walloon* churches of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam* on account of *Henry Niellius*, one of the Ministers of the *Walloon* church, at the latter town. Some of those at *Amsterdam* took it ill, that he, who was suspected of being a *Remonstrant*, and who at least was known to maintain peace and brotherhood with those of that persuasion, should be allowed to preach in the *Walloon* church of *Rotterdam* : and their prejudice against him ran so high, that they endeavoured to keep him out of the pulpit every where but at *Rotterdam*. But the Magistrates being apprehensive least zeal for a party might embrace this opportunity to strengthen the divisions which infested their town, and being mindful of the promises which the preceding Synod had made them with respect to the preservation of unity, writ upon that occasion the following Letter to the Synod then assembled in the month of *September* :

Reverend, Devout, Learned, singular good Friends :

Whereas we have been informed, that certain persons, who show more zeal than discretion in their actions, have taken offence that the Minister of the French Church in our Town has been allowed to preach in other places, which looks as if they designed to make a schism, or at least a wound in that mutual brotherhood and communion which ought to subsist, and to be kept up between the Ministers of our Town, and those of other places : And whereas such proceedings do manifestly tend to the dishonour and contempt of the community of our Town, which is, and we trust, through God's grace, will always be a considerable member of the Christian Reformed Church : We have therefore thought fit solemnly to adjure and exhort your Reverences, that you would be pleased to take the most proper methods for fencing against such indiscreet zeal ; to the end that true charity may be promoted in all cases, and pernicious schisms and disorders avoided. We entirely depend upon your care in this matter, remembering the christian promises and assurances which the Synod of your Churches, holden last year in this our Town, made us, to wit : That notwithstanding the late differences, you would constantly maintain brotherly unity as well with our, as other churches in this Country : And so Reverend, Devout, Learned, singular good Friends ; we beseech almighty God, to be present with his holy spirit at your meeting ; and to counsel and direct you to the glory of his Name, and edification of the Churches.

Your Reverences good Friends,

Dated from Rotterdam this
 September, in the year of
 our Lord 1613.

The Burgomasters and Governours of
 the Town of Rotterdam.

* Taurinus of Mutual Toleration, Part II. Ch. VII. Sect. 26.

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Upon the receipt of this letter, the Synod disposed matters towards a proper agreement: And the resolution they came to, recommended peace in the following terms:

‘ As to the differences risen between the churches of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*, the Assembly find it necessary to drop them without further dispute; to leave to every church the liberty of offering their pulpit to such Ministers as they think fit, and to take such measures therein, as they shall judge most conducive to the preservation of peace. We declare our Brother *Henry Niellius*, one of the Ministers of the *French* church in *Rotterdam*, well qualified to preach in all our churches, and so do likewise all the other Ministers of our body; and we own the said *French* church to be a true Member of our Synod. In order therefore to prevent all confusion, and to maintain unity among the churches, the Assembly has thought it proper, that when any Member or Members of the Church shall happen to let fall any expressions tending to the dishonour of any of our Ministers, or to the prejudice of their Ministry, those who have at heart the peace and welfare of the Churches, should advise and exhort the Authors and Publishers of such discourses, to forbear the same; or to speak, or cause some friend to speak, to the person defamed, and in a brotherly manner to acquaint him with what they object against him.

Signed by

JOHANNES POLYANDER, *President*.
SIMON GOULART, *Secretary*.

The Synod writ also another Letter at the same time to the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* to the following purpose:

Honourable, Wife, and Provident Gentlemen:

A Letter of the Synod of the Walloon Churches to the Magistrates of Rotterdam.

WE have received the favour of yours, and given it that dispatch which the importance of the matter, and the respect we owe you, required; and have taken such measures about the late troubles, as were possible for us to do consistently with the present circumstances of affairs, and the preservation of peace and unity, as you will be informed by the account you will have from the Deputies of the Church of *Rotterdam*, and wherewith we are fully perswaded you will be satisfied. We desire nothing else, but that every thing may be prevented that tends to making a breach in that mutual brotherhood which ought to subsist between the Ministers and Members of different churches, and that a good correspondence may be maintained among them. And being mindful of that Christian Assurance and Declaration made by our Synod the last year, viz. That notwithstanding the present differences, we were resolved to stedfastly to maintain brotherly unity as well with your Church as all others under the jurisdiction of this Synod; we hope by the Grace of God, to perform the same. We therefore humbly intreat your assistance therein, agreeably to that authority and power wherewith the Almighty has vested you, that nobody may be allowed to infringe the same, and that all pernicious divisions and confusions may be prevented; to the end that the kingdom of Christ Jesus may be established among us in Peace and in Truth; and that true Religion and Tranquility may be still more and more promoted. We beseech the Lord, with all our hearts, Honourable, Wife, and Provident Gentlemen, to confirm your Piety, and grant you a happy and prosperous Government.

Dated from *Delft*,
Sept. 20. 1613.

Your Worships entirely Affectionate Servants,

The Ministers and Elders representing the French Churches of these United Provinces; and in their Name, and by their Order:

JOHANNES POLYANDER, *President of the Synod*.
SIMON GOULARTIUS, *Secretary*.

Some

Some time before, in the last year, the famous *Daniel Tilenius*, Professor of Divinity at *Sedan*, a man not less acute in judgment than versed in all kind of learning, published certain considerations upon the opinion of *Jacobus Arminius*, about *Predetermination*, and the doctrines depending on it; there was likewise one of his letters printed, in which he treated the *Remonstrants* very ill. But *Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus*, a Minister at *Leyden*, refuted his *Considerations*, by a defence of *Arminius*, containing such strong reasons, attended with so much prudence, moderation, and circumspection, that he deprived his adversaries not only of the power, but will likewise, of making any further answer; insomuch that *Tilenus* chose afterwards the side which he had opposed. ¹ But some think he had begun to entertain other notions a little before that refutation of *Corvinus*; and being already staggered by his farther examining into matters, was entirely convinced by the aforesaid defence of *Arminius*. As for *Arminius*, whose doctrines were now daily attacked by various polemical treatises, *Uitenbogart* gave the following character of him in print: ‘The *Remonstrants* thank God that they have been permitted to know, to hear, and to see such a man as *Arminius*, and to enjoy his great abilities. They look upon this Church to be happy in having had such a Light, and unhappy in having lost it so soon; but still more unhappy are those who when they might, did not learn of him.

In the mean while the *Remonstrants* observing that some *Contraremonstrants* bent all their forces to render them odious to the people, for which purpose they likewise used, as they thought, very unbecoming means; found it adviseable to present a new Memorial to the States of *Holland*, containing in substance; ‘A complaint of the proceedings of the *Contraremonstrants*, or such Ministers as joined with them, especially some of those that belonged to the principal towns of *Holland* and *West Freeland*, in which, as they said, it was publickly taught, **That no christian peace was to be observed with the Remonstrants**; for so they called them in their very pulpits; committing several other extravagancies, accompanied with great falsities and flanders, miserably abusing christian ears, and exasperating the people against them: things which they, the *Remonstrants*, could not well bear any longer: They therefore humbly besought their Lordships, that they would be pleased to provide some remedy against these evils; offering at the same time, with the leave of their superiors, to justify themselves against all accusations, even in those places where defamations were most in vogue.’

There was also about the same time, a certain paper delivered in to the States of *Holland*, on the part of the *Contraremonstrants*, or rather of those three Ministers of that persuasion who assisted at the Conference of *Delft*, in pursuance, as it were, of the Resolution taken last *March*. In this paper they greatly pressed for the Declaration which they had formerly demanded of the *Remonstrants*, and which the States had forbidden them to make. It also opposed the toleration of their doctrines. ² The States apprehensive of further quarrels, would not allow the latter to publish the said Declaration, nor the former, their *Farther Advice*, concerning the Conference at *Delft*, (for so they called their paper) nor to distribute any written copies of it, but commanded both sides to keep them secret. This was the more necessary, because the States were taken up at this time in preparing an Ordinance for promoting the peace of the Church.

The said Ordinance was solemnly resolved upon by the Nobles and most of the Towns in the month of *November*, and the consideration of it resumed in *January* 1614; as may be seen in the Register, or Journal, of the States, in the following terms: ‘The Nobles and Deputies of the Towns of *Harlem*, *Delft*, *Leyden*, *Gouda*, *Rotterdam*, *Gornickem*, *Schoonhoven*, *Bril*, *Alkmaer*, *Horn*, *Monikedam*, and *Medenblik*, have approved of the Scheme just as it was laid before them. Those of *Dort* have delivered in their opinion in writing, containing some alteration chiefly in the form and words. The Deputies of the other Towns declared, that they were not instructed to concur with the Nobles and the majority of the Towns in the aforesaid matters; whereupon it was declared by the said Nobles and the assenting Towns, that although they considered the aforesaid Scheme, as a formal Resolution, yet they should not scruple the changing the form and expressions of it, for the sake of unity. Upon which at last, after the second recess,

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Tilenus
writes against
Arminius.

He is answered
by Corvinus.

Tilenus
changes his
Opinion.

A Memorial
presented to the
States of Hol-
land by those
of the Remon-
strant Opinion.

A Paper deli-
vered to the
States on the
part of the
Contra-
remonstrants

The Publication
of both these
Writings pro-
hibited.

An Account of
what passed in
an Assembly of
the States of
Holland and
West Frees-
land with re-
ference to an
Ordinance for
promoting the
Peace of the
Church.

¹ Uitenb. p. 578.

² Ibid. p. 606.

A^NO D^OM. 1614. cels, matters were so adjusted, that the Nobles and the Towns of *Dort, Harlem, Delft, Leyden, Gouda, Rotterdam, Gornichem, Schiedam, Schoonhoven, Bril, Alkmaer, Horn, and Medenblik*, agreed; and at last, those of *Monikedam* and *Purmerent*, in conformity with the other towns. The Deputies of *Amsterdam* adhered to their opinion, and insisted that the Resolution should be entered as taken by the majority of voices, or else that it should be noted in the margin that their City did not approve of it. The Deputies of *Enkbusen* and *Edam* declared that they were not impowered to give their consent. Finally it was ordered, that the Committee of the States should with the first opportunity use all possible means, and even by way of deputation, if they should think it adviseable, to induce the three Towns afore said to join with the rest, conformably to the Act or Resolution, as it here follows:

The Resolution of the States.

FORASMUCH as many¹ quarrels and divisions are occasioned in the Churches of this land, by the different Explanations of some places or texts in Holy Writ, where mention is made of God's Eternal Predestination, and the points relating thereto, which have been attended with warm disputes, and those of so strange a nature, that some are conceived to have directly, or at least indirectly, taught, that God has made some men to damn them, and so compels men to sin; and that he has again, invited others to salvation, whom he has absolutely decreed not to save: And others on the contrary, That men may work out their salvation by their own natural strength and endeavours: both which positions tend to the dishonour of God, and the reproach of our Christian Reformation, and run counter to our good intentions: Therefore finding that there is something necessary to be done for promoting the Glory of God, the Good of our Church and State, and the Peace, Unity, and Edification of the Community; and having upon mature deliberation, and in the fear of God, fully and thoroughly considered of that which passed at first by an oral Conference in the year 1611, in our Assembly, between twelve Ministers, and which was afterwards delivered in writing together with their respective advices; ² we making use of that authority which belongs to us as lawful Sovereigns, pursuant to the word of God, and the examples of Kings, Princes, and Commonwealths, that have embraced the Reformation of Religion, have ordained, and do by these Presents ordain, that in the afore said Explanations, all and every one shall seriously reflect upon St. Paul's exhortation, Not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, ³ but that he think with moderation, according to the measure that God has given to every man; and upon what the Holy Scripture teaches us in several other places, as: ⁴ That our Salvation cometh from God alone, but that we ourselves are the cause of our own destruction; and consequently that the said Explanations shall be made by the Ministers in such a manner, as to implant in the minds of the people and good communities upon all occasions, that, ⁵ The beginning, middle, and end of our salvation, and particularly ⁶ our Faith, is not to be ascribed to the natural strength and operation of man, but ⁷ only to the ⁸ undeserved Grace of God, in ⁹ Christ Jesus our Saviour; ¹⁰ that Almighty God has made no man for perdition, ¹¹ compelled none to sin, ¹² nor does invite any one to salvation,

to

¹ From the Journal of the States. See also Baud. Mem. Lib. VI. p. 2. Uitenb. p. 609.

² It belongs to the lawful Rulers to make Laws against false Doctrines, and about Ecclesiastical Differences: See 1 Chron. viij. 15. — xvij. 6, 7. — xxiv. 43. — xxix. 4. — xxx. 1. — xxxiv. 3, 8, 16. — xxxv. 2. Isaiah xlix. 23.

³ We ought to be moderate in our Opinions; Rom. xii. 33. Deut. xxix. 29. Prov. xxv. 27. 1 Cor. ij. 2. 1 Tim. i. 4. — vi. 3. 2 Tim. ij. 14. Tit. iij. 8, 9. James iij. 13. 2 Pet. iij. 14, 15, 16. Acts i. 7. See also Ecclesiasticus or Sirach iij. 21.

⁴ Our Salvation cometh, &c. Hosea xiiij. 9. Isaiah xliij. 11, 25. John iij. 19. Rom. v. 15. — vj. 23.

⁵ The Beginning, &c. John xv. 5. 1 Cor. xv. 10. John vj. 43, 65. Phil. ij. 13. James i. 17. 2 Cor. iij. 5. Luke xix. 10. Mat. xvij. 17. Eph. ij. 4. — iij. 14. Rom. xj. 32. Gal. iij. 22. Rom. v. 10.

⁶ Our Faith, &c. Phil. i. 29. 1 Cor. xij. 3. Heb. xij. 2. Acts xvij. 14. 2 Thes. i. 3. Rom. i. 8. Eph. vj. 23. 2 Pet. i. 2.

⁷ Only to the Grace, &c. 1 Cor. i. 31. — iij. 7. — iv. 7. 2 Cor. xij. 11, 13. 1 Tim. i. 13. John iv. 10. 2 Tim. i. 9. Tit. iij. 5. Rom. iij. 23. — x.

20. — xj. 6, 35. Act. iv. 12. John i. 16. — xv. 4. — xiv. 6. — xvij. 3. Gal. ij. 16. Eph. i. 3.

¹⁰ God has made, &c. Psalm cxlv. 9. Ezek. xvij. 32. Gen. i. 27, 31. — ij. 9. 1 Tim. ij. 4.

¹¹ Compelled none, &c. John viij. 44. Isaiah lix. 2. Psalm v. 5. Isaiah i. 13. Zach. viij. 17. Eph. v. 6. Levit. xix. 2. Hosea xiv. 10. Prov. xj. 20. Zeph. iij. 5. Exod. xxij. 7. — xxxij. 33. Deut. xij. 31. — xvij. 12. Judges ij. 11, 12. 1 Kings xj. 9. Isa. lxi. 8. — lxvi. 4. Jer. xlv. 4. Hosea xij. 14. Amos vi. 8. Mark iij. 5. Rom. i. 18. — viij. 7. Heb. i. 9. Deut. xj. 16. Joshua xxij. 6, 7. Job xxxvj. 21. Prov. iij. 1. Ezek. xlv. 9. Amos v. 14, 15. Luke xij. 15. 1 Cor. vi. 18. — xv. 34. Deut. xxx. 19. Jos. xxiv. 15. Rom. vj. 12. Gal. v. 16.

¹² Nor does invite any, &c. Isaiah v. 4. Ezek. xvij. 31. Mat. xxij. 4. — xxij. 37. 2 Pet. iij. 9. Rom. xiv. 15. John iij. 16. 1 Tim. ij. 4, 6. 1 John ij. 2. 1 Cor. viij. 11. 2 Pet. ij. 1. Ezek. xxxij. 11. John v. 34, 40. Rom. x. 21. Isaiah lxv. 2. Prov. i. 24. Psalm lxxxj. 14. Ezek. xij. 2. Mat. xij. 15. Acts xxvij. 27. Luke vij. 30. Acts vij. 51. 2 Thes. ij. 9, 10, 11. Prov. i. 20.

to whom he has absolutely decreed not to grant it. And although it be the custom (which we allow) in the Universities, among the learned, and those who are Ministers of God's holy word, to confer and dispute friendly in their Assemblies with each other about the meaning of certain passages in scripture, relating to the said doctrine of Predestination, and the points depending on it; in doing which there may happen a diversity of sentiments, as has also happened both in antient and modern times among learned and godly men; yet do we not think fit that these difficult controversies, from whence, contrary to our orders and intentions, absurd and extravagant interpretations have arisen, should be vented publickly, or in the pulpit, or in any other manner spread among the common people: nor will we ever endure, that they who go no further in preaching or professing, than, That ¹ God Almighty has from ² all eternity, according to ³ his good pleasure, ⁴ founded on Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, ⁵ elected to everlasting salvation, those who through the unmerited grace and operation of the Holy Ghost do believe in our Lord Jesus, and ⁶ persevere to the end in the same faith, through the like ⁷ unmerited grace: And on the contrary: that ⁸ God has rejected to destruction those who will not believe in Christ Jesus, and persevere in the same unbelief to the end: shall be molested, or obliged to preach or enter deeper into these mysteries; ⁹ the said doctrine being sufficient, as we think, for salvation, and christian edification.

We likewise ordain, that all Ministers shall expound all other points of the christian doctrine agreeably to the word of God, and to what has been received by the Reformed churches in general, and accordingly taught in the churches of these Countries in particular, which churches we have hitherto maintained, cherished and defended, and which we still maintain, defend and cherish. And we further require them to direct all their actions towards the increase of ¹⁰ christian charity, unity and edification, agreeably to our former resolutions, in order to prevent any future differences; for this we conceive to be necessary for the service and tranquillity of the State, the Church and the good Community. —

The Heer *Hugo Grotius*, who was some months before chosen Pensionary of the Town of *Rotterdam*, and deputed to this Assembly by the said Town, drew up the Plan of the above-mentioned Resolution; and he tells us in a ¹¹ certain Treatise, never yet published, that it was read in the Meeting of the States, examined and corrected several times, after a long deliberation not only upon things, but words also; to the end that it should not be liable to the least objection that might retard peace: that the Magistracy of a considerable Town, in which there were none but *Contraremonstrant* Ministers (he means *Dort*) might with justice ascribe to themselves the chief part of this work: for they were humoured in every thing they desired, in order to mollify the men of their party: and on the contrary, that many things were omitted, which had been ¹² demanded, and not without an appearance of equity too, in favour of the *Remonstrants*. ¹³ He affirms in another place, that the Gentlemen of *Dort* having consulted with their Ministers, had declared themselves satisfied with the said Resolution.

The three Towns of *Amsterdam*, *Enkhusen* and *Edam*, which did not concur in this Resolution, not as being impowered to do it, did not then however, formally oppose it; for having been asked at the ensuing Assembly, holden in *March*, whether they intended, for the benefit of their Country, and for the sake of order, tranquillity, peace and unity in the Church, to agree with the Nobles and the rest

S

of

¹ 1—9 That God has from all Eternity, &c. Eph. i. 4. Mat. xxv. 34. Acts xv. 18.

² Ephes. i. 5. Luke xij. 32. 1 Cor. i. 21.

³ Ephes. i. 4.

⁴ John vj. 40. iij. 36. 2 Theff. ij. 13. Rom. ix. 30. 1 Peter ij. 6, 7.

⁵ Mat. xxiv. 11. Col. i. 22, 23. ij. 7. Heb. iij. 6. Rom. xxiv. 46. Rev. ij. 10. iij. 21. Phil. ij. 12. 2 Peter iij. 17. Heb. iij. 12. 2 Cor. vj. 1. Heb. x. 35. Rom. viij. 13. xj. 22. 2 Tim. ij. 5, 12.

⁶ John ij. 24. 2 John 9.

⁷ 1 Theff. ij. 16. 1 Peter v. 10.

⁸ John iij. 36. 2 Theff. ij. 10. John iij. 19. Acts xij. 46. Rom. xj. 20. ix. 31. Luke xiv. 23.

⁹ 1 Peter ij. 7.

⁹ John xx. 31. 1 Cor. ij. 2. iij. 11. Mat. xvj. 16, 18. John xvij. 3. Gal. vj. 14, 15, 16. 1 John. ij. 12, 13.

¹⁰ Christian Charity, &c. Rom. xiv. 1. Phil. ij. 14. iij. 15, 16. 1 Cor. xij. 4—9. James iij. 14. 1 Cor. i. 10. Rom. xv. 5, 6, 7. xij. 18. Psal. cxxij. 6, 7, 8. cxxxij. 1. Phil. iv. 5. Coll. iij. 12, 13. Ephes. iv. 1—7, 15. 1 Cor. ix. 19—22. 2. Tim. ij. 22—25.

¹¹ H. Grot. Defens. Decreti Ord. Holl. pro Pace Eccles. nondum Edit.

¹² By those of Leyden, Rotterdam and some others. Vid. Grot. Orat. to those of Amst. p. 31.

¹³ In his Apol. VI. 58. and Oration aforesaid.

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The Design of
the States in
passing this Re-
solution.

1 The States thought that this Resolution would pave the way to peace in the most convenient manner; and that they should thereby obviate all reproaches of designing an unlimited toleration, since they had pointed out certain extreams, which were carefully to be avoided on both sides; as for instance: *the doctrine that annulled or excluded grace, on the one hand: and that which made God the cause of sin, on the other.* They were resolved not to suffer such doctrines to be vented in their churches, but only that which avoided the two extreams, and which charitably covered the disputes arisen upon some other points. This doctrine which was proposed and established in their said Resolution, was not the doctrine of the Remonstrants only, but what was in common between them and their adversaries the Contraremonstrants: since they both of them owned, *that such as in time believed, and persevered in faith, were elected from all eternity; and that those who did not believe, were rejected.* As for the prohibition of the two extreams, they conceived it to reflect on neither of the parties.

The Remonstrants did not scruple to submit to what concerned them, to wit, the avoiding that doctrine which maintains: *that Men may work out their salvation by their own strength and endeavours.* There were likewise many Contraremonstrants who no less readily agreed to avoid those rocks against which they had been warned.

2 A great number of the most eminent and peaceable Ministers, whole Classes, even professed Contraremonstrants, or such as favoured their opinions, received this Resolution; and some promised, even by way of subscription, that they would conform to it: Some of the South-Holland Ministers did their utmost endeavours to bring others to the like conformity and forbearance, mutually binding themselves to do what lay in their power to prevent all schisms that might be attempted on account of the famous Five Points, and to exhort their congregations to Unity among themselves and obedience to the Government. But as many affairs are much more easily obstructed than promoted, so likewise it happened to this Resolution, and the business of Tole-

Some oppose it.

ration. 3 Grotius says, that some few others began to oppose it, pretending trivial and inconsistent reasons; some affirming, *that the Church was thereby unjustly accused; others, that they were thereby forbidden to preach the truth of God's word.*

Their Objections
answered
by Grotius.

What Grotius replied to these and other objections, in defence of the States and their intentions, may give some light to these matters, and the substance of it is as follows: 'As for the first objection, *says he, the States are so far from charging the Church with these extremes, that, on the contrary, they do not so much as pretend that the Contraremonstrants are guilty of them.* Why then (will they say) was there any mention made of those extremes? only because some authors being transported with the heat of dispute, or else through inadvertency, have used such sort of language. As therefore the Remonstrants are admonished to avoid the Pelagian errors, so are the Contraremonstrants exhorted to beware of the doctrines of some heterodox spirits, who were formerly known by the name of Predestinarians. And as for that other objection; that Truth is thereby hindered from being taught; it is likewise without foundation, for the truth is, as the Heidelberg Catechism teaches: *That God made man to serve and worship him, and to live for ever with him: That God does not will sin, and that man's ruin proceeds from himself; as is likewise inculcated by the Netherland Confession; and that whom God invites to salvation, he invites in earnest, as taking pleasure in the obedience and happiness of man, without decreeing his perdition otherwise than with respect to sin.* It appears from several passages and conferences, that the Contraremonstrants agreed to all these things. In what are they then aggrieved? Ay, but some say, that the expressions of the said Resolution may be so interpreted, as comprizing the sense of the Contraremonstrants. All things, it is true, may be misconstrued, even the Scripture itself, but the lovers of Peace will understand all in that sense which conduces most to Peace. Besides, It is a per-

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. VI. p. 57. ² Grot. Orat. p. 31, &c. Uitenb. p. 623. ³ Grot. Apol. Lib. VI. p. 58.

‘ a pernicious subtilty to interpret the Lawes of our Governours contrary to their in-
 ‘ tentions, to their disadvantage ; and from thence to take a handle to disobey them.
 ‘ Others say, that this Resolution was right in the matter of it, but wrong in the form,
 ‘ because it ought first to have been approved by an Ecclesiastical Synod. It was so
 ‘ in the Province of *Utrecht*, for the substance of it is comprized in the Resolutions
 ‘ and Decrees of a Provincial Synod of the said Province, having been unanimously
 ‘ agreed to by all the Clergy, and approved by the Government of that Country.
 ‘ And yet some people were not contented there neither. — An Ecclesiastical
 ‘ Synod is necessary, either for supplying the want of authority in the Civil Powers ;
 ‘ or else, in order to proceed with perfect cognizance of the affair. As for the first,
 ‘ the doctrine of *Protestants* has always been, that the Government has sufficient
 ‘ authority in itself, to command all that is agreeable to truth, reason and equity.
 ‘ And as for a more perfect cognizance and information, the States might as well procure
 ‘ it from ancient as modern Synods ; as well from a Synod of *Utrecht*, as from one
 ‘ of *Holland* ; as well from the mouths and papers of those that were at the con-
 ‘ ference, as of others. ¹ In another place he says, with respect to the Conference
 ‘ at the Hague : That the twelve Ministers, the most able that could be chosen on
 ‘ both sides, produced as many, and as forcible arguments as could be thought on,
 ‘ in defence of their different opinions ; they likewise suggested the best advice they
 ‘ could to the States, about what was to be further done. And what (*says he*) if
 ‘ I had a mind to call those Gentlemen a Synod ? Nor can I think of any reason for
 ‘ a greater number than those twelve. There might have been more Haranguers,
 ‘ but they could not have said more.

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² And indeed the States had their eye upon the subject matter of the said Confe-
 rence, when they formed the Resolution of which we have been speaking ; and even
 before the Resolution was published, ³ *Isaac Casaubon* had laid it before the
 King of *Great Britain* and several eminent Divines of that Nation, by whom it had
 been considered. His Letter upon this occasion to *Hugo Grotius*, is remarkable,
 and of the following tenor :

S I R,

‘ I Have nicely considered the Resolution of the States (of which you were pleased
 ‘ to communicate a copy to me) together with his Majesty, the Lord Arch-
 ‘ bishop, and other Prelates of uncommon learning. The King, and all that saw it,
 ‘ very much approved of and applauded it : for it extreamly imports the Christian
 ‘ religion, and the honour of all *Protestants*, that the too great curiosity of men
 ‘ should be restrained ; to the end, that they may not any longer think above what
 ‘ they ought, nor any more disturb the peace of the Church, and by their abomina-
 ‘ ble pragmatism, give occasion to the enemies of the Truth to blacken the Pro-
 ‘ fessors of the *Reformed* religion with the imputation of disorder and novelty.
 ‘ The prudence therefore of the States cannot be sufficiently commended, who by
 ‘ the promulgation of such an Order, will by God’s help, confine within the bounds
 ‘ of their duty, the inquisitive temper of men, and restore the general tranquility
 ‘ of the churches within their jurisdiction. May the Lord *Jesus*, the only foun-
 ‘ der and preserver of the Church, grant that the States may enjoy the fruits which
 ‘ all good men hope and expect from these wholesome counsels ; and that we may
 ‘ soon have occasion to congratulate their Lordships upon the established tranqui-
 ‘ lity of your churches ! That religious King and other very great Men have not
 ‘ only approved of these Counsels, but likewise of the Formulary drawn up by
 ‘ the States. For what seems to be more particularly endeavoured in it, as to keep
 ‘ the people from splitting upon two rocks, which in the business of this doctrine
 ‘ are equally dangerous, on the one hand that of the *Manichees*, on the other, the
 ‘ *Pelagian* : and to confirm them in that doctrine which ascribes the *first* and the *last*,
 ‘ the beginning, middle and end of our salvation to God alone, without despising
 ‘ good works at the same time. Farewel, most famous *Grotius*, and let our friend-
 ‘ ship continue.

A Letter of
Casaubon to
Grotius con-
cerning the Re-
solution of the
States.

¹ Piet. Ord. *Holl.* p. 56.

² Grot. Apol. Lib. VI. p. 59.

³ Laff. Epist. p. 1017. Vid. & p. 999. and p. 1012.
ib. *Casaub.* Epist. Ep. 963.

Besides

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Besides all this, to give the greater force to the said resolution calculated for peace, the States published it in *Latin* and *Dutch*, by their own Printer, corroborated with the authority of holy writ, (by all the texts which we have noted in the margin) of Councils, Fathers, Publick Confessions, together with the Testimonies of some Divines of the present age : all which proofs were collected by *Grotius* himself. But this his labour, which was so highly esteemed by some, did not escape the censures of others : and the Churches were daily more and more convinced, how easy it was to create strife among brethren, but how hard to destroy it.

A Schism in
North-Hol-
land.

In the Classis of *Horn* in *North Holland*, there happened a Schism about the same time. The quarrel was kindled at first in the Town. Some of the Elders, and a party they had formed, complained that *Johannes Walefius*, and *Johannes Arnoldus Radingenus*, Ministers of that Town, preached false doctrines ; charging them, among other things, with setting up *Free-will*, exclusively of God's Grace. The two Ministers denied it. After much wrangling and trouble, the Magistrates at last, by the advice of *Johannes Reggius* the third Minister, who was of the opinion of the *Contraremonstrants*, invited some other Ministers from the Country, to join their endeavours with the Classis, in order to a peace ; this being, as he thought, the most proper method of putting an end to those troubles. But there were others even at that time, who both judged and declared that these were no fit Physicians for that disease. They who were invited were *Peter Plancius* and *Jacobus Rolandus*, Ministers of *Amsterdam* ; *Hermannus Gerardus* and *Peter Cornelius*, Ministers of *Enkbusen* ; and *Vincert Meusfoot* of *Schagen*. These all promised upon their arrival to do their best to make up the quarrel, and not to touch upon any matters of moment but with the full consent of the Burgomasters : There were likewise two of the Magistracy appointed to be present at their meeting. But their labour was vain.

Richard Velius, Author of the Chronicle of *Horn*, says, that the quarrel was augmented by those who were called to promote peace. But, just as they were upon the point of condemning *Walefius* and *Rodingenus*, as also *Johannes Dibbets*, Minister of *Heusbrook* and *Opdam*, who was accused together with them, the Committee of the States of *Holland* and *West Freesland* interposed their authority, in order to prevent the sentence and dreaded schism. Accordingly, they writ the following Letter to the Classis.

The Committee of the States of *Holland* and *West-Freesland*.

Most Learned, Dear, and Especial Friends.

A Letter of the
Committee of
the States of
Holland to
the Classis of
Horn.

HAVING been informed that you are about to pass sentence of condemnation or decision, whether provisionally or otherwise, against some of the Brethren of your Classis, and that you to that end have already excluded them your Assembly, which we foresee, is like to occasion further troubles : We have thought fit to write you this letter, and thereby earnestly to exhort, and strictly to command you, that you do not presume to proceed either provisionally or otherwise to such condemnation or decision, to the prejudice of the Ministers *Valefius* and *Arnoldus*, or him of *Opdam* ; but that you suffer the matter to remain in statu quo, without causing them the least disadvantage ; leaving to those persons their places and suffrages in your assemblies, and treating, and corresponding with them as brethren : for if you should presume to act otherwise, we plainly declare we shall not suffer nor endure it ; but shall be obliged to provide against it by such methods as we shall judge most proper for the service of our Country, the peace of the Church, and the preservation of order among our good subjects. This is likewise positively to charge you not to hold your classical meetings out of the town of *Horn*, but to continue your assemblies in that town as formerly, without any kind of innovation, and particularly for the future to allow a place among you to two of the Magistrates of the said Town ; for if you presume to act contrary to these

¹ Vel. Cron. Lib. IV. p. 295. Uitenb. 681.

these our Orders, we neither can nor will endure it. Fail not therefore to comply AN^O D^O M.
herewith.——And so we recommend you, Most Learned, Dear, and Especial Friends, 1614.
to the protection of God. Given at the Hague, April 11, 1614. By Order of the
 aforesaid Committee.

And in their name subscribed by,

A. DUYK.

The States had likewise notified to them, about the end of the foregoing year, that : *if what they were doing was calculated for peace and agreement, they might proceed ; but if they designed to enter into any Inquiry, Examination, and Censure, they, the States, did not think it fitting for them to meddle with it.*

¹ Nevertheless, on they went with their Sentence and Separation, both in the Classis and the Church. For when those Ministers, whom they endeavoured to exclude, and who endeavoured to conform themselves to the Orders of the States for preserving the peace of the Church in the business of the *Five Points*, came to take their places in the Classical Meeting, the rest rose immediately, departed, and agreed to meet in another place, that they might be freed from the presence of the *Remonstrants*, and do their matters by themselves. ² And the Elders, together with the Members who were of the *Contraremonstrant* party, quitted the publick church at *Horn*, and kept a separate congregation in a private house in the *Ramen*, a street so called in the said Town. Which Conventicle the *Contraremonstrants* of the Classis looked upon as a publick church, and accordingly served it by turns.

There were afterwards many endeavours used, and propofals made for the healing this breach ; but the disease was past cure. The last propofal of the Burgomasters was made the ensuing year, and ran thus :

‘ Since that we have always stumbled at this stone ; *to wit*, That the Classis promised to resume the business, and the Magistrates expected to have it resumed, the Ministers desiring to show the errors, and the Magistrates to have them shown ; let it be considered how the business may be resumed, and the faults shown. The Classis is of opinion that we ought to proceed on the old foot as we began, that is, by way of Judgment. But the Magistrates think that according to the tenor of the States Orders, they cannot consent to it. There must therefore a third or middle way be found out, by which the Classis may be in some measure satisfied, and the Resolution of the States not transgressed, which in our opinion must be the following : Though the said Classis and their adherents, by virtue of the Resolution of the States, are not permitted to judge, or to come to any determination in the cases of *Johannes Walesius* and *Johannes Arnoldus*, we would however, in order to promote the Church’s peace, entreat them, out of christian compassion, to shew those Ministers the faults and failings which they say they are guilty of, as the said Ministers have frequently and pressingly desired, and do still desire ; to the end, that being better instructed in further conferences, they might renounce them and be reconciled to the Classis and Church. But in the present Assembly of the Classis and their Confederates of *Amsterdam*, *Enkhusen*, and *Schagen*, we think it very necessary and adviseable, that there should appear four persons on behalf of the Government of *Horn*, to see that their just rights be not infringed, and to the end they may have due and perfect notice of all matters. There should likewise be two from the College of the States, either here or in the *Hague*, to take care that nothing be done, nor attempted against the States Resolution, from whence more troubles and inconveniences might arise ; as also, to see that no body speaks out of method or order, or foreign to the purpose, to prevent all heats and animosities, and to allow every man liberty of discharging his conscience, by freely delivering his opinion. And lastly, two Professors from *Leyden*, viz. *Episcopus* and *Polyander*, should likewise appear by order and direction of the States, to the end that if the Thorny Questions between the separating Elders and Ministers about the *Five Points* of the *Remonstrants* cannot be decided, they may persuade and induce the Classis, for conscience sake, to bear with one another in charity, according to the States,

¹ Trigl. p. 837, &c.

² Uitenb. p. 686, &c.

AN^O DOM. 1614 *States Resolutions, and their own example, who being Professors of different opinions, and both well versed in Divinity, do yet bear with each other in love, preserving unity, and a good correspondence. As also, that in case it happens that the Judge and the accused Persons do not agree in all points, the two aforesaid Professors may, as Arbitrators, adjust matters between them in love and friendship.*

The *Contraremonstrant* part of the *Classis* declared, in a certain Answer which was signed by *Rippertus Sixtus* and *Wilhelmus Sigerus*, That: 'this Proposal of the Magistrates would not advance the Peace; that it was inconsistent with the schemes that had been already formed; that it deprived them of the right of judging, or gave that right into the hands of those to whom it did not belong, and, which was the greatest grievance of all, that it implied the toleration of a doctrine which had been already found and declared to be false and unscriptural. *They said further, That they did not only reject this proposal, but all others absolutely, as being improper to make or build any solid peace upon, with preservation of Truth. But as for the presence of any Members of the Council, or other persons therein mentioned, they should make no scruple about it, provided that the just and necessary judgment in favour of the Truth were not thereby impeded.*

The Senate, or Council, of the Town had dissolved the Consistory, which on account of the abovementioned differences, had continued beyond the usual time; and having ordered a double list to be laid before them by the Members of the Church, had chosen out of it new Elders and Deacons. But *Johannes Roggius*, one of the Ministers, who would not be concerned in the said election, refused thereupon to preach any longer. For which reason, after having been in vain admonished by the Magistrates to resume his office, and to behave himself peaceably, he was discharged from his Ministry; and some time after *Dominicus Sapma*, a *Remonstrant*, called in his room.

The *Remonstrants* in the *Classis* of Rotterdam which was still divided, laboured very much at this time to restore peace, but to little purpose, as may be seen by two Letters writ upon that account on each side. The first was from the *Remonstrants* to their separated Brethren, as follows:

Reverend, Learned, and Prudent Brothers,

THE *Classis* of Rotterdam having on the 16th instant heard the Report of their Committee with reference to the Proposal for a Treaty of Peace made by them to *Hugo Beyerus*, one of your Ministers, on the 15th of August; in answer to which that Reverend Gentleman declared to one of them, in all your names, on the 18th ditto, the scruple made again by you; therefore, because he durst not trust himself in reporting regularly to you all the expressions made use of by our Committee; though this seemed to us to be rather an evasion than an answer, yet for your further satisfaction, we have thought fit to repeat the same proposal in writing by these presents, and again to press you most earnestly to a return and reconciliation with us the aforesaid *Classis*, hoping that you will not in this matter contravene the christian Resolutions taken not long since, and published by the States for the general peace of the Churches; or if indeed you cannot be persuaded to this, that at least you will agree to a Congress, or Conference; at which, under the authority and direction of the Magistrates of Rotterdam and Schiedam respectively, or of any others to whom it may belong, you might propose your causes of discontent, to the end that their Worships might once be fully informed, and take cognizance of the whole matter, and might by their mediation compose our differences, or otherwise order as meet. In which if you will be pleased to use your endeavours with the said Magistrates, as the Ministers of Rotterdam have already offered to do on their part, to the end that they may induce the Magistrates of their Town to interpose; we question not but that their Worships, according to their christian prudence and love of the Church's peace, in which also the Civil Government is not a little concerned, will heartily and effectually set about the same, to the end that we may be speedily and in the best manner extricated out of this scandalous schism, and unite again in a good brotherly peace, which will be no small service to God and his Church: to which purpose we once again in the most friendly manner exhort and entreat you; in the mean time we shall not fail to put up our prayers to God for you, and in expectation of your

your Answer as soon as possible, we recommend you, most Worthy and Discreet Brothers, to the protection of the Almighty God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. A^NO D^OM^O 1614.
Done, this 15th of October, 1614, at Rotterdam, by the Order and in the Name of the Classis.

Signed,

CHRISTOPHERUS HELLERUS, President.

The Answer returned by the *Contraremonstrants* was as follows:

Reverend, Wife, and Very Prudent:

WE have received yours of the 15th of October, and have noted the contents; and we heartily wish, that after a long and mature deliberation, as also previous communication of the same to our Magistrates, we could have made you a different Answer from what we now send you; for though we are inclined to bury for ever in a christian oblivion several things that have hitherto passed between us, yet forasmuch as the controversies about Doctrine and Discipline, and especially that of Doctrine, (the very life and soul of the Church) are still depending; and that not only with respect to the Truth, but Necessity also, of several important points and fundamental Articles of the Christian Reformed Religion, in which we ought absolutely to be uniform, before we can assemble together to the honour of God, and edification of his Church, we do not therefore think it adviseable to have any thing more to do with you upon this occasion: hoping however, and wishing that the Father of light, and God of peace, whom we daily address our selves to, on that account, would once vouchsafe to grant, that a lawful Synod might be called, under the authority and direction of the States, by which these differences being rightly accommodated, we might agree together in the unity of the Faith, and government of the Church, and be again cemented into one body upon a better and surer foundation. In the mean while, we will endeavour to convince the whole world, and assure your Reverences, by all our transactions, words, and works, by our Ministry and whole conversation, that we aim at nothing but to join Charity and Truth, Peace and Holiness, Forbearance and a Good Conscience, together, in the fear of the Lord, according to the best of our skill and power. Hoping the same from you, and waiting with patience for a convenient time; we recommend you, Reverend, Wife, and very Prudent, to the gracious government and protection of God Almighty. Given at Schiedam, this 16th of November, in the Name and by the Order of the Consistory.

Signed by

NATHANIEL MARLANDUS, Minister.

HUGO BIERUS, Minister, and

ELEAZAR SWALMIUS, Minister.

The Directions were:

To the Reverend, Wife, and very Prudent, the Ministers and Elders, as well of the church of Rotterdam, as of some other neighbouring and confederate churches.

In the mean while Writing and Printing went on: *Sibrandus Lubbertus* published an Answer to the book writ by *Grotius* in defence of the States of Holland; which the States being displeased at, prohibited it by the following Order, published in Dutch and Latin:

Lubbertus writes against Grotius.

Whereas the States of Holland and West Freeland have been informed, that a certain book, intituled, *Sibrandi Lubberti Responsio ad pietatem Hugonis Grotii*, printed at Franeker, is imported and dispersed in this country, and that

The Resolution of the States of Holland in opposition to the book.

the

AN^O DOM. 1614. the said libel, falsely and maliciously arraigns and traduces the Prerogatives and lawful Authority of the States of Holland and West Freeland, and the just Resolutions taken by them for the preservation of the said authority, and of the true Christian Reformed Religion, as well as the Actions and Proceedings of the Curators of the University of Leyden, together with the good Services of the above-named Grotius, in quality of the said States Officer; in order to disturb and break the peace and happiness of these Provinces and the good Inhabitants thereof: The said States do therefore ordain by these Presents, that the aforesaid libel shall be suppressed as infamous, and destructive of the peace, tranquillity and welfare of the said Provinces, and moreover, that the dispersing and selling the same be prevented within the aforesaid Countries. Done at the Hague, at a full meeting of the States, on the 17th of Octob. 1614.

Signed by order of the States,

A. DUYK.

In opposition to this book of *Sibrandus*, there was a short Refutation writ by *Grotius*, consisting of about three sheets of paper, but as if it were by a third person, under the Title of, *Bona fides Sibrandi Lubberti demonstrata in libro quem inscripsit, responsionem ad pietatem Hugonis Grotij*: that is, *A proof of the sincerity of Sibrandus Lubbertus, taken from his book, intituled, An answer to the piety of Hugo Grotius*; tending to prove, that *Sibrandus* did not act fairly in this matter, but endeavoured to support his cause with untruths.

Bogerman writes against Grotius, but is answered by Corvinus and Barlaeus.

Johannes Bogerman, a Minister of *Leeuwarden*, employed likewise his pen against that book written in favour of the States, but was answered by *Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus*, a Minister of *Leyden*, who refuted him, as many thought, very learnedly and solidly: but against the Preface of *Bogerman's* book, *Gasper Barlaeus*, one of the *Remonstrants*, formerly Minister of *New-tong*, a Village in the Island of *Overflakkee*, and at that time Vice-regent of the States Theological College at *Leyden*, set pen to paper. What the world thought of his book, which was published the year following, under the title of *Bogermannus elegchmēn*, may be seen in a Letter of the very famous *Petrus Cunæus*, written at the same time.

‘ I had a great deal of discourse yesterday (*says he*) with the Heer *Hogerbeets* about you, who told me that he had read your book with a pleasing astonishment, and that it was entirely approved by all well meaning persons. For they thought nothing had been yet published on that side more accurate, or more learned. You have not only vindicated the cause of *Grotius*, but likewise that of the States themselves, a cause that is favoured, honoured and approved, not by a faction of enraged zealots, but by the best part of the people. I could not have foreborn, though I had no other occasion of writing, to congratulate you with all my heart upon the fruits of so happy a beginning.

It appears also by this Letter, which side *Cunæus* inclined to in these differences. In the book of *Barlaeus*, there is a certain passage relating to the calling of the Synod which was so much insisted on by the *Contraremonstrants* (and the consequences of which he apprehended) that deserves our notice. He says in the first place: ‘ That *Bogerman* cut off all hopes of a *Toleration*, and only pressed for a decision of the controversy by a Synod. But (*says he*) by what sort of a Synod? I will tell you. And then he proceeds thus: a Synod which the States must suffer to be called and holden where, and when, and how the Clergy please, and whose charges the States must likewise defray: to which they are to send but one or two lookers on, in order to take cognizance of what passes, lest people should think their debates ran upon betraying the Country to the *Spaniards*: In fine, a Synod to whose Decrees they are to affix their seal, to give them the sanction of Laws as soon as possible, against their adversaries. The rest of the Synod is to be composed of Divines.—— Those who appear there must be such as are deputed by the Classes or Ecclesiastical Powers: men cut out for disputation, and able to refute gainfayers, furnished with good testimonials of their orthodoxy, and entirely free from all spots of suspicion; and men, who by their constant exercise in the discipline of the Church, have learned the use of their weapons both offensive and defensive.

The description of such a Synod as Barlaeus conceived to be desired by the Contraremonstrants.

* Ex Epist. P. Cun. post Cal. Octob. p. 1615. Scripta.

' defensive. These Fathers having taken their places, a President or Prolocutor will AN^o D O M.
 ' begin the discourse, and in a diffusive harangue, recount the troubles and suffer- 1614.
 ' ings of the Church, which is militant in the midst of such monsters of error and he-
 ' refy. Then he will bless God that the day is now come, in which they find
 ' themselves at liberty, according to ancient custom, to seek remedies for these
 ' distempers, and once for all to condemn the heretical opinions of their adversaries.
 ' The same person will proceed to exhort the Brethren to moderate counsels, to a se-
 ' rious enquiry into the *Five Articles*, in order to judge piously and impartially of
 ' things, and whatever else may serve to give the matter a specious appearance. After
 ' which the Synod will cite the *Remonstrants* before them, and charge them with
 ' propagating false doctrines, and with having presumed of their own heads, with-
 ' out consulting the Synod, to depart from the received Formularies of the *Catechism*
 ' and the *Netherland Confession*, and to speak against the summary of sound words.
 ' If they offer to make any reply, they will be required to deliver it briefly, and by
 ' way of position, to the end that if what they alledge be true, it may be approved
 ' by a Synodical decision; or if false, they may submit to the spirits of the Pro-
 ' phets, and obey their Decrees, unless they will be reputed as Heathens and Pub-
 ' licans. It will be warmly debated whether the Articles run counter to Scripture,
 ' and to the truth which is taught in the Church, and as it is taught there. One side
 ' will hold the negative, the other the affirmative. At last, after having ordered
 ' the *Remonstrants* to withdraw, and let them cool their heels for a while, it will
 ' be considered what is to be done with them. But the Fathers not being unani-
 ' mous in their opinions and judgments, they will put the question, and a decree
 ' will be formed and past by the plurality of votes, much after the following man-
 ' ner: **The Synod has judged and decreed, as it does hereby judge and decree,**
 ' **that the Five Articles of the Remonstrants are not Orthodox, neither in them-**
 ' **selves nor in respect to the consequences; but are contrary to the established**
 ' **doctrine of this Church, and are therefore by no means to be tolerated in any**
 ' **Pastor or Teacher.** However, all those among the Remonstrants that will be en-
 ' tirely silent concerning the said points, and will solemnly promise that they will
 ' not in the least oppose the orthodox doctrine, shall be spared for the sake of their
 ' *Wives and Children.* But as for those who will defend the aforesaid Articles
 ' with tooth and nail, and profess them with mouth and writing, let them be ex-
 ' truded from the Ministry, and let another take their inheritance; and such as
 ' have hitherto opposed the Church with their pens, and rebiled her doctrines, if
 ' they do not recant what they have written, and most humbly own their fault, and
 ' ask pardon of the Synod, shall be struck with the thunder of excommunication.
 ' This Decree will be carried to the States, and they desired to ratify the same, not
 ' that there is any need of doing it, but only because it may be of some use. And
 ' in case the States shall approve of such a Decree, then will they be called, *Fathers*
 ' *of their Country, and Nursing-fathers of the Church, Constantines, Theodosius,*
 ' *and most Christian Princes;* such as gratified the wish of *Bogerman*, the expectati-
 ' on of *Sibrandus*, and the longings of so many pious Souls.—— But if the
 ' States reject it, and declare that the cognizance of these matters belongs to
 ' none but them, and that they will abrogate the said Synodical Decree, as full of
 ' nullities in many parts, then will the *Fathers* take their old course. Then will
 ' there be no likelihood of peace, nor hope of christian forbearance, neither will
 ' the States then pass for what they desire to be counted, (*viz.*) *lovers of the*
 ' *true Religion, and haters of Heresy,* but rather for the Patrons and Promoters of
 ' it. **This is the just Portraiture of the Synod, by whose righteous judgment**
 ' **Bogerman designs to put an end to our differences.**

Thus far *Barlaeus*, who little thought at that time what a resemblance his de-
 scription would have in many circumstances with the future event of things.

Several other matters are recorded to have happened in this year 1614, which we
 shall briefly touch upon here, to give our Readers a clearer idea of the state of those
 times: At *Rotterdam* the prejudice of the people against their Ministers rose to so
 high a pitch, that one of the Burghers had the confidence to say: *I would rather be mar-*
ried by a Hog, than by one of our Pastors. But it cost him the suspension of his
 Burghership for a year, and the exercise of his Trade for ever. And a certain

AN^o DOM. 1614. Printer at *Schiedam*, put into the Lottery of *Enkhusen* some verses in Dutch, the sense of which is: *That there was no difference between the Inquisition of Spain, and that of Rotterdam.* But for this insolence the Committee of the States of *Holland* declared his prizes forfeited, and condemned him to be fed with bread and water for fourteen days; which sentence the Scout of *Schiedam* executed very remissly.

At *Leyden*, the Minister *Festus Hommius*, discoursing about the signing of one of *St. Paul's* Epistles, took occasion from thence bitterly to exclaim against, and censure such as refused to subscribe the *Catechism*, but *Colonus* one of his Collegues is said to have testified his dislike of such Sermons. The famous *Simon Stephens*, a great favourite of Prince *Maurice*, and Author of the *Mathematical Memoirs*, talking with *Uitenbogat* about the present differences, said to him: *You know you have a great many enemies, and I am amazed how you have been able to stand them. If you could but satisfy the Towns which are against you, that you have not some deeper designs in your head, they would all come over to you, I am sure. But people suspect that you and those of your party will bring in the Spaniards again, either on purpose, or by accident; because these disputes began exactly with the treaty of peace.* But *Uitenbogat* unravelled the whole matter so plainly to him, that *Stephens* owned himself satisfied, and returned him many thanks. It was likewise given out by others; that the Advocate *Oldenbarnevelt* and *Uitenbogat* were Pensioners of Spain, and that they distributed Spanish money to the prejudice of their Country. But there was not the least shadow of any proof against them. Nay *Uitenbogat* tells us in his Journal of the 12th of December, this year, from the mouth of the Princess *Louisa*, Widow of the late Prince of Orange, that Prince *Philip William*, said to his Brother Prince *Maurice*, that there was a misunderstanding between him and *Oldenbarnevelt*, and that he wondered he would make the Son of a person that had always opposed him, his Master of the Horse. But his Excellency answered: that the Father was a Man who loved his Country, and for that reason he would be kind to him and his. That he knew the Advocate too to be honest, and better qualified than any other to serve the State; insomuch that if he should happen to die at that time, he feared, all would be in confusion.

From these expressions the Princess would prove that Prince *Maurice* had a good opinion of the Advocate even at that time, and loved him notwithstanding the differences that were between them.

But the Heer *Francis van Aerssen*, formerly Ambassador from the States General to the Court of *France*, was about the same time heard to express his dissatisfaction at the Advocate after a different manner, saying of him one day: *That the authority of some persons was not so strongly established, but that it was capable of being overturned.* And this dislike of him had accordingly afterwards its influence on affairs both Civil and Ecclesiastical.

¹ Uitenb. p. 1001.

The End of the Twenty-first Book.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN and ABOUT the
LOW-COUNTRIES.

BOOK XXII.



AT *Amsterdam*, the Axis upon which the following changes mostly AN^O DOM.
1615. turned, it was moved in the Senate, or Council, in the month of *January, 1615*, That something might be done on the part of this City for the benefit of those of *Horn*, who had separated from the publick church of that Town. It should seem by this as if the separating *Contraremonstrants* were not able to bear the incident charges of their Meetings and Sermons, and that they flattered themselves that by the interest they had in the Ministers of *Amsterdam*, and the credit these had with the Magistrates, they should get some support. But what was done upon this motion is not said. However, what passed on this occasion may appear in some measure from a Speech pronounced by the Heer *Cornelius Peterfon Hooft*, at that time in the Council, as follows :

IT were much to be desired, *Gentlemen*, that we would have at heart that wise and ancient Apopthegm :

Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt, discordiâ magnæ dilabuntur :

Small things grow great by union, but great dwindle to small by disunion.

The Advice of
the Heer Cor-
nelius Peter-
fon Hooft,
with regard to
to the differen-
ces about mat-
ters of Religion

Our forefathers have manfully acquitted themselves in this matter, by joining so many Provinces and Districts of these *Netherlands* to one another ; to which also the new Alliances that have been made with our consent (or at least without any opposition from us) with several foreign States and Potentates, in order to a mutual assistance in time of need, have added some weight. And though indeed we ought, in conformity with these measures, all of us to labour equally, in order to compose and extinguish these deplorable and dangerous dissensions, which threaten us like a devouring fire within our own houses ; yet I cannot but think that the principal fewel by which our discords are fed and maintained, proceeds from the very methods we take to suppress them. Infomuch, that it is to be feared least we, pursuing the same measures with those that occasioned the loss of some others of the *Low-Country* Provinces, may likewise be the cause of losing the rest that are as yet united to each other, which will so strengthen the *Papist* interest, that we shall find no place in *Christendom* where we may enjoy the liberty of our consciences. It is well known, that in a well-regulated State, none admits of any further authority in another than his jurisdiction extends to, no not so much as in the case of a single prisoner. Even the little villages which are within the Lordship of this great City, would doubtless

A^NO D^OM.

1615.

stand trial with us, if we should lay any burthen upon them to the prejudice of their jurisdiction. What grounds have we then for concerning ourselves with the governments of other towns? Should we endure here what we are endeavouring to impose upon others, even though the whole Province of *Holland* were to beg it of us? What authority have we over them, more than they over us? We support our Consistory in their opinion that the Civil Magistrate has nothing to do with church-matters, even within his own bounds; and they on the contrary push us on to concern ourselves, with regulating those matters in the jurisdiction of others. We are for maintaining whatever Resolutions are passed in this Assembly by the majority of votes, and yet we refuse to allow the same privilege to the Lords the States, with reference to their resolutions, though carried by a much greater majority. What shall a man say of these things? Is it not a great injustice to press that upon our neighbours which we decline doing ourselves? and to ascribe more authority to our Resolutions, than we grant to those of the States? How can such a Government subsist? We are offended that those who style themselves the *Persecuted Church* at *Horn*, are called by the Magistrates of that town *Separatists* and *Schismatics*; and assert that they who have introduced new doctrines are the true *Schismatics*. But we should consider, that all that is new, is not evil, nor all that is old, good; this is plain from our *Reformation of Religion*: To revise the Formularies of our *Confession* and *Catechism*, is no novelty; the *Confession of Augsburg*, which bears so great a name, has been revised eleven times in the first one and thirty years; that is, about once every third year. Our people know this well enough, and yet would make you believe it is a kind of blasphemy, to mention such a business. ¹ *Calvin* speaks very freely of the little knowledge the Emperor *Constantine* had, in some scriptural matters, at the time of the Council of *Nice*. It may likewise easily be imagined how it was here with us, at the first change. I think the *Contraremonstrants* may with more reason be charged with innovation, for endeavouring, in this time of liberty, to exclude that moderation which was formerly used in treating of the abstruse doctrine of *Predestination*, and its appendages; inasmuch, that even *Melancthon*, *Bullinger*, *Hemmingius*, and such like moderate men, are now rejected, though formerly they were the glory of the *Reformation*. Is it not a great novelty, that the supreme powers of this country are not allowed to have so much authority and cognizance in ecclesiastical affairs as other Princes and States? I would beg the Gentlemen of this Assembly, whose parents or ancestors were banished, or forced to fly in the times of the *Spanish* tyranny, or underwent yet greater grievances and miseries, to consider a little with themselves how these matters, which are now in debate, were understood by their dear Fathers, and I doubt not but they will find, that they were mostly on the moderate side. I knew several of them, and conversed with them very familiarly abroad, who would have been very cautious in meddling with these matters, and would rather have endeavoured to cast out the Gospel-net, as wide and as long as they possibly could, without violating the fundamental Articles that are necessary to Salvation. Is it not a novelty, that instead of daily searching the Scriptures, according to the command of the Lord *Jesus*, and the example of the *Berzans*, and, as the Apostle advises, trying all things, and holding fast that which is good; honest people are required to testify a larger and more particular approbation of the doctrines that are taught them, without adding, according to ancient custom, so far as they agree with Holy Scripture? Does it not seem that by thus doing, we would deprive the people of all matter of objection and enquiry, and consequently would prefer the doctrines of Men, to the word of God? And yet we find that in all ages, even among the most special friends of God, among the most eminent Fathers, and other great and learned Doctors of the following ages, there has been a great deficiency in the knowledge of divine matters, as might easily be proved, if necessary.

The Reason why
his Advice had
but little in-
fluence.

By these arguments the Heer *Hooft* endeavoured to make the Council relish his notions, but they had less influence now than formerly, because his authority in the government of the town was decreased. For having spoken against some of the Magistrates, who, as he thought, made too much haste to enrich themselves at the cost of the publick, he was become obnoxious to them.

¹ In scholiis in Epist. Pauli III. ad Carol. V. Sect. 37.

The causes of this misunderstanding, and the exclusion of so great a man from the Government, to the visible prejudice of the publick, and as some thought, of the Church too, deserve to be more fully enquired into. Some of the Magistrates foreseeing the necessity of a new enlargement of the City of *Amsterdam* (which took place in the year 1601) and endeavouring to bring it about, had not long before bought up several pieces of Ground just without the Town. After they had purchased them, they refused to quit them, at such a rate as a Court of Justice should set upon them, though other inhabitants of a lower rank were obliged to do so, it being an ancient privilege of the City, to buy in such houses and lands as should be judged necessary for the use of the publick. The Heer *Hooft*, and some others of the Magistracy were of opinion, that those Gentlemen ought likewise to have offered those purchases to the City, without making any great advantage by them; since they, as well as others in the Government, were bound by their oaths to promote the publick good, and not their own private interest in such matters. But their behaviour on this occasion was so scandalizing and offensive to the Heer *Hooft*, that he could not forbear censuring it openly in the Council, on the 17th of *December* this present year, alledging:

‘ That in case the Magistrates of the City perceived an opportunity of gaining great advantages for themselves from the situation of publick affairs, they ought at the same time to consider whether it would be for the benefit or hurt of the City:

‘ That private interest ought to yield to that of the publick; that the Magistrates were bound to take care that the Publick or the Community, which was wont to be compared to Orphans, and which had no Patrons upon earth, besides the Magistrates, might have no wrong done it, neither by themselves nor others: *he added*, that they, the said Magistrates were placed upon an exalted Theatre, from whence their conduct was exposed to the view and judgment both of great and small: that all the wisdom of the Community was not ingrossed by the Gentlemen of the Government, but that there were among the private persons of the City, many men of sense, who made use of their own eyes; therefore it was still the more necessary, that the Rulers should act with a good conscience in all their proceedings, without the appearance of seeking their own advantage to the prejudice of the publick. ¹ *Livy*, *added he*, has left us the following good lesson upon that head: *As (says he) the whole Magistracy is more honourable than the Senate, and the Senate than the People, so the Magistracy ought to lead the way, and set an example to the others in all difficult and weighty matters. If you would prescribe any thing to your inferiors, first submit yourself and your own creatures to that law, and then you will easily be obeyed by others. Neither will any Tribute or Tax be counted burthensome when they see that the Great Men lay more in proportion upon themselves than falls to the share of any private person. — This is more noble than common contracts, to be willing to enjoy and to endure less benefit and more burthens than our fellow-citizens.*

AN^o D O M.
1615.

A former
Speech of his
in the Council,
occasioned by
the Self-inter-
estedness of
some in the Go-
vernment.

This short account of his Speech, though it do not immediately relate to ecclesiastical matters, yet, in my opinion, may deserve a place in our History, because it insinuates Justice and Uprightness to Magistrates, and does not fall short of a good Sermon before the higher Powers. Now whether any thing was effected by this free and honest harangue, in relation to the said Lands or Hereditaments, does not belong to our purpose. But this is certain, that those who found themselves galled by it, got strength enough every year to exclude the Speaker of it, from the office of Burgomaster; and that somebody quibbling upon the word *Hereditaments*, said of him, that, *he suffered for Hereditary (or Original) Sin*. It was observed after this, that those who kept him out of the Government, always contradicted any proposals made by him, relating to church-matters, and the business of a *Mutual Toleration*, apprehending, as it should seem, that if people came into his opinions in one case, they would not scruple doing it in another; which they thought, might turn to their disadvantage. The same incident likewise contributed to bring the city of *Amsterdam*, and the great weight she could throw into the scales of *Holland*, over to the side of the *Contraremonstrants*.

He is excluded
from the Office
of Burgomaster.

* Magistratus Senatui, & Senatus populo sicut honore præstat; ita ad omnia dura atque aspera subeunda ducem debet esse. Siquid injungere inferiori velis id prius in te ac tuos si ipse juris statueris, facilius omnes obedientes habeas; nec impensa gravis est cum ex ea plusquam pro virili parte sibi quemque principum imperare vident.

AN^O D^O M.

1615.

*Endeavour
used at Arden-
burg to de-
prive the Ana-
baptists of the
publick Exer-
cise of their
Religion.*

In the midst of these dissensions between the *Remonstrants* and *Contraremonstrants*, the *Anabaptists* began to be troubled for their religion, at a place called *Ardenburg* in *Flanders*. The Magistrates, for what reason does not appear, forbade them to meet, which they not complying with, some of them were imprisoned, and others fined. But the States of the *United Provinces*, under whose jurisdiction *Ardenburg* was, shewed at this time, that they resolved to support their Subjects in the exercise of their religious liberty. To this end they caused notice to be given to the Magistrates of that place, that they should not trouble those people; and when they perceived that the Officers of Justice proceeded still in the same manner, they sent the following Letter to the Bailiff, Burgomasters, and Schepens, of the Town:

Honourable, Wife, Dear, and Special Friends,

*A Letter of the
States Gene-
ral to the Ma-
gistrates of Ar-
denburg.*

WE cannot but be surprized to find that contrary to our Resolution, which has been notified to you, by our Commissioner, John Bogart, you continue to vex and harass the common brethren called Anabaptists, or Mennonists, dwelling at Ardenburg, and the places under its jurisdiction, not suffering them any longer to enjoy the free exercise of their Religion in the said Town, and forbidding them to assemble upon pain of Arrests, Imprisonments, and Pecuniary mulcts. Now, forasmuch as we think it fitting that the aforesaid Brethren should be tolerated in the free exercise of their religion, according to their consciences, in the said town of Ardenburg, whilst they behave themselves quietly and modestly, as well as they and all others enjoy it in every Province, Town, and Place of the United Netherlands, without any molestation or opposition, provided they at the same time submit themselves to your inspection and superintendency over their meetings, and that as often as they design to assemble, they give you due notice thereof: We therefore require and command you to regulate yourselves according to the tenor of our said Resolution, for the better maintenance of Peace, Union, and Tranquility in your said Town; nor shall you seize or imprison any of those people under pretence of Fines for contravention: upon which relying, &c.—

This Letter, which bears date the 1st of May, put a stop to the persecution against the *Anabaptists*.

Not long after, there was an Order made at the meeting of the States of *Holland*, upon the complaint of some *Contraremonstrants* of the town of *Schoonhoven*, who on account of their disobedience to the Magistrates had been disfranchized and condemned to certain fines; as also of the Minister of *Grootammers*, who was forbidden the Town for inciting or encouraging them in their contumacy; as also upon the Petition of *Peter Martinson*, Schoolmaster at *Lekkerkerk*, the Author and Publisher of two scandalous songs. What we find registered in the Journal of the States about these matters, is

*The Resolution
of the States of
Holland with
reference to the
Disputes at
Schoonho-
ven.*

as follows: ‘ Having heard the humble Petition of *Peter Martinson*, Schoolmaster at *Lekkerkerk*, praying our pardon for two infamous and seditious Ballads, of which he owned himself the Author, and being further informed of the nature of the said ballads or songs which have been printed at *Schoonhoven*, and dispersed among the people there; and the most scandalous of the two having been read in this Assembly: having likewise considered of the Orders transmitted to the Magistrates of the said town, for the preservation of peace and tranquility, by our standing Committee, together with what inquiry and examination into the premises had been made by the said Magistrates, and what proceedings had been set on foot against those who concerned themselves in these matters, and who had taken upon them to appoint the Elders and Deacons of the Reformed Religion in the aforesaid town, without either the consent or knowledge of the Magistrates, or Consistory; particularly that, according to the Report of the said Committee, the Burgomasters and Council had proceeded extraordinarily, and without the usual forms of law in that affair: It is resolved and declared, first, that the Lords of the Committee have done their duty in the seasonable care they took to preserve the publick peace at *Schoonhoven*: also, that the Magistrates have discharged theirs in pursuing the directions communicated to them by the said Committee, in examining into the matter, and in proceeding extraordinarily therein against those who were criminal; and that therefore the sentences passed by them shall be provisionally ratified and confirmed, and no complaint or appeal be ad-

2

mitted

mitted or received otherwise than by this Assembly it self or its Committee, to whom AN^o D^o M. 1615.
 all such as think themselves aggrieved, may apply. And further it is resolved;
 that the Petition for pardoning the Author of the aforesaid infamous Ballads be re-
 jected. Having likewise considered the Petitions of Samuel vanden Borre, Minister
 of Grootammers; Roger Huigens, Corn-Merckant and Schipper; Arien Janfon,
 Bookseller; John Folkertfon, Aert Willemfon van Heutegem, Cornelius Hubert-
 fon, and George Janfon Knoop, all of them Burghers of Schoonhoven; complain-
 ing against the proceedings of the Burgomasters and Council of that Town, and pray-
 ing they may be heard against them, and allowed to make their defence; and on the
 other hand having also heard the persons deputed by the Magistracy of the Town,
 and seen the articles wherewith they charge the said persons: It is further resolved,
 That the aforementioned persons be acquainted, that they would do well to go and
 acknowledge their crimes, and submit themselves to their Magistrates, who doubtless
 will receive them into their favour; but in case the said persons do not think fit to
 comply herewith, or believe they are unjustly accused, what the said Burgomasters
 and Council shall order, shall be only provisional, and they shall be at liberty to ad-
 dress themselves to the Committee, who are hereby impowered to hear them in their
 own defence against what they are respectively charged withal, and to determine all
 matters as they shall think convenient.

A little time before, *Petrus Bertius*, Regent of the Theological College of the States at *Leyden*, resigned that office on account of the trouble it gave him, particu-
 larly in these times when the Exhibitioners and other scholars were so divided into
 parties; and that some of them of the *Contraremonstrant* party were privately exer-
 cised by *Festus Hommius*, a Minister of *Leyden*, in disputations, and making of Ser-
 mons, notwithstanding that they had in *Polyander*, a Professor of the same sentiments.
 Some are of opinion, that *Bertius* had rendered himself so obnoxious by several impru-
 dent and crude expressions in his book of *the Apostacy of the Saints*, that he could
 do no more good in that University; and that he had likewise been privately warned
 by the higher powers to quit his place. After that, he was again made Professor of
 Philosophy, and in his stead the Curators called to the Regency of the Theological
 College, *Gerardus Johannes Vossius*, Master of the *Latin School* at *Dort*, and a person
 of great learning, discretion, and other virtues. He was Son to the late *Johannes Alo-*
pecius, or *Vossius*, formerly a Minister in the said town. *Grotius*, who had no small
 share in forwarding this Call, thought it would be of very happy consequence, and
 writ to him, on that occasion, as follows:

*Bertius, Re-
gent of the
Theological
College at Ley-
den, resigns his
Office.*

*G. J. Vossius
is appointed
Regent in his
stead.*

I bless God, most famous *Vossius*, that he has granted me what I so heartily
 wished and desired, viz. That he would give you a greater opportunity of serving
 his Church. His wise Providence has so ordered matters, that the success has far
 surpassed my hopes: for whereas it seemed to us, your friends, a great matter if we
 might procure you a little more liberty, it pleased God not only to place you upon
 an equal foot with others, but even in a noble station, when he intrusted you with
 the College of Divinity, that is, the very sowing and cultivation of the Ministry.
 Inasmuch, that under him it will depend on you what sort of a Church we shall
 have ten or twenty years hence, in these parts. It is no small token of the Divine
 Providence over you, that you come into that office with the general approbation
 of the men of all parties. There are none but what highly applaud the Curators
 calling you thither. You have therefore nothing more to do, than to behave your-
 self according to your usual custom, which is perfectly adapted to this function, to
 wit, to join the amiableness of your good temper to your endeavours after Piety
 and Truth.

About the same time the famous *Peter du Moulin*, Minister of the Reformed church
 at *Charenton*, was invited by the King of Great Britain to London, where he drew
 up a paper for an overture and designation of means to unite all the Churches that had
 thrown off the yoke of Popery, (it was upon this that the King's thoughts were at
 this time bent) and to compose the differences lately sprung up among Protestants, as
 well

* Johan. Polyand. Fun. Orat. upon Fest. Hom. * Ex Epist. H. Grot. 1615. die Resurrect. Dom. script.

AN^O DOM. well as to obviate the like for the future. ¹ This Scheme, which was communicated to the Churches of *France* and the *Low-Countries*, contained matters worthy to be known and considered: I am the more induced to give it a place here, because it takes notice of our domestick dissensions. It was written in *French*, and runs thus:

The famous
Du Moulin's
Scheme, pro-
jected at the
Request of King
James I. of
Great Bri-
tain, for uni-
zing the Prote-
stant Churches,
determining
the present dif-
ferences, and
preventing the
like for the fu-
ture.

I. WE must lay it down for a foundation, that every endeavour towards the Union and Peace of the Church, is a pious, useful, and necessary work. And as for the feasibility of the thing, that it can never be brought to bear without the concurrence, help, and direction, of those Potentates, whose countries have shaken off the papal yoke: among whom the King of *Great Britain* is the chief, and most powerful, as well as the most sagacious and best disposed; so that he can contribute the most to such a design.

II. THIS being premised, I should think that next there ought to be found out a place of safe and convenient access, to which might repair two Divines deputed by his *Britannick* Majesty; two from the *French* churches; two from the *Low-Countries*; two from the Cantons of *Switzerland*; and one or two from each Prince in *Germany*, of our Confession. And if there could also be found means of engaging the *Lutheran* Princes in such a Congress, especially the King of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Brunswick*, and other Princes, it would be of vast advantage; and herein the aforesaid King of *Great Britain*, and the Elector *Palatine*, might go a great way.

III. THE fittest place, in my opinion, would be *Zeland*, which lies as it were, at the door of *England*, and whither it would be easy to come from all parts.

IV. MY meaning is not to set on foot there a religious disputation; for as soon as the minds of men are put into a ferment, none will yield, and each will ascribe to himself the victory: but what I would aim at, is, that there should be laid on the Table the *Confession* of the *English* and *Scottish* churches, together with those of the *French* and *Dutch* churches, of *Switzerland*, of the *Palatinate*, and others; and that out of all these particular confessions a general one should be drawn up, in which many things might be tacitly passed by, the knowledge of which is not esteemed necessary to salvation. As for instance, the dispute of *Piscator*, and several too nice opinions proposed by *Arminius*, upon the points of *Free-Will*, the *Perseverance* of the *Saints*, and *Predestination*. For it is certain, That all the errors in religion have proceeded from hence, either that men would know too much, or would have too much, that is, either from curiosity, or covetousness and ambition. The last of these evils has ruined the church of *Rome*, and Satan labours to undo Us by the former. Could we but prevail upon ourselves to continue ignorant of many things, and be contented to know no more than what is necessary for salvation, and to tolerate those who err, or differ from us in opinions that are not necessary or fundamental, such a union would be more than half compleated at the first setting out.

V. AFTER the drawing up such a *Confession*, it should be signed not only by the Deputies, but by the Princes, and by the national Synods of *Great Britain* and the *Netherlands*; with such regulations for the time to come, that in case any differences should hereafter arise in *England*, *France*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, or the *Low-Countries*, nothing should be resolved or determined, much less changed, without the concurrence of all the States and Churches that had entered into this Union.

VI. Hitherto I think there is little difficulty, especially if the Treaty be made between those churches that agree already in the same Faith, and differ only in a few Ceremonies, and in Ecclesiastical Discipline or Government; and even though some of them may have entertained particular sentiments about matters not yet decided by any publick Decrees or Canons.

² D. Blondel, A&A. Authent. p. 10.

AN^O DOM¹⁶¹⁵.

‘ VII. As for Ceremonies and Church-government, there should be a mutual Declaration, and that should be joined to the Confession, in which the aforementioned Deputies should testify in the name of their Principals, that the churches do not condemn each other for such diversities, as do not hinder us from yet agreeing in the true faith and doctrine, and embracing each other as true believers, and members of one and the same body.

‘ VIII. IT would be very proper, that after this Congress, for a token of unity, they should celebrate the Holy Sacrament; and that the Pastors and Ministers of *England, France*, and other churches, should communicate with each other; and that the Treaty should begin with a day of fasting and praying, to be observed not only by the Deputies, but also by the Church of that place where the Assembly shall be called, in order to implore the divine assistance on so great and important a work.

‘ IX. THE Deputies must be chosen from among men of good temper, and proper for business; *to wit*, such as are peaceful, grave, pious, prudent, and not litigious; they must come provided with sufficient power, and letters, that may arm them with the requisite authority; and those who send them should declare in the letters, their readiness to embrace with respect, whatever should be agreed upon in the said assembly, and to use all honest and just means to cause it to be observed: and whilst these matters are negotiated, there should be appointed in all the countries that enter into this agreement, a day for a general supplication, in order to obtain a blessing from God upon it, and by the same means to excite reverence and respect in the hearts of the people.

‘ X. I COULD wish too, that, during the time of this congress, some persons might be frequently dispatched to the King of *Great Britain*, to the end that nothing might be done without his advice and authority; and that when all was done, the whole body of the Deputies would pass over to *England*, to salute and thank his Majesty, and to consult with him about putting in execution the things that had been concerted.

‘ IT will be necessary before the Assembly be dissolved, or break up, that they appoint a day for their meeting in the same place again within a year, that the Deputies may make a report of the things that cannot be put in execution in their several countries, and of the obstacles they there meet with; for I am of opinion, that it is impossible to obviate all inconveniences at one meeting. There may be likewise some countries which will not approve of some things that were agreed to be tolerated; or which perhaps will find out some better expedient.

‘ XII. THE time that shall elapse between these two meetings, may be employed by his Majesty of *England*, and other Princes of our Confession, in using their endeavours to induce the *Lutheran* Princes to send their Pastors and Doctors to the second meeting, in order to labour about a Coalition between them and us, in case there be any hopes of it. The steps towards such a Coalition, or Peace, may be these:

‘ XIII. THE points in which the *Lutheran* church differs from us are twofold: Some are of such a nature as may be easily adjusted between us, *viz.* the Ceremonies of the said Church, which might be understood in the most favourable sense and tolerated, being things that belong rather to the Class of *Expedients* than *Necessaries*: Of this kind also are some of the opinions about Predestination, concerning which I conceive an article of the General Confession may be so framed, as to be approved by all parties without scruple; if we do but avoid a prying curiosity, as is done in the *Ausburg* Confession, where that matter is very cautiously mentioned, and the dispute industriously passed by. There is also some difference about the necessity of Baptism, which in a good sense may be asserted to be necessary to salvation; that is, that it is necessary Baptism should be used in the *Christian* church; and

AN^o DOM. 1615. and that it is no less necessary, that each private Christian should not despise it, without entring further into the question of such *Necessity*.

XIV. SECONDLY, There is the point of the *Lord's Supper*, which will cost more trouble. There is a double difficulty in that matter; for it consists partly in the *Ubiquity* of *Christ's* body, and partly in the *Communion*, or Receiving, of that body in the Sacrament.

XV. As to the first of these difficulties, it might be agreed: 1. That *Christ Jesus* did assume a real humane body in the womb of the Virgin, like ours in all things, sin only excepted. 2. That his body is composed of real flesh, and that it has magnitude or extension. 3. That his body being in the womb of the Virgin, upon the Cross, or in the Grave, was no where else. 4. That the eternal Son of God is omnipresent. 5. That his body is ascended into Heaven. 6. That he sits on the right hand of God. 7. That he has received from the Father all power in Heaven and Earth. 8. That this Exaltation has indeed divested him of the infirmities of his humane nature, but not annihilated the same. And, 9. that he will return at the Last Day, clothed with the same flesh he received from the Virgin, to judge both the Quick and Dead. Now if there remain yet any differences on this head, which cannot be accommodated, we must endeavour to prevail with both parties, not to condemn one another any longer, nor to write any more about them for the future, nor mention them in their sermons; but patiently to wait till God shall give further light to those that err.

XVI. As to the Sacrament and Communion of the body of *Christ*, my opinion is, that we may agree in the following points: 1. That the Tokens, or Symbols, are not meer signs or types divested of the Truth. 2. That in the Holy Supper we truly partake of *Christ's* body. 3. That the substance of the bread is not converted into another substance, and that the element of bread remains the same after the consecration. 4. That consequently this Sacrament ought not to be adored, but that we are to lift up our hearts to heaven. 5. And as for the manner after which *Christ's* body is partaken of at the Supper, we ought not to inquire solicitously into it; but only to maintain with St. Paul, in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, chap. iij. ver. 17. That *Christ dwells in our hearts by faith*; from whence it therefore follows, that he does not dwell in the hearts of those who have no faith; and further, if any one persist in his own opinion, let him nevertheless bear with his brethren, and not condemn them with violence. Let us only walk by the same rule in the things whereto we have attained.

XVII. FOR there are two sorts of errors: Some errors consist only in what we think or believe; others in some external act besides the belief or opinion: Of the first sort are those relating to the Nature of *Christ*, to Predestination and Free Will. Of the second, the doctrines concerning the Communion under one species, the Adoration of the Host, and Praying in a language unknown, sometimes even to him that prays. The errors of the latter sort, though they be often of less moment than the others, do yet occasion greater heats, and sometimes schisms. For if I hold communion with any one who errs in the business of Predestination, or in that of *Christ's* Nature, or who maintains that his body is every where; though these errors be great, yet need they not disquiet the person that partakes of the Lord's Supper with him. But if I go to that Sacrament with one who adores the Bread, or believes he is sacrificing *Jesus Christ*, such an act must scandalize and drive me from thence, for fear of joining in his idolatry or false offering. Now it is very happy that our differences with the Lutherans are of the first kind; and that as for Externals, there is no difference but what might easily be adjusted between them and us.

XVIII. IT would be proper to have lying upon the table, the Concordate, or Agreement of the Polish churches, made at Sendomir, in the year 1570, and afterwards renewed in the Synod of Uladislaw, in 1583, that so we might extract from the Preface, which is prefixed, whatever we found necessary or proper for our

our purpose. Possibly there are also many *Lutheran* churches that will not press AN^O D^O M^S their *Ubiquity*. 1615.

XIX. I SHOULD be glad if this second Assembly would observe the same methods as the first, and shew the same regards for his *Britannick* Majesty; that they would begin with a day of Fasting and Prayer, and conclude all with a mutual participation of the Lord's Supper, and that the *Lutheran* Pastors, and those of our own persuasion, would go together to the Lord's Table.

XX. As for the manner of executing these proposals, in order to induce the respective Communities and Churches to conform themselves to that which shall have been agreed upon, it will be absolutely necessary for the several Princes and States to promise that they will make use of their authority, to the end that *Those names of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Sacramentarians, may be abolished; and that all our churches be called, Christian Reformed Churches; That it be likewise prohibited, upon severe penalties, to any one to inveigh in his sermons against his brethren, or write against them; and that the catalogue of books vended at the Fair of Frankfort, be no longer stuffed with the titles of such scandalous libels and invectives as usual. And moreover, that the Protestant Princes of Germany do agree upon a certain day, for sending their Ministers to the principal churches of their neighbouring Princes, who shall likewise be ready to receive them, where they may jointly partake of the Holy Communion on some solemn festival.*

XXI. IF God would grant his blessing to this so holy and laudable work, which would crown the King of *Great Britain*, and those Potentates that should assist him, with everlasting honour, then might it be a fit season to offer terms of peace to the church of *Rome*. And if such a peace were to be treated of (which I very much doubt of, since the *Pope* allows of no *Council* nor *Conference* where he may not preside) we should be in much greater reputation, and be able to speak with much more authority, when once we were brought to agree among ourselves.

Such was the advice of the learned *Du Moulin*, which, as some think, he himself forgot, when he afterwards joined in the condemnation of the *Remonstrants*.

This same year some persons had the boldness to publish in this country an account of the differences among the churches of *Holland*, and to write a severe Treatise against the Resolution taken by the States for restoring the peace of the Church, in the French tongue; which tended to nothing else but to inflame men's minds more and more, and to compel them to speak who were disposed to be silent. In which case there happened something that induced *Simon Goulart* of *Geneva*, one of the Ministers of the *French* or *Walloon* church at *Amsterdam*, to declare himself more particularly upon the differences then depending. This man, who was Son to the old *Simon Goulart* of *Senlis*, Minister in *Geneva* at the same time, and very famous on account of the books he published for the advancement of learning and the *Reformation*, had for a long while adhered to the opinion of *Melancthon*, (which, as he thought, was the same with that of the *Remonstrants*) concerning *Predestination* and the points relating to it, not without a diligent enquiry and mature consideration, yet without indiscreetly revealing, or hypocritically concealing his sentiments. But it happened that *Thomas Maurois*, a Minister of the same church at *Amsterdam* (who till then had shown some moderation with respect to the things in dispute, and who at the beginning of his Ministry had been treated very unkindly by some persons, that reproached him with being a *Remonstrant*, for too much extolling, as they thought, the doctrine of *good works* in a certain sermon) entered so deep in a sermon preached by him on the 13th of *September* in the morning, into the business of an *inward* and *irresistible Call*, and of an *absolute Predestination* of some to *Life*, and others to *Damnation*, that *Goulart*, offended with such

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* In the Copy of this Project which was printed in 1615, it is said, That the *Lutheran* and *Reformed* Ministers should likewise preach, one after the other in the same place.

* Blondel. Actes Authent. p. 17. Baud. Mem.

Lib. IX. p. 90. Uitenb. p. 897.

Act. Nat. Synod. Dort, p. 383.

³ S. Goulart. Trait. de la Grace de Dieu. Printed at Amst. 1616.

A^N° D^O M.
1615.

Simon Gou-
lart, a Minister
of the Wal-
loon Church
at Amster-
dam, preaches
in defence of
Universal
Grace, and
refutes the o-
pinion of the
Reprobation
of Infants.

such doctrines, thought himself bound immediately to undeceive his hearers as soon as he ascended the pulpit in the afternoon. This he took upon him to do, in his Exposition on the ninth Sunday of the *French Catechism*, which treats of *Christ's Crucifixion and Death*; in which he thus concluded: '*Christ delivered us from the curse of the Law, by becoming a Curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is he that hangeth on a Tree; so that instead of that Curse which Adam brought upon himself and all his posterity, the Blessing of Christ Jesus takes place, having been obtained for all mankind. But none can partake of so great a benefit but only believers who lay hold on it by faith. As for unbelievers, who by their infidelity and ingratitude reject this benefit, they are excluded from it, and continue under the Curse, according to the declaration of St. John, ch. iij. ver. 36. He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.* He therefore that believes in the Son, shall obtain the blessing, and as believing he is chosen to the blessing; but he that believes not the Son, is prepared for the Curse, and the Curse remains upon him, as the Apostle witnesseth in his Epistle to the *Galatians*, ch. iij. ver. 9, and 10. saying, that *they which be of Faith are blessed with faithful Abraham. And that, as many as are of the works of the Law, are under the Curse.* This is what he confirms in the following Chapter by the comparison between *Ishmael and Isaac*, both of them the children of *Abraham*, but one sprung from the Bond-maid *Agar*, after the flesh; and the other, from *Sarah* the Free-woman by promise. By the *first* are meant, in an allegorical and figurative sense, those who seek their *righteousness* in the *Law*, which was the *first Covenant* made upon *Mount Sinai*, gendring to bondage, and denoted by *Agar*. By the other, to wit, *Isaac*, the Son of the promise, are understood figuratively and by a similitude, those who seek their righteousness in the Gospel, which is the *second Covenant*, made by *Jesus Christ*; for the Apostle says expressly, that *these things are an allegory.* And as that which is there said concerning *Isaac* ought to be understood figuratively, and by way of similitude, so likewise should we understand what is said of the same *Isaac*, in the 9th Chapter to the *Romans*; and consequently that other instance of *Jacob* and *Esau* contained in the same Chapter, ought to be explained after the same manner. So that by *Jacob*, which signifies a *Supplanter*, we are to understand the faithful, as faithful, who according to the immutable decrees of God are elected in *Jesus Christ*, as heirs of the promise of life. And by *Esau*, which imports *working*, are meant those who seek their righteousness in the works of the Law, whom God has decreed to leave under the Curse. ——— We must not imagine that the gracious God has appointed, by an absolute and unavoidable decree, any infants even of believing parents, from their mothers womb to the everlasting torments of hell. This rash and foolish notion is incompatible with the word of God, *who will have all men to be saved*, 1 Tim. ij. 4. And, *who is the Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe*, 1 Tim. iv. 10. *Who has no pleasure in the death of him that dieth*, Ezek. xviii. 32. The door of his mercy and blessing which our Saviour *Christ* has opened, is shut against none. Are there any that remain under the Curse, it is their own fault, so far as they by their unbelief and unthankfulness reject the blessing that is offered to them, and choose the Curse: As it is said in the 109th Psalm, v. 17. *As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him: as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him.* Let not therefore the mothers who now hear me, nor any other believing women that have children, ever fancy that any of them are thus appointed to the curse from the very womb, in order to be cast into eternal fire. But much rather assure your selves, ye believing parents, as often as you think of your children, or see them before your eyes, that *Christ* died for them; and that by his bitter sufferings and death upon the Cross, he has done away the Curse. And when they attain to years of discretion, instruct them in the same assurance, to the end that by laying hold of *Christ* and his blessing through faith, you and they may be made joint partakers of everlasting life.

These words, pronounced with more warmth and zeal than usual, (for otherwise his discourse was very calm and moderate) were presently taken up by some and mis-interpreted. They gave out, that he became pale and trembling with anger, insomuch, that he could hardly speak. But they who thought they knew the man best

best and his soft temper, were amazed at the violence of his adversaries, who made An^o D^o M. his concern to be much greater than it really was. *Carolus Niellius*, at that time a Minister in the *Walloon* Congregation at *Utrecht*, writes in a certain Letter which I have seen, that *La Vigne* the Colleague of *Goulart*, instead of pacifying the zealots, did on the contrary use all the influence he had, which was very great, to foment the people's aversion and displeasure. It was pretended, that in the aforesaid sermon, there was a foundation laid for *Arminian Pelagianism*. The Consistory met several times at *La Vigne's* house, where it was at length decreed; That *Goulart* should be suspended from preaching and administering the Sacrament, and not admitted again to either, unless he recanted his sermon, and asked pardon for his violent preaching against the established doctrine; with promise not to speak any more against his brethren of the Clergy; but on all occasions to assist in confuting the innovations of the Remonstrants. He endeavoured to quiet them, by offering to do three things: First, To beg pardon of the Church on account of that warmth he was accused of, and so far, to submit to their judgment. Secondly, Not to speak against the opinions of the Contraremonstrants for the time to come. And thirdly, To confine himself entirely within the bounds of *Melancthon's* doctrine.

1615.

He is suspended from the exercise of the Ministerial Function.

His offer made to the Consistory.

Thus *Niellius* relates it, and *Uitenbogart* after him; but there has likewise fallen into my hands a copy of what *Goulart* himself drew up, proposing to give satisfaction to the Consistory, which in the original is as follows:

‘ Comme, ainsi soit qu’ il y ait eu offense en quelques uns, à l’ occasion de quelques Paroles par moy prononcées, avec zele & vehemence en la derniere partie d’ une mienne exposition, sur la neuvieme Dimanche du Catechisme; à fin de relever ceste offense: je declare en conscience avoir tousjours adheré à la Parole de Dieu, & à la doctrine des Eglises Reformées, & n’ avoir jamais mis rien en avant à l’ encontre; que si à mes Propos a esté apperceu quelque excès d’ esmotion, je suis content de recognoitre cela estre procedé l’ infirmité & fragilité humaine; & promets volontiers, moyennant la Grace de Dieu de me tenir tousjours à sa Sainte Parole, & à la confession de nos Eglises, & en conformité d’ icelles continuer d’ exposer icelle Parole en toute simplicité, & refuter les erreurs contraires, selon le talent qui m’ a départi, ainsi qu’ il convient à un fidele Pasteur & Ministre de Christ, requirant la Compagnie d’ avoir mon Ministere pour agreeable.

SIMON GOULART.

That is;

‘ I T having so fallen out, that some persons have taken offence at certain words spoken by me with zeal and warmth, at the latter end of a certain Exposition which I made upon the ninth Sunday of the Catechism: I declare with a sincere conscience, in order to remove such offence, that I have always adhered to the word of God, and to the doctrine of the Reformed churches, and have never uttered any thing contrary thereto: But if any excess of emotion has been observed in my expressions, I am willing to own that the same proceeded from humane frailty and infirmity; and I do freely promise, with the help of God, always to adhere to his Holy word and to the Confession of our churches, and consequently to go on in expounding the scriptures with all simplicity, and in refuting the errors that are contrary thereto, according to the talent committed to me, as becomes a true shepherd and servant of Christ; begging the Assembly to approve of my Ministry.

SIMON GOULART.

But all this would not satisfy them, and *Goulart* was suspended from the exercise of his Ministry. At first, he was forbidden to preach, or administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and afterwards that of Baptism. *Niellius* wrote several Letters from *Utrecht* to the *Walloon Consistory* at *Amsterdam*, to induce them to some gentleness towards *Goulart*. He also relates in a certain Letter written long after this affair, that *Johannes Uitenbogart*, together with *Jacobus Taurinus* a Minister of *Utrecht*,

* See *Uitenbogart's* Life. Lib. VIII. p. 216. &c.

AN^O DOM. 1615. *Utrecht*, being come to *Amsterdam* upon some other occasions, entered into a private conference with certain of the Burgomasters about the business of *Goulart*, and desired them to intercede with the Consistory, in order to accommodate this difference; representing, that his preaching against the Reprobation of children (upon which the chief stress seemed to be laid) was too severely censured; that the rest of the Ministers declared to every body, that they did not maintain the opinions he opposed, and therefore had no reason to bear so hard upon him: that he did not name them, nor any body else; and that what he said, regarded only some few persons that sometimes proposed and propagated such doctrines. But all was in vain.

The Synod of
Middelburg
refer Goulart's case
to the decision
of the National Synod.

It is said by some, that *Goulart* was suspended from his Ministry by the Consistory, without regard to the authority of the *Walloon* Synod, which met at *Utrecht* the very week after the sermon which he made against the positions of *Maurois*; and that they took his affair into consideration immediately upon the breaking up of the said Synod. And some of the *Remonstrant* party are of opinion, that the enemies of *Goulart* did not find it adviseable to complain to the Synod, for fear of *Uitenbogart*, who was there present, for they knew well enough the force of his eloquence, and the faculty he had of uniting adversaries, and composing differences. However, not long after his suspension, the Synod of the *Walloon* churches met at *Middelburg*, where he was summoned to appear, and justify his conduct. He attended them accordingly, and the Consistory would have informed them of what they had against him; but the Synod declared that the matter was of too great importance, and refused to enter upon it, referring it to the National Synod, which was expected. Thus the business was shifted off chiefly, as *Goulart*'s friends say, because *Niellius* was there, being deputed to this Assembly on the part of the *Walloon* church at *Utrecht*, with whom they were resolved to enter into no conference, or debate, about this affair, knowing that he sought to excuse *Goulart*, and defend the *Remonstrants*; which it was apprehended might occasion much disturbance and division in the Synod. In this Synod it was likewise declared on the part of the Consistory, that they designed to bring one *Fabricius de la Bassécourt* into the place of *Goulart*, at least by way of trial, and till such time as *Goulart* should make his peace with the Church. But the Members voted unanimously that such a Call might be prejudicial, and advised the Consistory to forbear on account of his inconstancy and the scandal he had given. He had been a Priest in the *Romish* church, and after having been converted from *Popery* to the *Reformed* religion, had renounced the latter for the former, till at last he again quitted the *Popish* for the *Reformed*, and then became a great stickler for the *Contraremonstrants*.

The adversaries of *Goulart* spread afterwards a report at *Amsterdam*, that the Synod had approved of his suspension, and he, who till then had been suffered to sit within the rails at church among the rest of the Ministers and Elders, was ordered by them to retire from thence, and sit with the Laity; and taking no notice of the Resolutions of the Synod, they put the abovementioned *Bassécourt* into his place, the Magistrates themselves consenting. But before he could be confirmed in the Ministry, the Consistory was so severely censured by the following Synod holden at *Amsterdam*, upon account of that Call, made in contempt of the Synod of *Middelburg*, that it cost the Minister *La Vigne* (who excused himself by pretending he was not able to withstand the peoples desire of *Bassécourt*) many tears. In the mean while, neither this of *Amsterdam*, nor any of the ensuing *Walloon* Synods holden in this Province could be persuaded to take cognizance of the affair of *Goulart*, who bore with patience all his troubles. However, he published that part of his sermon at which so much offence was taken by the Consistory, in the *French* and *Dutch* languages at *Leyden*, that so the world might judge whether he deserved such usage. But that publication increased their displeasure. They pretended that he had expressed himself in other and sharper words, and appealed to many witnesses. He and other persons declared the contrary. Some of his enemies, to shift off the odium of what had been done, from themselves, said, *That the people would have it so*. But among those people there were several drowsy persons, who being asked what he had said in his last sermon against the Church, acknowledged, they knew of nothing. Thus we find the business of *Goulart* and *Bassécourt* related in the Letters and other

Memoirs

Memoirs of *Niellius*, of which *Uitenbogart* seems to have made use in his Church History, without having been contradicted, as far as I know, by *Triglandius* in respect to that matter, which according to the different parties and inclinations of men, has been very variously understood. The *Remonstrants* said that it was very plain from the removal of *Goulart* at *Amsterdam*, a Minister of experienced piety, without the cognizance of the Synod, and from the laying hands on *Bassecourt* a stranger, who was the second time, and that but lately, converted from Popery, and putting him in possession of the pulpit in direct opposition to the mind of the Synod, how far they were inclined to submit to that Synod which they so eagerly called for: and that they would have little regard to their decrees, unless they could be useful to them in their fixed designs; since in case it happened otherwise, then they followed their own humour, and endeavoured to work with such *new tools* as they could procure, in order more effectually to advance the interest of their party.

AN^O D^O M^O
1615.
Different opinions of people with respect to the affair of Goulart.

Many lamented the fate of the Church on this occasion, complaining that the dissensions deprived her of so useful a Minister, whom they greatly extolled for his integrity, sweet temper, morals, meekness, learning and judgment. There were likewise several Members of the *Walloon* Congregation, who so highly resented the injustice which they thought was done him, that they refused to hold any Church Communion with the authors of it, or hear the other Ministers any longer. The most violent of the *Contraremonstrants*, reported that *Goulart* had been set on by *Uitenbogart*, who was said to have let fall such words as these: *That he designed to kindle a fire in the church at Amsterdam; and if he could not do it in the Dutch, he would do it in the French.* But he protested before several Gentlemen of great credit: *That he never gave Goulart any other advice, but to consult his own conscience, having said to him soon after his suspension: Follow the dictates of your own heart. If you find you have gone too far, give glory to God, and acknowledge your fault. If you think you have said nothing in your sermon but what was agreeable to the word of God, stick to it, till you are better informed, but keep always a good conscience.* Others said, that *Goulart* was a hypocrite; nay *Bassecourt* did not scruple to say of him in print: *That he had preached for the space of thirteen years against his own conscience; adding further, that he himself had owned it, and that his confession from his own mouth was registered in the Journal of the Consistory.* But *Goulart* afterwards publicly contradicted this charge against him, saying among other things: *That the thing spake itself sufficiently; for if he, Goulart, had been such a kind of man as some are that make no scruple of preaching against their conscience, he might easily have kept his place, by promising what the Consistory required of him; viz. to defend that doctrine he had opposed; which he declared he could not consent to, without displeasing God, and wounding his own conscience. And as for what was added, that he had owned the same, it was as true, as that Balaams Ass spoke by the spirit of Python, as Bassecourt had asserted in one of his sermons. And as for the boldness of those who pretended that such a confession had been recorded in the books of the Consistory, it was a mistake that might be easily confuted by consulting those books, of which he was ready to produce authentick extracts. But if they would know who it was that had so long concealed the truth, and preached lies against the testimony of his conscience, they needed only read the first conversion of Bassecourt, published in his name, and then they would find that it was he himself according to his own confession.*

Thus far *Goulart*, who further justified himself against these and other slanders, extracted from the Church-books some years after, by a Treatise which fell into my hands after the writing these things. I shall insert it here, as translated from the *French*, because it gives no small light into these affairs: The title and tenor of it are as follows:

AN^O DOM.

1615.

An Answer to the Accusations drawn out of the Journal of the Walloon Consistory to the prejudice of SIMON GOULART.

The Answer of S. Goulart, to certain Accusations extracted from the Journal of the Walloon Consistory.

THAT he has not performed what he promised to four Elders.

Answ. That is not true; I made them no promise of not preaching against their errors. Such promises are inconsistent with the duty of a good Pastor. Let them say to whom such promises were made, how and when.

THAT he set himself against Maurois contrary to order.

Answ. This is not true neither; for I only opposed the ridiculous, false, and rash opinions of those who hold, that certain infants, born of believing parents (such as *Ishmael* the Son of *Abraham*, and *Esau* the Son of *Isaac* and *Rebecca*) are by an absolute decree of God passed by, or abandoned to perdition. And *Maurois*, *Basse-court*, and their adherents, ought to say plainly, whether they maintain such doctrine or no: for they speak ambiguously, and one can hardly tell what they mean. Sometimes it looks as if they approved of that opinion, seeing they assert that *Ishmael* and *Esau*, both of them children of believing parents, were hated and rejected by God from their infancy; and another while they say, that all the children of believing parents are holy, and partake of the Covenant; which things are a contradiction. But I maintain, that neither *Ishmael* nor *Esau*, nor any infants sprung from believing parents are hated with such a hatred as God shews against the devil and the damned. And I think myself obliged to oppose such as do maintain it, as Preachers of false Doctrine, and Disturbers of the Church, teaching things contrary to the word of God, and the opinions of the Reformed churches. And when I censure such errors, I do not act in opposition, but in conformity to order: for the rules of my Ministry require, that I should oppose such errors, as I have done in my sermons, for which sermons I am thrust out of my office, *viz.* for maintaining Truth, and opposing Falshood. Of which injustice done to me and others, God will be the Judge.

THAT he doubted for thirteen years.

Answ. This Charge is equivocal: I own that for the space of thirteen years, ay, and from the very beginning of my Ministry, I looked upon the opinions abovementioned to be very odd and absurd, *to wit*, that infants born of believing parents should have been hated by God from their mother's womb, and ordained to perdition, only for *Original Sin*, since the pardon of that sin was sealed to *Ishmael* and *Esau* in their Circumcision, and now a-days to all infants in their Baptism: So that those who pretend that there are any infant-children of believers, to whom *Original Sin* is not forgiven, make God a liar, forasmuch as Baptism is administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: I say, I have always esteemed such opinions strange and ridiculous, and no man has ever heard me teach them; nay, I have long preached against the foundation of this opinion.

THAT for these last five or six years he maintained the notions of the Remonstrants.

Answ. I confess that I have approved the opinions of the Remonstrants ever since I understood them. I am not ashamed to own it, for their doctrines are conformable to the word of God; but those of others contradictory to it, and therefore false.

THAT there had been a Form of Confession offered him to sign.

Answ. The Gentlemen of the Consistory proposed to me a Form for owning my fault, and would have obliged me to sign it; but I would not receive it, as being false and unjust. But I offered to subscribe another Form of reconciliation, which I myself had so prepared, as to be able to sign it without wronging my conscience, or forsaking my doctrine; but they rejected it.

‘ *THAT* he begged to be continued in his office for the space of five or six weeks only, during which time he would behave himself well in the Church. AN^o DOM.
1615.

‘ *Answ.* There is no Minister but what should desire to proceed in his Ministry, seeing Ministers are called for that purpose, and not to be idle, and bury their talents. Besides, experience has shown, that when a Minister is once suspended from his office, and hindered from going on in his business, he is seldom and very difficultly restored to it. For that reason I desired that I might not be hindered from doing my duty, *not promising to preach against my conscience, or to recant my doctrines*; but only to forbear mentioning things that might offend any of my hearers; that is, to say nothing concerning the modern opinions, for the space of a few weeks, till my affair could be looked into, considered, and decided, it being unjust, that a Minister of God’s Word should be suspended and interrupted in the discharge of his office before he were convicted of having given any notable scandal either in his life or doctrine, which however was not done with respect to me, who was suspended from my Ministry before it could be proved that my opinions ran counter to the scriptures.

‘ *THAT* he had said, *the door of mercy is open, and all men may be saved that please*; seeing that it only depends on the will of men.

‘ *Answ.* These last words are equivocal, neither did I use them. I said indeed, *that the door of mercy was open to all men, and that if any went not in, it was their own fault, and not God’s*; and this I affirm to be true, and agreeable to the word of God, in which we are taught, that, *He will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the Truth*, 1 Tim. ij. 4. That Christ Jesus came into the world to save all, since *he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world*, 1 Joh. ij. 22. And that the Gospel is preached to all creatures; from whence it follows, that if any one do not attain to salvation, that does not happen for want of God’s Grace to him, but by his own neglect of the Grace of God. If then there are any that neglect the Grace of God, that does not happen through God’s Will, but their own; as Christ gives us to understand, saying to the Jews, *But these things I say, that ye might be saved*; and again, *and ye will not come to me, that ye might be saved*; Joh. v. 34, and 40. They who object against this, seem to think that a man may be saved, without the will to be saved; and that he may be accepted through Grace, without having the desire to receive that Grace till after he is actually accepted. Now this is contrary to the word of God, against human reason, and the doctrine of the Reformed church as taught in the common theological treatises of Melancthon, printed at Geneva, and approved by the Divines of that City, viz. that there are three causes of the Conversion of men; 1. The Holy Ghost. 2. The Word of God; and, 3. The Will of Man. They who deny this, make a stock or block of man, and maintain the opinions of the Predestinarians and Semi-manichees. As for what relates to the business of receiving Grace, and converting ourselves; we are unjustly accused of ascribing it to our own power, and not to God.

‘ *THAT* he has not been able to verify his doctrine.

‘ *Answ.* That is not true: For the doctrine proposed in my sermons is confirmed by nine or ten express passages in Scripture, as appears by the paper I delivered to the Consistory, which has been printed, but none of those arguments confuted.

‘ *THAT* he owns he has taught our Doctrine these fourteen years.

‘ *Answ.* Those words are equivocal; for if they mean the doctrine of the Reformed churches, I have always taught it; but if by *our*, they mean that of the Contraremonstrants, who teach, **That Christ did not come into the world to save all men, but only some**; and the like points, I have been so far from teaching those doctrines, that on the contrary, I have frequently refuted them.

‘ *THAT* he endeavoured to preach in spite of the congregation.

‘ *Answ.* This is not true: And it is well known, that a great part of the congregation were desirous I should proceed in my ministry. But it is indeed true,
X that

A^NO D^OM.

1615.

‘ that some credulous spirits, fancying that the *Remonstrants* were Traytors, as they were made to believe, and that they designed to introduce *Popery*, would possibly have absented themselves from my sermons, just as some others did at *Rotterdam* and elsewhere, who sought to promote schisms and divisions, and to set up separate Meetings, choosing Ministers according to their own fancies, who might preach to them, that their character was indelible, and that the Holy Ghost, which they had once received, could never be extinguished, and such like things. Now these men can by no means be called the church, but are only private persons in it, who maintain opinions inconsistent with those of the Church.

‘ *T H A T* he did not produce one single argument from scripture in confirmation of his doctrine.

‘ *Answ.* That is false: For the extract of the latter part of my sermon which I delivered to them, contains several texts quoted by me from scripture, to the number of nine or ten, as I said before, for the proof of what I advanced.

‘ *T H A T* he owned he had concealed, for the space of thirteen years, what side he held with.

‘ *Answ.* That is a mistake; for those doctrines which I looked upon to be false from the beginning of my Ministry, I have always opposed, especially the erroneous notions about the absolute rejection of any infant-children born of believing parents. It is true, I never attacked that doctrine so publicly and formally as in the sermon I made on the 13th of *September*, 1615. But because I never set my face against this error so positively and explicitly before, does it from thence follow, that I never might or should do it?

‘ *T H A T* the latter Declaration of Goulart is not inserted.

‘ *Answ.* That is not true: And I affirm that I proposed it in the same method as it is published, and that I inserted the same texts of scripture, and in the same number and order as they stand there.

‘ *T H A T* he cannot condemn the *Remonstrants*.

‘ *Answ.* When I was obliged to give an account of my sermon, there was no occasion of passing my judgment on the *Remonstrants*. When therefore I was asked by those of the Consistory, whether I approved of the doctrine of the *Remonstrants* or no? I looked upon it to be an unseasonable question, and told them, that what I was properly to account for, was my sermon, and not the doctrine of the *Remonstrants*.

‘ *T H A T* he administered the Sacrament of Baptism, contrary to orders.

‘ *Answ.* If there were any irregularity committed, it was by the Consistory, who contrary to all order prohibited me to preach and baptize, and if I did baptize, I did it before the Prohibition was signified to me, according to the wonted manner; and not after I was forbidden, nor contrary to order.

‘ *T H A T* he associated himself with *Remonstrants*, and with the *Magistrates*.

‘ *Answ.* Why should not I keep company with men of virtue and honour?

‘ *T H A T* he never espoused the opinions of the *Contraremonstrants* from the very beginning of his studies.

‘ *Answ.* The opinions of the *Contraremonstrants* are contradictory to the word of God and the doctrine of the *Reformed* churches, and involved in various ambiguities and contrarities; and therefore it is not strange that I could not espouse them; especially since from my very first studies, I have given into that pure and orthodox opinion, that *Christ came into the world, and there suffered death for all, and not for some only.*

‘ *T H A T*

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‘ *T H A T* for thirteen years together, he was a settled Remonstrant.

‘ *Answ.* I do not remember that I ever said so, nor is it likely that I should have said I was a *Remonstrant* above thirteen years ago; there having been no mention of any such name, till after the conference at the *Hague*, in the year 1611. From whence likewise appears the absurdity of the following accusation:

‘ *T H A T* during the space of thirteen years, he had resolved to adhere to the Remonstrants opinion.

‘ *Answ.* And suppose it were so; then had I resolved to adhere to a good and reasonable opinion, and more consistent with the doctrine of the Reformed Churches than that of the *Contraremonstrants*; as I declared not long since to one of the Deputies of *Geneva*.

‘ *T H A T* he had now brought forth what he had gone big with for thirteen years together.

‘ *Answ.* I did not say so. But I have indeed declared, that for above these thirteen years, I have looked upon this doctrine of God’s rejecting the infant children of believing parents by an absolute decree, as rash and foolish, strange and suspicious; and I have accordingly, as often as an occasion offered, preached against it. And I would beg these gainsayers, who so often, and so impertinently repeat this story of thirteen years, to resolve me one question: Whether they themselves never thought this doctrine strange and absurd? especially when they have heard it affirmed in sermons, that *Ishmael*, a child of a believing father, and *Esau*, a child both of a believing father and mother, were abandoned and hated by God from their infancy, nay from their mother’s womb? If they answer in the affirmative, why do they then wonder that another man should say the same? If in the negative, then it is plain they are of that opinion, (which yet they are ashamed to own) and will not let others speak against it; for when I refute it, you see how they use me.

‘ *T H A T* what he has published, is different from that which he preached.

‘ *Answ.* That is wrong: For I can say with certainty, that the same things which are contained in the printed paper, confirmed with the same texts of scripture, were spoken by me in the pulpit just as they are expressed; and on the contrary, that the writing which some of them have drawn up, is false and defective.

‘ *T H A T* he has defamed *Maurois* with untruths.

‘ *Answ.* I have neither spoken nor written any thing about *Maurois*, but what is very true, as appears by the confutation of his book, intituled, *Guidon a Salut*, or *Guide to Salvation*; in which he unjustly accuses me of speaking against the doctrines of the Church. But to that, and other matters as ill-grounded as that, has been answered in the treatise of *God’s Mercy towards Men*, and in the *Representation of Bassacourt’s sincerity*, and such like discourses; where also may be found the answers to all the objections of this very paper before us.

Upon this defence in writing, and what was said in behalf of him in printed treatises, *Goulart* put the merits of his cause. But besides the testimony of his own conscience, and the friendship of some persons who did not pin their faith on the sleeves of the Consistory, he found this comfort in his misfortune, that his ancient Father, who had been a Minister in the church of *Geneva* for above 48 years, did not cease to love and esteem him, though he rejected the doctrines so much in vogue in that City, and which others urged so vehemently; as appears by his familiar Letters, some of which are now in my hands: Which is an argument that the old man, who was otherwise a great stickler for *Calvin*, did not then lay so great stress upon the article of *Predestination*, as some of his brethren: He had also given a former proof of his temper and moderation in that matter, by publishing the writings

AN^o DO M. of Hemmingius, on which occasion he plainly declared: *that as to that dispute,*
1615. *people ought to bear with each other in love.*

The late Burgomaster *Hoof*t, speaks of this business of *Goulart*, on occasion of matters of the like nature, after the following manner: 'Doubtless we have no more authority over our neighbour-towns than they over us, and yet we send them our Ministers, to their great dissatisfaction, to preach among them; and as soon as ever any of our Ministers discover themselves to have different opinions, he is presently suspended as was *Goulart*. However, I believe there are many people here at *Amsterdam*, that would be glad to hear their Ministers preach with more temper, and to more edification than is commonly practised. Here we take upon us to suspend *Goulart* from his Ministry, and yet will not allow the Magistrates of other Cities, nor even the States themselves, the like authority. How is this consistent?

Thus was the Minister *Goulart* (who not long before was so much beloved, and so well heard by the *Walloon* congregation) excluded from the pulpit; yet he was suffered to enjoy his annual stipend and maintenance, till at last he together with the rest of the *Remonstrants*, was entirely discharged from his office, and banished the Land in the year 1619. But I proceed with the sequel of our divisions.

That part of the *Classis* which had separated from the *Remonstrants* of *Horn*, held their first meeting out of the *Classis*-chamber on the second of *November*, at a private house near their Conventicle.

The Contra-remonstrants of the *Classis* of *Horn* enter into a mutual engagement in opposition to the *Remonstrants*. A meeting of certain Contra-remonstrant Ministers at *Amsterdam*, which is forbidden by the States of *Holland*.

² Here they discoursed about the Association, which some of the *South Holland* Ministers endeavoured to set on foot for a *Mutual Toleration*, in order to prevent a schism; but the project was so odious to this *Classis*, that all the Members entered into a mutual engagement, and solemnly promised, by subscribing a certain paper drawn up for that purpose, that they would suffer the last extremities, rather than hold any communion with those of the *Remonstrant* persuasion, who as they thought, had disturbed the doctrine and discipline of the Church.

There met also at *Amsterdam* a little before, several Ministers without the knowledge of the States of *Holland*, in whose Journal we find the following Resolution: 'The Assembly being acquainted that there had been a meeting not long before at *Amsterdam* of several of the Clergy, to the number of thirty, or thereabouts, who came from several towns and places in *Holland* and *West Free*land, and that they gave notice there, that against the end of *September*, there should be summoned another meeting of the Clergy from several Provinces: It is therefore after mature deliberation resolved: *That such meetings, without the previous consent of the States or their Committee, are improper and unlawful, as well with respect to the Privileges, as to divers Resolutions of the States; and it is therefore thought fit that they shall not be suffered; and that for this purpose a letter be sent to the Burgomasters and Government of Amsterdam, to desire them to examine into the matter, and immediately to disperse the meeting, if any such there be, as improper and unlawful; and in case such a meeting continue to be holden there, the Senior Councillors of the High Provincial Council now present, are hereby commissioned and empowered to repair to Amsterdam, and there to represent, first to the Burgomasters, and next to the said Clergy so met, the unseasonableness and unlawfulness of such assemblies, and actually to disperse the same, declaring that whatever is, or shall be done there, shall be taken for null and void.*

How far this order was executed, does not appear. ⁴ But the famous Memoirs of *William Baudart*, acquaint us, that the Clergy of *Amsterdam* issued certain summons to the churches of other Provinces, intreating them, that upon account of the deplorable state of the Church, they would be pleased to depute some persons to meet them at *Amsterdam*, against the 17th of *September*, that they might consider how to procure a National Synod; and he adds, that they again presented a Remonstrance to the States for that purpose, but could not attain their end.

Another meeting of the Clergy at *Amsterdam*.

Uitenbogaert also makes mention of a certain Assembly of the Clergy holden about this time, which he compares to the *Trojan Horse*; from whence fallied out men, who at their return, filled every corner of the Province with dismal reports of

² Uitenb. p. 107.

³ Ibid. p. 623.

⁴ Trigl. p. 844.

⁵ Baud. Mem. Lib. VII. p. 11.

of the designs that were concealed by the *Remonstrants*. There, says he, was founded the Schism-bell, which every Minister rung out in his own Parish, though it seemed to have a little failed in the melting. What this meeting was, and whether *Uitenbogart's* expressions relate to either of the assemblies mentioned in the Resolution of the States, does not certainly appear to me.

A^NO D^OM.
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The Heer *Hugo Grotius*, in a Letter he writ to *Gerardus Jobannes Vossius*, of the 13th of October, speaks thus of this *Contraremonstrant* meeting: 'I am very much grieved at what has past in this *Amsterdam* Synod. The pretence of their meeting was to consult how they might procure a National Synod, but in the mean time they were hatching a deal of slander and reproaches against their brethren, who differ from them in opinion, and against many of the Magistrates, in order to spread them the more easily afterwards through all the Provinces. And this their project has wonderfully succeeded. There is nothing so absurd, nor so incredible, but what is greedily received, if it be told to the prejudice of those we hate. God grant them better minds! For what can we otherwise expect from a Synod thus disposed, than that the schism with which they have been long big, should break out at last.

There were great pains taken at this time to induce those Members of the Community, that were *Contraremonstrants*, to separate from the *Remonstrants*, particularly at *Gouda* and the *Hague*. *Uitenbogart* was more obnoxious to them than any; nay he was warned from *Zeland*, that it was resolved at the little Synod of the *Contraremonstrants* at *Amsterdam*, to oppose him with all their might. The dissensions ran daily higher. The Magistrates of some Towns endeavoured to put a stop to the bitter invectives in the pulpit, and to the separations; but neither their commands nor their punishments, which they ordained and sometimes inflicted upon the transgressors, were sufficiently valued. At *Rotterdam*, the Magistrates had a mind to try whether there were no means of coming to some accommodation with the *Contraremonstrants* that had made a schism in their church, and for that purpose entered into a treaty with them. But upon what occasion it was set on foot, and with what success, may be learned from two Letters of the famous *Hugo Grotius*, Pensionary of the said Town, which he writ at that time to the Regent of the Theological College at *Leyden*, *Gerardus Vossius*, which I shall not grudge to render from the Latin, and insert here.

SIR,

Since the receipt of your Letter, I have been so entangled in our Ecclesiastical differences, that I could get no time to write to you. You know, I suppose, that there was an Order published in this Town, and lately renewed (by reason of the insolence of some undutiful persons) against Conventicles or Separate meetings, with the addition of some penalties. This, which the utmost necessity of affairs extorted from us, has been misunderstood and represented in the most odious colours; upon which the Magistrates thought fit to cause some proposals to be made to the Separatists, for reestablishing the peace of the Church. They were likewise allowed to consult with some learned men on that subject; yet so, as that they were exhorted at the same time not to address themselves to any hot-headed people. Notwithstanding which caution, they took the field, and came upon us with a troop of the most litigious of their party, such as *Festus*, *Dibbetius*, *Triglandius*, *Rosæus*, and from our neighbourhood, *Begerus* and *Gruterus*. It was thought proper to hear them with patience, though it was easy to observe from the very beginning, what turn the matter was like to take, since they brought along with them the two principal causes of our schism, and a third person, who is endeavouring, in the very feat of Government, to disturb that peace, which has been long maintained there; and another, who gave us a notable sample of his moderation, in describing the disagreeing opinions by the name of *Christ* and *Belial*; Not much unlike him who pretended to refute the arguments of the *Remonstrants*, under the mask of the Devil. The Leader of all these, was one who is not less dangerous by his sly tricks, than others by their open force. When we proceeded to make the proposals for peace, they desired there might be an equal number of *Remonstrant*

A Letter of
Grotius to
Vossius con-
taining some
account of a
certain Treaty
held with the
discontented
Contrare-
monstrants
at Rotter-
dam.

* *Uitenb. Hist.* p. 635. *Life, Lib. VIII.* p. 89. *Epist. Ejusd.* p. 20. Octob. 1615. ad Vorst. Script.

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1615.

‘*strant* and *Contraremonstrant* Ministers, upon this condition, (as tending, no doubt, very much to the promoting of peace) ¹ *That they should not partake of the Lord’s Supper together*; which was as much as to say, that the symbol of peace, which was instituted by our Saviour, should remain a signal of battel or contention among us for ever. Our Ministers made answer, That there was indeed one *Remonstrant* of their number; but as to the rest, they could say nothing of them with certainty in that respect: That besides, ² *Niellius* was not chosen by our Church, but recommended by the *Walloon* Synod. Neither were they against calling any of the *Contraremonstrants* persuasion to the service of the Church, provided he behaved like a brother, and not as a party-man.

‘In the choice of *Elders*, they were likewise of opinion, that regard should only be had to true piety, without making any distinction on account of different opinions. When our adversaries, who were altogether averse to peace, rejected the proposals, the nature of the thing brought us to consider the causes of this separation. Our Ministers declared frequently, that they were very sure that nothing could be objected against them in relation to their doctrine, but the opinion of the *Remonstrants*, nor that neither, to every one of them: and as for their life and manners, there was nothing in them that could give a just pretence for separating.

‘What was alledged in defence, or rather in excuse of the schism, (for there was hardly any one that durst directly justify it) and what was said against it, amounted to this: *First*, That *Lansbergen* was reported to have said, **That Grevinkhovius was as full of heresy, as an egg is full of meat.** To which was replied, That it was too rash a Judgment, and passed before a just inquiry had been made into the dispute; and that the Consistory had been satisfied concerning that sermon, which gave *Lansbergen* an occasion of passing so severe a judgment; notwithstanding which, the Church continued in unity a whole year after: and that if any one had been offended at that sharp judgment which *Lansbergen* had passed, he ought by that example, to have become more moderate; or at least he should have complained to the *Consistory* or *Classis*; nor ought people by their private judgment, to anticipate that of the Church. *Secondly*, **That the doctrine of the Remonstrants had been publicly taught, in opposition to the word of God, and the Netherland Confession.** To this was answered, That the Church had not yet determined this difference; and that communion ought not to be broken *pendente lite*, or whilst the cause was depending: and that our Ministers did not refuse to keep themselves within the bounds of the *Confession*. *Thirdly*, **That Grevinkhovius had assisted Arminius at the Assembly of the States of Holland; and that the true doctrine of Justification was opposed by the said Arminius.** To this it was answered, That *Grevinkhovius* did not defend *Arminius* in all the points he proposed; neither, on the other hand, were all the disputes about *Justification* of equal weight and importance; and further, that the things which were transacted in the Assembly of *Holland*, under the authority of the Sovereign Power, ought not to be called in question here. *Fourthly*, **That Grevinkhovius, together with the other Remonstrants, had been of opinion that Vorstius was not unworthy of the Professorship.** The answer was, That what was said or done in this matter too, had been discussed in the Assembly of the States of *Holland*, and by their command, and was not therefore cognizable by them, neither did that concern our Church: whereupon it was also occasionally added, that those who commended *Vorstius*, did not do it with respect to all his works, but only his Confession of Faith which he made in the Assembly of the States. ³ *Fifthly*, **That Grevinkhovius had recommended Slatius to the Ministry, tho’ he was suspected of Socinianism.** To this was answered, That if *Slatius* had been guilty of any mistakes thro’ the inadvertency of youth, he ought not to suffer for it now that he is of a better mind, especially since he had been declared innocent by the Court of *Gelderland*, of that very crime now laid to his charge; and besides, that this reproach concerned *Grevinkhovius* no more than it did the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*. *Sixthly*, **That Grevinkhovius had loaded the doctrine of the Contraremonstrants with unjust consequences.** The answer was, That *Grevinkhovius* did not object to the *Contraremonstrants*

¹ Trigl. p. 621.

² Henricus Niellius, Brother to Carolus, Minister of

the Walloon Church at Utrecht.

³ Grevink. Apol. Rot. edit. 1617. p. 22.

remonstrants the consequences of their doctrines, but the very words of those au-
thors whom they applaud and follow; such as, *That God is in some sort the au-*
thor of sin. And, *That man is impelled by God to sin, in such manner, that he*
cannot help sinning. That, *Some were made to be damned.* Also, *That chil-*
dren of believers dying in their infancy, and even after baptism, are hurried to
everlasting torments. That, *He who has once believed aright, may become a*
murderer and an adulterer, and yet at the same moment remain a child of God.
And that they were never reproached with these things till after they had begun
the *Separation*, and had also loaded the opinions of the *Remonstrants* with grievous
slanders. *Seventhly, That Grevinkhovius had writ certain sharp Prefaces before*
the books of Cupus and Vorstius, and his own against Amesius. To this was an-
swered, That it did not appear who was the author of the Prefaces to the books
of *Copus* and *Vorstius*; and as for that against *Amesius*, it was published long after
the *Separation*. *Eighthly, That Grevinkhovius had approved a certain little*
Tract of Venator, full of heresies. This was simply denied, and the testimony
rejected. *Ninetbly, That Geseius was turned out at the instigation of the Mi-*
nisters. It was answered, This was done by the Magistrates; and that they had
consulted the States before they did it; neither was it on account of those opinions
which he promoted, (since it happened long before the Call of *Colonus* and *Niel-*
lius) but because of his seditious preaching. Besides, it was answered in general
to all the foregoing objections, that whatever *Grevinkhovius* was singly charged
with, could not affect the other Ministers.

Then *Festus* and the others were asked, *Whether the lesser part of the congre-*
gation ought to refuse communion with their lawful Ministers for such things that
were partly not proved, and partly not inquired into, without any trial or judgment
of a Consistory, Classis or Synod; and not only shun bearing them, but also form a
new Congregation and a new Consistory, when at the same time nobody, according
to the usual rules, had the power to appoint Elders within this Community? But
they could never be prevailed on to deliver their opinions. All that they urged
on that head was, That we ought to give way to the people in a ferment. *Beyerus*
said unawares, *That if they should show us any tokens of brotherhood, it might come to*
pass, that they, as well as our Ministers, would be deserted by their Flocks. Whereas
we are entirely of opinion, that if, instead of soothing the people's passions, they had
done their best to instruct them right, and represented to them the injustice of se-
parating from Pastors that are blameless, we might have already obtained the peace
of the Church, which we so earnestly pant after.

They have taken till next *Thursday* to answer to some questions proposed to
them by our *Consistory*, that so we may the better understand their mind concern-
ing some points of the Formulary of agreement which they drew up. Thus stand
our matters.

The latter part of the letter relates to certain treatises of the Minister *William Teeling*, as follows:

— I have considered the letter of *William Teeling*, and do very much appre-
hend, that the simplicity of the man will be abused by some people, who aim at
nothing more than to get out of you, your opinion concerning the present disputes,
and so to render your labours useless to your country. However, I think there
ought to be an answer returned, but with prudence. You are well enough satisfied
that there is nothing of what his letter speaks, lurking under these differences,
and that none of our Governours do under-hand foment them; but on the contra-
ry, that many have done their utmost to compose them: that they are only Theo-
logical controversies of people whose names were well known before now: neither
does it appear to you, that there are any other views than what the state of the
difference, declared on both sides in the *Conference* at the *Hague*, has publicly gi-
ven to understand. Nor can it be justly said of the Magistrates, that they do not
think these differences worth the parings of their nails, since they have employed
so much of their time in examining into, weighing and adjusting them. Therefore
if any of them may have drop't such an expression, it is not fair that it should be
imputed to the rest. With such a temper and spirit as this, I think you may dis-
charge the duty you owe to the Higher Powers, and yet give no handle to slander
and

AN^o DOM. 1615. and false reports. Farewel, Sir, and assist with your counsel and prayers this poor church, and him in particular, who is

7 Novemb.
1615.

Your most affectionate,

HUGO DE GROOT.

During this treaty, the Consistory presented the following Paper, on the 5th of November, to the Magistrates, by whom it was sent to the dissenting Burghers and the country Ministers their assistants.

A Paper delivered by the Consistory of Rotterdam to the Magistrates, containing their Thoughts of the Treaty of Peace.

ACCORDING to the desire and command of your Worships, which were yesterday signified to us, to the end we should consider of the Remonstrance and Memorial of our dissenting brethren and their assistants, and give you our advice thereupon; we the Ministers and Elders of the *Reformed* church of this place, think it our duty to represent and declare to you, that none of us, to the best of our knowledge, ever exceeded the bounds of holy Scripture in the doctrines we taught or preached, that being the only rule of saving truth, nor the *Netherland Confession*, which is the formulary of our unity with all the rest of the *Reformed* churches, nor even went beyond the *Catechism*: and that therefore none have just cause to separate from our communion, either in relation to Doctrine, or to the use of the holy Sacraments.

As for what belongs then to the present differences, we do not deny that there are some among us, who espouse the opinions of the *Remonstrants*, contained in their *Remonstrance*; but besides, that this can be no just occasion or pretence for separating from us, so neither is there any thing taught concerning those matters in our church, except in such forms or expressions, which, according to the opinion and resolution of the States, do most of all tend to union and edification: all the Ministers being also ready to act and proceed upon the foot of moderation contained in the afore said resolution made in the month of *January*, 1614.

And in case any body pretends to accuse any of the said Ministers with respect to any other points of doctrine, whether in reference to the Truth, or Orthodox opinion, or with regard to their Unity with other *Reformed* churches, the Ministers humbly pray that it may be done immediately, being actually prepared to prove their innocency, to the end that none may ground any lawful or just separation thereupon.

They are no less ready to defend themselves against any excuses that may be brought for a separation, with respect to their lives, actions and behaviour.

Notwithstanding all which, we are contented that the vacant places of Ministers and Elders be filled and supplied by the best qualified persons, and such as are blameless in their life and conversation, and disposed for peace, in order to serve the Church with us in true unity, without regarding their private opinions as to the differences treated of at the *Conference*.

In like manner we are contented, that when the place of a Minister happens to be void, the fittest person, with respect to life and behaviour, that can be found, shall fill it; without passing any one by, because he is of the *Remonstrant* or of the *Contraremonstrant* party; provided he be willing to maintain all brotherly and ecclesiastical unity with the Ministers that are his colleagues, pursuant to the intention and resolutions of the States of *Holland* and *West Freeeland*.

Upon such a foot, and upon what may with the greatest reason be further added in order to the preservation of christian unity (towards which we shall always be entirely disposed) during the present differences, till they can be composed by a lawful Synod, authorized and impowered by the Government, or otherwise; we believe that brotherly love, peace and communion ought and may be maintained among us without any violation of conscience, to the no small increase and edification of the *Reformed* church.

As on the contrary we judge it most highly pernicious and hurtful to the *Christian Reformed* church, that any other measures should be taken, whereby the separation with respect to the preaching the word of God, the administration of the

Sacraments,

‘ Sacraments, and the Government of the Church might be countenanced, and so de-AN^o D^o M.
 ‘ rived to our posterity. 1615.
 ‘ All which we are ready to declare by word of mouth, with the addition of good
 ‘ and solid arguments.

The second Letter of the Heer *Grotius* to the Professor *Vossius*, after mentioning other matters, goes on with the preceding account in these words :

‘ After these men, who had no small aversion to the Peace, for promoting of which
 ‘ they had been called together, were returned, (*Festus* only being detained at home
 ‘ by reason of some troubles, which you know better than I,) they began, as if
 ‘ they had received some new encouragement under-hand, to bring fresh accusations
 ‘ against *Grevinkbovius*, many of which were upon dubious matters, and without
 ‘ proofs. *First* They charged him with having taught, contrary to the sense of the
 ‘ *Catechism*, That the Justice of God did not require a satisfaction, but that Christ
 ‘ satisfied only by virtue of the Covenant of Grace. He answered, That he never
 ‘ had denied that the Divine Justice required satisfaction; but that he had affirmed,
 ‘ That the Divine Wisdom had interposed as Mediatrice between Justice, which rigo-
 ‘ rously exacted it, and Mercy, which inclined to spare men. This was what he had
 ‘ maintained and held for truth, calling it a Covenant of Grace with respect to us,
 ‘ but not in regard to Christ. *Secondly*, That he maintained the Possibility of fulfil-
 ‘ ling the Law. To this he answered, That he had only shown how the author of
 ‘ the *Catechism*, having proposed the question of the Possibility, had returned such
 ‘ an answer, by which the *Act* was much rather denied than the Possibility. That
 ‘ *Austin* also had judged this dispute to be of such a nature, as that it might be variously
 ‘ handled without breach of peace among *Catholicks*; but that *Jerom* went further
 ‘ yet, and pronounced an anathema against such as affirmed, That it was impossible
 ‘ to keep the Commandments of God. At last they agreed herein, That it was no
 ‘ absurdity to say, That man can fulfil the Law by the Grace of God, because it is
 ‘ not impossible for God to give him Grace sufficient for that purpose. Which *Gre-*
 ‘ *vinkbovius* explained thus: That if they discoursed of the outward act referred to
 ‘ by the letter of the Law, viz. *Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal*; he believed
 ‘ the Law could be, and had been fulfilled in this sense. But that if they meant
 ‘ the internal part, especially the perfection of Charity or Love, this was not to be
 ‘ met with among us in the present life, but related only to that Love which will take
 ‘ place in the next. He added, that the *Catechism* spoke of that perfection, com-
 ‘ pared with what will be attained to in the future life. But that if any one should
 ‘ say, the perfection which is suitable to the state of our pilgrimage, had no place in
 ‘ this life, he would contradict himself. *Thirdly*, They accused him of saying, That
 ‘ the Reformed Religion was but forty years old. To which he answered, That he
 ‘ absolutely denied the charge; being of opinion that the Reformed religion was as
 ‘ old as the Apostolical age; but that the Reformation itself was not of above forty
 ‘ years standing; and therefore it did not become us, who reject the *Papish* argument
 ‘ from antiquity, to object the want of it to others. *Fourthly*, That he had spoken
 ‘ contemptuously of the *Catechism*. He answered, That he likewise disowned it.
 ‘ He had indeed occasionally declared, That our way did not please him; to wit,
 ‘ the reading and expounding the *Catechism* to the people, after the same manner, and
 ‘ with the like reverence, as is shown in reading and expounding the holy Scriptures;
 ‘ whereas in other towns they read some chapters out of the holy Scriptures, before they
 ‘ expound the *Catechism*; or else, by covering their heads, denote the difference of au-
 ‘ thority between divine and humane writings. It was moreover objected, that he had
 ‘ spoken of God’s Providence after so odd a manner, that many were scandalized at
 ‘ it; but as nobody alledged particulars, no answer could be made to it. Then the
 ‘ *Contraremonstrant* Ministers were asked, Whether they had any thing more to
 ‘ offer against *Grevinkbovius*? to which they replied, No. Then were they asked
 ‘ two or three times, Whether they had any thing to say to the four other *Remon-*
 ‘ *strant* Ministers; to wit, *Francis* and *Samuel Lansbergen*, *Christopher Hellerus*,
 ‘ and *Henry Niellius*. They held their peace. We told them, we should look up-
 ‘ on silence as a confession of their innocence.

‘ To some of the questions proposed by our Consistory, with respect to the For-
 ‘ mulary, which they had received not long before from the Ministers of the other
 ‘ party,

A second Letter of Grotius, with a farther Account of the Progress and Issue of the Treaty at Rotterdam. Articles exhibited against Grevinkbovius, with his Defence.

AN^O DOM.
1615.

party the said Ministers answered: *That there was a certain Fraternity or Association on account of the Netherland Confession, and the more any man departed from it, the less was he to be deemed of that fraternity.* But as this was alledged by them in justification of those among the people that refused to join with their Ministers in the participation of the Lord's Supper, I put the following question to them: *Whether they would admit to the Communion any English or Swiss Ministers, differing from us in this or that matter?* They durst not answer negatively. From whence it sufficiently appeared, that their new invented brotherhood had no relation to the business of the Sacrament. I likewise asked them: *In testimony of what brotherhood Christ had instituted the Communion of his body?* But neither durst they shelter themselves behind the Netherland Confession upon this question.

An Exhortation of Gro-
tius to the Mi-
nisters who as-
sisted at the
Treaty.

Finally, I earnestly conjured them in the name of the Magistrates, that they would testify their mutual love and charity, by joining in the communion of the Lord's Supper, that Divine Eucharist, that true Badge of Love; for, the separation from such a church, in which they acknowledged that men might continue with a safe conscience, could not be justified by any arguments; nor was any Separation warrantable, unless it was absolutely necessary, such as that from a society which has corrupted religion with idolatry; or where a religion is depraved by heresie, that is, with doctrines which subvert the foundation. That indeed in such cases every man was left to his own liberty. And as for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, it was not instituted for a test of our being all of the same mind in theological controversies; but to show that we are all brothers in Christ our elder brother, and members of that body of which he is the head.

This assertion was confirmed by the authority of the French Synod, of the King and Bishops of England, by that of Du Moulin, Perkins, and Piscator, by the resolutions of the States, and the examples of our neighbouring towns. That the dispute, whether the Remonstrants had departed from the Confession, was still depending; and that it was not just to quit or renounce communion with them, till that question was resolved. That in old times the worst of Hereticks were never shut out from communion, till the church had given judgment. That it was not the holding communion, but the with-holding it, that was the cause of so much evil and mischief.

Proposals made
them in the
name of the
Magistracy.

And when they would afterwards have trumped up fresh accusations against Grovinkhovius, they were told, that he had already given satisfaction as to the most of them. But however, if there still remained any prejudices against him, the Magistrates thought fit, that the cognizance and determination of all that was urged against him should be referred to an Ecclesiastical assembly, composed of persons free from the suspicion of party-interest: Moreover, that there should be a certain Plan or Formulary drawn up with respect to the doctrinal points that are now controverted, for promoting peace and edification. It was likewise occasionally hinted, that the differences were really very small, though they would seem to make them so great.——As for the remaining points, they should be restrained to the Confession and Catechism; and if any one wandered from those paths, he should be abandoned to the censures of the Church.——That there should be chosen for Elders, such only who excelled in piety, without considering whether they were Remonstrants or of the other party, or of no party at all.——The same impartiality should be exerted in the appointing Ministers as often as any vacancy happened.——

A Request of
the Contra-
remonstrant
Separatists,
with the An-
swer of the Ma-
gistrates.

These matters being thus proposed on the part of the Magistrates; the Country Ministers, after having deliberated on them with the others, returned this Answer: *That the Formularies of Moderation, in the business of Doctrine, had been tried hitherto with little effect; and that they would not undertake an affair of so great moment without consulting the Churches.* That there was no prospect of bringing the common people back to communion with their Ministers. And they earnestly prayed, that the separate meetings might be tolerated in the Town.——The Magistrates replied, that this was without a precedent in this part of Holland, and in case any of the towns in West Freeeland were reduced to such streights, their state was too deplorable to become a pattern to others. That it was also contrary to the resolution of the Lords, the States, with which they were determined as faithfully

faithfully to comply, as they desired to be obeyed themselves by their Burghers; and that it was but just that people should submit to the laws of the Province in this matter, especially when the peace of the City required it. That consciences were not confined to places; that formerly the Magistracy of *Bern*, when such like differences arose among them, punished those people with Fines that went to receive the Sacrament of the Country Ministers. Here the Burghers were permitted to hear the word of God preached by whom they would, and likewise to receive the Sacrament in strange places, without a certificate from their own church, which is contrary to the Ecclesiastical Canons. That the Order of the Magistrates had been now promulgated these three years past, and it was to be hoped, that they who had hitherto submitted to it, had some conscience. And if they pretended to frame to themselves new rules of conscience, not prescribed by the laws of God, they, the Magistrates, would not be wanting to assert their own and the States authority according as their consciences should direct them. They therefore warned the Burghers not to disturb the peace of the Town, nor infringe the duty they owed to the Laws, which might draw upon them the just indignation of their Rulers. The Ministers of both parties were intreated to consider further about the restoring unity, with a reserve for liberty of conscience in these differences. The Magistrates also promised to use their utmost care and diligence, as well among themselves, as with the Nobility and other towns, in finding out proper means for the healing of these distempers. Lastly, they were exhorted to beseech God to influence the minds of the Magistrates, Ministers, and Communities, and to incline them to such godly counsels as might end in their mutual happiness. And so they parted. Farewel, most Learned Sir,

AN^O D^O M.
1615.

An Exhortation to Obedience.

Your very affectionate Friend,

Novemb. 13.

1615.

HUGO DE GROOT.

The Proposal made by the Magistrates, to which *Grotius* refers in the Letter above, was committed to writing and presented, containing what follows:

A larger Account of the Proposal made by the Magistrates of Rotterdam, in order to appease the discontented Citizens.

The BURGOMASTERS, SCHEPENS, and COUNCIL, do hereby declare, as their Resolution and Order:

That the Ministers of this Town, together with their Assistants among the Burghers, shall prepare a proper Formulary of Doctrine, which may be made use of to the edification, peace, and repose of every one's conscience, with respect to the points in dispute.

Also that all future sermons shall be adapted to God's holy Word, as the rule of Faith; and to the Confession, as a Formulary of Unity; and likewise to the Christian Catechism.

That whatever has passed, be mutually forgotten; and if there remains any thing upon which it is expected that satisfaction be given, the same may be left to the decision of impartial persons.

That the Consistory do forthwith take all possible care for establishing order, and banishing confusion out of the Church, consulting, if necessary, the Burgomasters and Governors of this Town.

That in elections of Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, the proceedings be henceforth impartial, without excluding any one from the Ministry on account of his opinions about the points in dispute, provided he be a person breathing true christian peace.

The aforesaid Burgomasters, Schepens, and Council promise, that in case unity can be obtained upon this plan, and what may further appear fit to be added according to the circumstances of the times, they will be ready not only to treat the aforesaid Burghers and others with all tenderness, but likewise to provide, to the utmost of their power, any further remedies which may tend to settle the churches of this country in perfect peace and tranquillity.

Upon these proposals the Consistory declared, that they were ready to act accordingly; but their adversaries, as we have already said, viewed these differences in another light.

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1615.

An Agreement
concluded be-
tween the Re-
monstrants
and Contra-
remonstrants
at Leyden.

Duinglo, a
Remonstrant
Minister, called
at Leyden.

Kuchlinus,
a Contrare-
monstrant,
called.

At Leyden things seemed to incline towards an accommodation; the whole Consistory came into it (the Ministers having first consulted together about it by themselves) and, on the 29th of December of the foregoing year, mutually agreed that the number of Elders should be brought to an equality of persons of both parties, and that there should be none admitted but such as resolved to keep a good correspondence with each other in the administration of the Sacrament, and upon all occasions; and that such an equality should be thenceforwards observed, the approbation of the Magistrates being first had. Upon which they jointly proceeded in June this year, to the calling of Ministers of both denominations; insomuch, that *Festus Hommius*, that principal Buckler of the *Contraremonstrants*, did himself write, sign, and seal the Call of *Bernardus Duinglo*, a known *Remonstrant*; and the Minister *Daniel Colonius*, *Festus's* Second, concurred in bringing it about, the whole Consistory and Magistracy unanimously applauding the same. The Minister *Hermannus Kuchlinus*, Brother-in-law to *Festus*, and a *Contraremonstrant*, was about the same time, and upon the same foot, called from *Edam* to *Leyden*, and, in the month of November, admitted by the Court of Justice, upon the following terms:

An Act, con-
taining the
conditions on
which Kuch-
linus was re-
ceived as Mi-
nister by the
Magistrates.

‘ WHEREAS the Reverend and Pious *Hermannus Kuchlinus* has been legally called, by the Magistracy and Consistory of this town of *Leyden*, to the Ministration of the word of God; and being accordingly proposed to the Church, was, upon the 22d of this current month of November, without any just opposition, confirm’d in the said Ministration according to the ecclesiastical manner, and with the usual solemnities: Be it therefore known to all men, that the Magistrates belonging to the Courts of Justice, have received and appointed, and do by these Presents receive and appoint him the said *Hermannus Kuchlinus* as Ordinary Minister and Teacher of the word of God in the churches of this town, to the end that he may be invested with, and piously and worthily discharge that office, to the honour of God, and edification of the Community; performing both in teaching, exhorting, comforting, reproving, and all good services to which an honest, diligent, and watchful Teacher, Preacher, and Minister of the divine word is bound and obliged, according to the directions of the holy scriptures. And forasmuch as (the Lord help us!) there have arisen in the church certain disputes concerning God’s holy *Predestination* and the points relating thereto, contained in *Five Articles*, about which, with respect to mutual toleration, the States of this country have already come to some resolutions, and design to proceed farther; he the said *Kuchlinus* is hereby required to behave himself in his Ministry conformably to the aforesaid resolutions; and consequently to maintain a good understanding and brotherly correspondence with all his Collegues, without taking notice of, or making any distinction between them on account of their opinions, with respect to the aforesaid *Five Articles*; and to assist them in all ecclesiastical offices, to frequent their sermons, and likewise to exhort the community in publick and private, and upon all occasions where it may tend to edification; and moreover, to instruct the people in the christian doctrine, as received and hitherto practised in the churches of *Holland*; and, as far as in him lies, and human infirmities do allow, to be a pattern to the Community, and actually to testify, that his life does not contradict his doctrine; and in general, to direct all his preaching and acting to the honour of God, the edification of the Community, the peace and tranquility of the Church, and good of this City; and particularly to keep at all times a friendly correspondence with the Magistrates, and to admonish and conduct the people to that duty and respect which they owe their lawful Governours; and for so far as is in his power, and within the bounds of the trust committed to him, to promote mutual peace and unity, without fomenting or approving any quarrels, dissensions, or party-interest. And lastly, to become a Burgher of the town, and accordingly to take the same oath to the Government thereof, as all other Burghers are wont to do: For all which he shall have and enjoy the usual stipend and recompence of Eight hundred Guilders yearly, at the rate of Forty Groate (or Halfpence) per Gilder, commencing from the 22d of the current month of November, and payable every quarter in equal sums,

* See B. Duinglo’s Relation of the Nullity of the Synod of Dort, Part II. p. 101. Printed 1622. See likewise Trigl. Hist. p. 622. and Uitenbogart’s Life, Lib. IX. p. 141.

‘ fums, by the hands of the Treasurer, or Receiver of the Rents of the Chapter at *Hoogenland*, he the said *Kuchlinus* giving a discharge for the same; over and above which, there shall be allowed him the sum of one hundred and fifty Gilders for the hire of his house, for which there shall be particular order given to the said Receiver. Done upon the 27th of November, in the year 1615. And in testimony thereof there were two Counterparts of this Agreement mutually signed by the said Hermannus Kuchlinus, whereof each party is to keep one.

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Signed,

J. VAN SWANENBURG.

HERMANNUS KUCHLINUS.

By these solemn engagements in writing, the Magistrates were in hopes of strengthening the Peace; but *Kuchlinus*, after having been admitted to the Ministry at *Leyden*, in the manner we have seen, shewed little inclination to maintain any friendship or communion with the *Remonstrants*, treading soon after the paths of the rest of his brethren of the other side, who looked upon a *Separation* to be absolutely necessary, and promoted it accordingly.



The End of the Twenty Second Book.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN and ABOUT the
LOW-COUNTRIES.

BOOK XXIII.

AN^O DOM
1615.

Troubles at
Harlem.



THE love of strife and contention, which had diffused itself through the whole Land, passing from town to town, arrived about this time at *Harlem*; where it met with fuel enough to feed upon, and occasioned many troubles, not so much upon the differences in religious matters, or with reference to any articles of our Belief, as with respect to the order and manner of calling persons to Ecclesiastical offices. The Magistrates endeavoured to put in practice the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the year 1591, as to the choice of Ministers and Consistories, pursuant to the authority given them by the Resolution of the States about this matter. Some of the Clergy were for submitting to the Constitution; others, though fewer in number, violently opposed it, and formed a great party among the people. They cried, that the Constitution was unscriptural and unedifying; that the promoters of it were *Arminians* and *Pelagians*, and would fain have persuaded the people that the design was to alter their religion, or at least to make innovations in it. This was the ground of the quarrel, which produced great mischief, with unexpressible alienation of men's minds.

It happened this year that the Heer *Gerrard vander Lane*, quondam Burgomaster of *Harlem*, falling into discourse with some of the Consistory at the Stadthouse, in the presence of the other Magistrates, there past such high words between them, that the said Consistory thought fit to depute some of their body to him about it, and to require satisfaction for what he had said, proposing four questions to him. He answered them at first by word of mouth, but considering further of the matter, and being of opinion, that they designed to make him accountable to the Consistory for words spoken in the exercise of his office, as a Magistrate, in the Stadthouse; he judged it more adviseable to open his mind in writing to *Henricus Geesteranus*, one of the Town Ministers, desiring him to communicate the same to the Consistory. This he did by a Letter, in which he sufficiently explained the occasion of his dispute with the Consistory; but, as some think, he handled the fore which was intended to be cured, a little too roughly, speaking in the following stile.

Reverend Mr. Geesteranus:

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1615.

*A Letter of
the Heer Ger-
ard vander
Laen, to H.
Geesteranus
one of the Mi-
nisters of the
City of Har-
lem.*

THE love which I heartily bear to the welfare of the *Christian Reformed* Religion, in which I have been brought up from my infancy, and in which I hope through the grace of God, stedfastly to persevere to the end of my life, together with what I owe to the good of my Country, obliges me more seriously to attend in this my old age, to the actions and proceedings of those turbulent and ambitious spirits, who cover their designs with the specious pretext of zeal for religion, though tending to the scandal and ruin of it. To the end that I may view these matters in a clear light, I first run through all the transactions since the Pacification of *Gant*, as well those more ancient in the *Walloon Netherlands*, as those of later date, in *Brabant* and *Flanders*; and having taken the pains to inquire into the grounds and occasions of the joint defection of those Provinces from our holy Religion, and the destruction of the prosperous state of that Country, I find in short (for I am obliged to say a great deal in the narrow compass of this paper) that the only reason was; *that the Chickens were for soaring beyond their height*. Then I proceed to consider what was intended to have been done in the Earl of *Leicester's* time, in the United Provinces, still upon the same *Flemish* foot, and under the cloak of zeal for religion: In which we may observe, that the principal actors were chiefly such as fled from the abovementioned *Walloon* Provinces, and from *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and who had been kindly received and treated here. Their first attempt was to render the Government of the States odious, and to throw them out of the saddle after the *Flemish* fashion, to the end that they might the more easily reduce our dear Country into the same condition with that of the *Walloons* and *Flemings*, by animating and exasperating the common people to things that did not become them. I know very well it will be objected, that these are meer calumnies, and that we reflect upon people that are innocent. Must I then with sorrow disclose the truth, and speak out plainly? The Clergy with their adherents would have obliged the States, by a strange way of proceeding, to send their Deputies to *Bourbourg* in *Flanders*, to make peace with the King of *Spain*, in order to be delivered, as they called it, from the yoke of Republican Government, and to return to the obedience of a great Monarch, with whom, as they pretended, the free exercise of their religion might be stipulated. I do not think any body will call upon me to name those people, which yet would be no hard matter, since they are well known both by their christian and surnames, and their posterity are still with us. Would to God I might say they were not too of the same temper! * If the States at that time had not more valued the good of the Subject, than the common rumours, and acted with courage, conduct, prudence and caution for the preservation of our religion; or if they had hearkened to these zealots, who were for governing alone in matters of religion; pray tell me, what would have become of the pure Reformed Church within the space of three months? Who would have ordered our Men of War towards the *Flemish* Coast, to divert the *Spanish* invincible Armada, which was just about to thunder upon us? And must we not have been obliged to set open the Harbours of *Holland* and *Zeland* for the convenience of the *Spanish* Fleet, to the end that their invasion of *England* might have been rendered the more feasible? And yet have we not seen how these very zealots cross the Seas to and fro between this and *England*? And are not their Letters and Addresses still in being? These folks think that in such matters we ought to have the memories of flies, which though they five or six times escape the stroke of the hand, yet still return to the same place till they be crushed to death. No, this will serve for an everlasting *Memento* to the *Hollanders*, and a wholesome instruction to the Magistrates, that it belongs to them in particular to watch for their Church and State, without suffering those weak brothers to tamper with either. — But I shall keep the rest of my reflections for another time, since if I were to describe all the exploits of these people, it would take me up above a hundred quires of paper. It is true, they do not care to hear of it, neither do I willingly uncover this pot of Roses. Would to God that

* So says Ennius of Fabius Maximus: Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.

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that it were a secret! And I heartily wish that not the fourth part of what I say were true. They who seriously reflect upon these matters, and sometimes make use of them as warnings, are called *Atheists* and *Freethinkers*; because they check the ambitious projects of such hypocrites, and endeavour to secure the welfare of the Church and peace of the Land. But though wise men ought to yield a little to the ignorance or folly of some, yet they must go on in their designs for the public good. For what progress would the traveller make in his journey, if he stopt at the barking of every little cur? We know very well that many honest Ministers, and good-natured men may have been misled, nay that they have actually been misled and deceived. We know also what contradictions they have to suffer, as soon as their eyes begin to be opened, and that they endeavour to redress their mistakes. Then are they called Trimmers, and Apostates. The same thing befel *Saul*, when he was so happily turned into *Paul*: What must we do then? Nothing, but be patient and easy, act honestly, and with our accusers their right senses. He must be blind, that does not see how they are going to lead up the old *Leicestrian* dance at *Harlem*, under the pretence that the Magistrates concern themselves too much with church-affairs, to which purpose they make use of all the old *Papish cant*. A man must be a fool that cannot see it, and very ignorant that will not believe it. Wo to him that pretends to light us with a firebrand, and pours oil into the fire, in order to extinguish it! Perhaps I shall be asked, whether the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* and *Enkhusen* are not as wise and honest as those of *Leyden* and *Harlem*. But he that can see never so little, knows what is hatching at *Amsterdam*, and why. The most discreet part of that Government, are sufficiently sensible of it too. I shall therefore say no more at present, than what those who in the year 1578 were driven out of *Amsterdam*, contrary to the solemn promises given them, were heard to say: *That they bequeathed the old Cow to those who drove them from thence*. I shall leave it to somebody else to compare the great hardships and cruelties formerly put in practice by the *Papists* whilst they reigned, with what has since been done by the persons that now sit upon the very cushions of those whom they have expelled. Mark the event. It is likewise sufficient for me to know, that the people of *Enkhusen* have circumvented those of *Horn* in the trade of the *Danish* cattle. I shall therefore conclude my Preface, which is spun out to a greater length than I designed, and proceed to the principal design of my Letter.

You know, Mr. *Geeftermanus*, that it is my custom, after having discoursed, consulted, or treated of any weighty matter with others, from whence any inconvenience might arise, to keep some short notes of what past, to the end that the questions, answers, and rejoinders may not slip wholly out of my mind, nor be wrested, or represented to different purposes from what they were designed for. Accordingly, I have taken notes of what two of the Deputies of the Consistory said to me yesterday. And though I could never have imagined that the Consistory, while they were exhorting the Magistrates to do their duty, and reproving them for their faults, (at a time when they executed their office in doing justice to the subjects, over whom they were placed by the supreme government) would have had the confidence to require an account and explanation of what one of their body had proposed in Council, yet I thought fit to wink at it then. Though, I say, the points of enquiry proposed by the two Deputies, appeared very odd and strange, and not a little surprized me, yet did I not fail to answer kindly and readily to four questions which they put to me: notwithstanding I thought I had sufficiently declared my mind upon the same before in the Stadthouse; as I yesterday could observe, that you still remember'd the declaration I then made concerning the difference between the *Apostolical* church and the present *Reformed* churches. I confess indeed, that those four questions being put to me unawares, I did not so well apprehend the sense and force of them as I have since done, when by committing them to writing, as well as I could remember them after the conference, I have been able to weigh and understand them better. For I must freely own, I was not a little surprized and embarrassed, when I heard my self applied to in the following manner: *The Consistory commanded us some time ago, to wait upon you, to the end you might further explain your self upon certain propositions which they think you made somewhat rudely to some of their body at the Stadthouse.*

‘ Stadthoufe. And forasmuch as you being a Member of the Reformed Church, A^N D^O M.
‘ and living mostly in the country, have taken no proper leave of the Church, they 1615.
‘ are of opinion that you ought to make the aforesaid explanation. Upon which,
‘ the proposals I made having been repeated, there followed the four Questions.

‘ First, *Whether I did not own the Reformed to be the Apostolical Church?*

‘ Secondly, *Whether I thought the Election of Ministers was not under the influence of the Holy Ghost?*

‘ Thirdly, *What moved me to assert that most of the Gentlemen of the Consistory looked upon that Minister to be the most orthodox in doctrine, who shewed the greatest courage in opposing the Magistrates?*

‘ Fourthly, *Whether I pretended that the Magistracy had an entire jurisdiction over the Consistory.*

‘ However, I think I answered so largely, distinctly, and properly to every one of them, that no body will require any further explanation on that account; for without any evasion or disguising the matter, I showed the errors and great defects that induced me to offer my propositions, and complained of the little regard that was had to the remedies; which is the cause that the *Reformed* religion is become a jest to its enemies: And in doing thus, I thought I acted like a good christian. And I am still ready, and always shall be, to explain my self both by word of mouth, and in writing, though I was under no obligation to make any such declaration, but in the place where I made my proposals. In the mean while, I recommend to the Consistory to reflect upon the great rashness they have been guilty of, in presuming to call a Magistrate before their Tribunal, to give an account of what he has done in the exercise of his office; and I declare, that neither I my self, nor the Burgomasters (for it concerns every one of them) can admit of those lame excuses which they make, or may hereafter make on this occasion. For the very manner of their application easily discovers the design of the Consistory. I do not believe that the Gentlemen of that body, though they may take me to be blind, can suppose I have lost all my other senses. The able and judicious Magistrate, who by infallible experience, and the instruction of past dangers, has learned to know the Pharisaical leaven, the remnants of Popish ambition, and the temper of some of our Clergymen, ought seriously to reflect upon the example of this domineering message, and consider whether any honest peaceful man that should dare censure the ambition of these people, would be able to walk the streets, if the insolence of some of their Order were not restrained. I solemnly protest, I do not here speak of any one particular person among the Clergy, much less of the whole body of them in general, since I acknowledge, and bless God for it with all my heart, that we have among us an infinite number of worthy, pious, learned, peaceable Ministers, Elders, and other Ecclesiastical persons, some of which are publicly known, and others are forced to conceal their opinions, not daring so much as whisper because of the tyranny of our Conscience-oppressors: I speak of those only whom the great King of *Great Britain*, in his *Basilicon Doron*, or Royal Gift to his Son, has drawn and exposed in their natural colours: who, *says he*, would govern the actions of Emperors, Kings, Princes, and all earthly powers, according to their narrow consciences: Who are so squeamish, that they cannot digest the least bit that offends or goes against their ambitious spirituality: then their gall immediately bursts, so that bitterness flows out of their mouths. These are certainly deplorable remarks, but those whom they do not concern, will not apply them to themselves. Would to God they might all of them see their faults, and having once discovered their distemper, would begin to study for healing medicines!

‘ I very much respect the Prophetical and Apostolical office, not only on account of its great necessity, but especially for what the scriptures testify concerning it; as I also highly esteem the persons of all godly Ministers, whilst they keep within the bounds of their profession, shewing them most willingly all honour, respect,

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respect, and cordial love, as stewards of the mysteries of God, who by the diligent and exemplary exercise of their office, and the right use of the heavenly Keys, according to the directions of the Gospel, will hereafter be advanced to shine with the Angels, and to judge the twelve Tribes with the Apostles. — But as for any other power of the Keys, and that authority which some claim, whether from possession, or from the testimony of Ecclesiastical writers, as nothing of it is to be found in the Gospel, and they bear false witness to their own advantage, I reject it entirely. I know very well what the *Greek, Roman* and modern Authors talk of their power, composing a medley of *Levitical, Pagan* and other barbarous and trifling ceremonies, which they have introduced instead of the simplicity of the Christian Religion: Not considering that when our Saviour had finished all things, and rent the Vail in the *Jewish* Temple, all ceremonies vanished, and that then the time was come of which he spake to the woman of *Samaria*, John iv. 21. &c. saying: *Woman believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father.* And again: *But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit, and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and truth.* Such lessons ought in these our days, and in all places, to be written in letters of gold.

As for what concerns the Government ordained by the Apostles for the persecuted Church, and that which is now exercised by such as complain they lye under the Cross, I leave it as I find it. As in perusing the Histories from the times of the Apostles to this very day, I find a thousand different sorts of Church-governments; so I find great variety in the *Reformed* churches, as in *France, Swisserland, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden*, in the *Palatinate*, in *Hesse*, at *Geneva*, and elsewhere; for in each of these, the sovereign powers restore or establish such Order and Government as they judge most suitable to times and places. The greatest confusion is in the *United Netherlands*, where there are as many sorts of Ecclesiastical disciplines as towns. And why? because the Consistory of each town believe they are Kings of it. And why do they think so? because they commit sacrilege, and without all right and reason arrogate to themselves the supream christian authority. Is not this true? do not we see what a pother they make, if the Civil Magistrates attempt to meddle as they think proper in their affairs? One might make a long discourse upon this subject; and sometime or other it may be, I shall write a large History, and prove that from the beginning of the Christian church to this very age, the Clergy, for the most part, have always aimed at being uppermost, and have played the game into their own hands; that they are every where alike, and none of them one hair's breadth holier than the rest. If you touch them in their authority, they cry out all alike loud, with great confusion and scandal. And since this diversity can never pass for Order, much less for Gospel, but rather for meer Babylonish jarring; and since for a long time those men called Elders and Deacons have never troubled themselves with the office of Ministers, inasmuch that we might very well disband them without any prejudice to the preaching of the Gospel; especially if the Civil powers would regulate Church-matters themselves; there will therefore be found many a strange relation in my History. — But to return to the matter in hand.

It is with concern that we hear the Consistory of *Harlem* declaring, that if the Magistrates will not have more regard to their Proposals and Customs than to the solemn Resolutions of the States themselves, the people will certainly rise in arms, and that it will be impossible afterwards to pacify them. What a terrible thing is this! And what can be the cause of it, but the disobedience of the Consistory? Can there be a more dismal treachery, than that of the very people, to whom the strictest watch is intrusted and recommended; that they themselves should set fire to the four corners of the town, in order to ridicule and defeat the laws of their Sovereigns? What! have they another *Jack of Leyden* among them, and are they going to exalt him to the Royal Dignity? What must we do in this case? Must the Magistrates suffer themselves to be trampled under foot, must they look with indifference upon such contrived and conspired insolence, and be forced at last to defend themselves by a printed Manifesto? I am sure, if matters come to that pass, there will be a good vent for such a Manifesto, especially if they add an ac-

count

‘ account of the message sent to me. And though we should print ten thousand copies of it, there would be a demand for ten thousand more. What a victory then will there be gained! Are not these people influenced by the examples of the so called *Dirty Gueuxes* of *Alkmaer* and *Rotterdam*, who set up a sort of a persecuted church in those towns? Do they think to play over the same game at *Harlem*, in the very heart of *Holland*? They seem to threaten some such matter. Now may the *Papists*, *Confessionists*, *Mennonists* and *Enthusiasts* laugh in their sleeves. This is the foolish farce with which they conclude their play. Laugh now aloud; it is your brethrens Cross, for they cross themselves: What folly! what madness is this!

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‘ But I will take breath, and rely upon the good and gracious God, that matters will be so discreetly ordered by the wise and prudent management of your self and other honest and thinking men in the Consistory, that those uneasy and abused people, upon better information, will hearken to reason; that so these rumours that have been spread abroad, may be entirely dissipated by the good orders and conduct of the Burgomasters, under the influence of the inviolate authority of the States, and the holy name of God may not be blasphemed, nor the *Christian Reformed* church lose its lustre.

‘ I thought my self obliged, by virtue of my office, to communicate to you these my reflections, as a serious and christian warning: And since you were also deputed to me, I would beg you to present this Letter to the Consistory, as a further explanation of the questions they put to me; and I shall always be ready, upon any other application on their parts, to explain my self more fully at the Stadthouse, in the presence of the Burgomasters, to whom I will likewise deliver a copy of this Letter under my hand; since I consider it as a publick act which concerns them as much as me. And I earnestly beg the Consistory to consider well of all that I have here said, and to take in good part my advice and admonitions, as proceeding from a sincere heart, which the welfare of the Church and peace of our Country do both require. And may God give a blessing to it!

‘ Reverend Mr. *Geesteranus*, I send you my kind respects, and would gladly confer with you in private, and as a private person, about these affairs; being as ready to receive as to give the best instructions, as becomes every good Christian. Dated from my Country-seat at *Lisse*, the 7th of August, 1615.

Your Affectionate Friend,

G. VANDER LANE.

This Letter had little effect: it did more harm than good with many; and they that found themselves most touched, were of opinion that the writer and his party did this to show their spleen and hatred to them; which hardened them the more in their purposes of asserting the *Rights of the Church*.

A few days after, the Heer *vander Lane* sent a copy of this Letter to the Burgomasters, with an account of his views in writing it; adding, that ‘ he hoped they would maintain the authority of the Government. That whenever they suffered it to be infringed, all things would come to ruin. That this was what the common enemy aimed at, but it was not to be beaten into the heads of the weak and unexperienced Ecclesiasticks. That he found the Clergy had loved power too much, even of old. That the Fathers were excellent men, but when they fell upon the point of spiritual jurisdiction, they were no longer like themselves. The one borrowed a testimony from the other, and that in their own cause, not considering what our Lord *Christ* says of such testimony, even in respect to his own sacred person. And the remoter they were from the age of the Apostles, the less were they to be credited. The later Fathers took their proofs from those who were more ancient, and all from their own order, and in favour of themselves. — That they ought to consult the Apostle *Paul* and his beloved Disciples *Titus* and *Timothy*, and see what jurisdiction or authority they aspired to, when they offered their bodies to be sacrificed for the sake of *Christ*, and the Confession of their Faith; and when they became *Jews* to the *Jews*, and *Gentiles* to the *Gentiles*, that they might gain many souls to God. If people in their several capacities would but act agreeably to the lessons which the Lord *Jesus* gave his Disciples, the matter

A Letter of
the same Gen-
tleman to the
Burgomasters
of *Harlem*.

AN^o D^oM. 1615. would be brought to a good issue. But the Clergy of *Harlem*, on the contrary, scrupled to give *Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's*. Too many of them studied to gratify their ambition, and set light by the Bible: these were the people that ought to be opposed.* This was the substance of his Letter to the Burgomasters, which afterwards (when they began to fall upon the *Remonstrants* on all sides) was published together with the first Letter to *Geesleranus*, by a *Contraremonstrant*, and a Comment added, with design to censure and ridicule the Writer.

But before that time, there happened some things at *Harlem*, which gave occasion to people's considering yet further of *Vander Lane's* Letter: *Dionysius Sprankbusen*, formerly Minister at *Asperen*, and last at *Petersbook*, an avow'd *Contraremonstrant*, and endowed with excellent gifts and virtues as well as learning, was called to *Harlem* at the latter end of this Summer, according to the Constitution of the year 1591. The Classis of *Dort* gave him his dismissal and discharge from the Ministry at the abovementioned place, with ample testimonials of his having served there with great diligence, fidelity, and edification, by preaching God's word purely and practically, administering the sacraments according to *Christ's* institution, observing good order and ecclesiastical discipline, visiting the sick, and in a word, exercising his office with piety, humility, honesty, and prudence, as became a faithful Minister, and one that was to be an example to others; without having ever given scandal or offence to his neighbours.

Differences at
Harlem occasioned
by the
Call of a Minister.

But after he had entered upon the Ministry at *Harlem*, *Adrian Jacobs Tetrode*, one of his brethren (backed by seven Elders, and afterwards by *Daniel de Souter* another of his Collegues) shewed his dissatisfaction at his Call, because it was made pursuant to the abovementioned establishment of 1591; though they had not in the least testified the same to him before his coming; accordingly they, the Malecontents, (to use *Sprankbusen's* own words) refused to officiate with him. They would not allow him a vote in the Consistory. They endeavoured to hinder the people from going to church when he preached, setting them an example, by absenting themselves. They cried, *he could not be admitted as a Minister, but that he ought to be shunned as a Wolf, a Hireling, a Vagabond, and one that came over the wall*. The rest of the Ministers, and many of the Congregation, were pleased with him and esteemed him highly. But some of the Consistory, who scrupled to serve at the table of the Lord's Supper, when he was to administer it, either threw up their office, or desired to be discharged. The Magistrates therefore appointed new Elders and Deacons upon the same foot that *Sprankbusen* himself was called. This was done in the month of *December* of the current year, and the divisions thereby increased; the Minister, *Adrian Jacobson*, declared, it was against his conscience to administer the Sacrament, which he looked upon to be a token and pledge of brotherly love and unity, upon this occasion; and maintained that brotherly reconciliation ought to precede. The other Ministers and the new Consistory were of opinion that he himself had occasioned the quarrel, that for their parts they had done enough towards the peace, and so proceeded to celebrate the Communion.

However, the Ministers, *Jacobson*, *De Souter*, and the dissenting Elders, drew most of the congregation after them; nay, we find it affirmed, that of about three thousand Communicants that belonged to the church of *Harlem*, scarce six hundred came to the Sacrament. Many refused not only to hear *Sprankbusen*, but even the Ministers that held with him; for they said, *that they who frequented their sermons, joined in oppressing the church*. Matters were afterwards accommodated by common consent, but with difficulty, neither did their agreement last long, and the quarrel ran again so high, that *Sprankbusen* grew so weary of these troubles, which had impaired his health, that he resolved to quit the field, to sue out his dismissal, and to justify himself against all the slanders of his adversaries by a publick apology. He thought it was not proper for him to continue in a place where he could neither serve God nor his Church any longer; and it was impossible for him to do either at *Harlem*; for there was hardly any part of his Ministry, in which he did not suffer some opposition. Nevertheless, he could not then prevail upon the Magistrates to discharge him; but they kept him till the following revolution in the year 1618, when the Synod at *Enkbusen* passed sentence with respect to the divisions of *Harlem*, of which we shall give account in its proper place.

* Triglt. p. 826.

In his Apology or Justification, published the year before, he bewails the wickedness of the times, which obliged him to write, and says, *that it was fore against his will that he set pen to paper, as knowing but too well, what damage and scandal the Church suffered by all controversies.* But very remarkable is the conclusion of his Preface, where he breaks out into these expressions: 'O deplorable proceedings! Is it not a sad spectacle, that we who ought jointly to make head against the common enemy, both at home and abroad, neglect our duty in that respect, to fall upon, and, as I fear the end will show, to destroy one another, just as if our church were transformed into the camp of the *Medianites*, where every man's sword was employed against his neighbour? Is it not a sad thing, that we make ourselves the jest of our enemies, nay, even of the whole world? whilst every body cries out, *See how these Contraremonstrants fall out with each other, the one will not suffer the other*; the Giant *Goliab* is smitten with his own sword, just as we were formerly wont to triumph over our enemies: nay, our own Governours and Magistrates do not a little suspect us, and conclude, *How can we expect any good from these obstinate people! they cannot agree with each other! how should they ever agree with their adversaries, if a Synod were granted them as they desire! They would soon hurry the chariot down the precipice.*—— All this, and much more, do they object against us, or at least surmise and believe of us, whilst we are so bitterly wrangling together, though indeed we could easily and effectually justify ourselves. For supposing there are some litigious spirits among the *Contraremonstrants*, yet the whole body is not therefore to be blamed. Are they so bad at *Harlem*, yet know, that they are of a better temper elsewhere; or to speak more closely to the point, if there be two at *Harlem* who are so rigid, there are ¹ four or five that are lovers of peace and moderation, as far as the word of God will allow them. Shall we reject a whole flock of sheep, because two or three among them are scabby? You know better. Do not therefore entertain an ill opinion of all good and orthodox Pastors on account of the violent proceedings of *Adrian* and *De Souter*; but turning away your eyes from them, cast them rather upon our good temper, and conclude from thence, how meek, how just, how humble, and how gentle and easy to be entreated those are who follow the opinions which have been hitherto taught in the *Reformed* churches; and besides, consider a little how much good may be expected from a Synod, where such men shall meet together in the fear of the Lord.

AN^o DOM.
1615.

The fire of dissention, hitherto confined within the Province of *Holland*, scattered some furious sparks in the year 1615, (which I have a little exceeded) as far as *Brabant*, among the Reformed at *Breda*. But how those sparks, after smoking for a time, burst out at last into a flame, we may be informed by a Letter which the learned *Gerard Vossius*, Regent of the Theological College at *Leyden*, writ to the Heer *Hugo Grotius*; which in my opinion is worthy to be perused for several circumstances therein contained, as we have translated it from the original in *Latin*.

Most Honoured Sir,

I wrote to you some days ago, that I was under a concern for the church of *Breda*, on account of *Musenbol*, who though he has always been as fond of the doctrine of *Absolute Reprobation*, and *Irresistible* and *Incessant Grace*, as of a favourite child, or darling, yet does not sufficiently understand the opinions he would defend, nor take the least pains in the world rightly to comprehend a doctrine, which he every where, and at all times, as often as he meets with an occasion, paints, and represents in the foulest colours. I have known the man for these several years, as being somewhat related to him, and always looked upon him as others have also done, as a person wholly destitute of judgment and capacity, as being extream cholerick and headstrong; as for the rest, he was civil and courteous both to great and small, when nothing happened to move his choler or stir up his revenge; he was besides a little more learned than the rest of his brethren. This man was formerly wont to scatter among the people I know not what monstrous notions, which I believe he either dreamed of in a fever, or else greedily sucked

A Letter of
G. J. Vossius,
giving an Account of the
Original and
Progress of a
certain Ecclesiastical Dispute at Breda.

the contrary

¹ William de Hase, Henricus Geesteranus, Egbertus Verhooven, and Isaacus Junius.

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1615.

sucked in from some ill men who had maliciously invented them. But since he fell in entirely with the perverse and wicked counsels of those of *Amsterdam*, and of that infamous Ringleader of the Zealots, he is grown much more furious than before; insomuch that he wishes for nothing more than to stir up faction and deplorable divisions in a church that is as yet scarce in its bloom. In promoting this work, he uses or rather abuses most of the young people; one of them is a disciple of the *Amsterdammers*, and a Missionary of those who are masters of the secret: his name is *Spiljardus*, who often travels from *Leyden* to *Breda* and the neighbouring towns. A few weeks ago he was at my house, where he mightily extolled the zeal of *Musenbol* for peace, and magisterially and severely censured *Boxborn* and my brother-in-law, *Isaacus Diamantius*, as if they had not acted *bonâ fide* in the publick stating of the present differences; earnestly intreating me at the same time to embrace the first opportunity of putting my brother in mind of his duty by a letter; for that *Musenbol* would do all in his power to preserve unity in the Church. If he has the confidence to talk so to me, whom he hardly knows, and who am so nearly allied to *Diamantius*, judge what he will say to others about these matters. The other spark is *Radaus*, the Son of the Colleague of *Lydius*, Minister of *Oudewater*, my scholar, who being not yet ripe, freed himself from my discipline, and was removed from *Dort* to *Franecker*, and from thence to *Leyden*. This young fellow having first heard the instructions of *Sibrandus*, and next the lectures of *Polyander*, and finally the sermons of his own Father (who, though he does not understand so much as the first principles of the *Latin* tongue, yet has few equals in self-love) came so far, that he and his father imagined he was so well advanced, in the space of two years and three months, as to be qualified for the exercise of the Ministry at *Oosterhout*, where, by the tampering of his Father, he was likewise easily admitted. Thus the Order and Discipline of the Church decays daily, and the Asses stroak each other. In the mean time his quondam schoolfellows laughed in their sleeves; for they who knew themselves to have been almost as good scholars as he when he left us, were still under the Rod or Ferula of the school, whilst he was declaiming in a pulpit. *Pollio* too has with much zeal offered his service to *Musenbol*, endeavouring thus to render himself agreeable in those places, whither he hopes, and not without reason, to be shortly called by the interest of his future father-in-law, the Professor *Polyander*. Now these are the very men, who at the last Classis of *Breda*, and upon other occasions, at feasts and in all companies, pressed for an absolute subscription to the Catechism, with more indiscretion than the rest. For this cause I writ to my brother, to dissuade him entirely from signing that which he was before sufficiently averse to. I represented to him, that some Classes indeed required the subscribing to the Confession, but none at all to the Catechism; and that possibly the Synod had authority to introduce such new orders into the Church, but not the Classes; and that it was so much the less to be endured, since it had never been practised any where, no not in *Holland*, nor even in the Classis of *Dort*, of which they had been Members for so many years. But that the Synod of *Gorkum*, and the directions of the States had empowered all the Clergy to examine the Confession as well as the Catechism according to the rules of scripture; and in case the compilers of either of those Formularies had been any where mistaken, the approaching Synod would take cognizance, and judge of it; but that without doubt there were some things in the Catechism, in which the most eminent Ministers of the *Reformed* church did not agree; as for instance, about the *descent into Hell*; and whether the active righteousness of *Christ*, or only the effects of his sufferings, are imputed to us, and the like; and that therefore none ought to be compelled to the absolute subscription of that Formulary, before the Synod had passed their judgment on it. Neither did my brother ever entirely reject or refuse the said subscription, but only declared, that he could not sign those Formularies as Canonical writings, but as good and brief Compendiums of Divinity; in which, though perhaps there might have been some things inserted more conformable to scripture and right reason, yet at least all the fundamentals of religion, as far as necessary to salvation, are explained: yet all that he gained by it was, to be told, *that if he did not subscribe simply and absolutely, he would be suspected of innovation*. They think to terrifie him with this vain scare-crow, or divert him from his intention. Then they spread a report, that as

Boxborn had lately done, so now *Diamantius* too inclined to the side of the *Re-* AN^O DOM.
monstrants, because he durst not sign the Catechism, which yet he explained to the 1615.
people. These suspicions and jealousies increased, by reason that two or three of
Musenbol's familiar friends, who had read the new controversies (for the rest dis-
covered no strange positions in my brother's sermons) affirmed that he expounded
certain texts of scripture differently from the sense of *Calvin*, whom they had
consulted: and especially, that when he earnestly warned the people against de-
spising or neglecting the *Divine Grace*, he did not add, **that the Elect could by no**
means resist nor reject the operations of the Holy Ghost; both which were in-
culcated in scripture. But my brother further maintained in one of his sermons:
That the Heathens were not wholly destitute of the true knowledge of God, but had
held the truth in unrighteousness; and that it was very probable, that if they had
not done so, the divine goodness and mercy would have judged them worthy of
more grace: That it was their own fault they were now lost, since none can please
God without the grace of faith, so far as to obtain by him, justification and salva-
tion. For these positions, *Musenbol* had the boldness to accuse my brother before
the Consistory; but in vain. For though he pretended that *Diamantius* had
asserted, *that the Heathens might be saved without faith in Christ*, yet the Elders
declared, that they understood it quite contrary.

It further happened, that whilst the *Amsterdammers* did all they could to bring
matters to an open schism, *Lansbergen*, *Hellerus* and others, sent to the neigh-
bouring churches a certain project of peace, or what you will please to call it, and
particularly to those of *Breda*. *Boxborn* and my brother seeing there was nothing
but peace designed by that plan, and being also of opinion that it agreed with the
Resolution which the States had lately taken about the same, readily testified their
consent under their hands. But I wished they had not done it; not that I saw any
harm in it; but because I fancied those who were the promoters of it, could not keep
it secret. And accordingly, they had hardly both signed it, but it took air, being pub-
lished first, if I be not mistaken, in other parts, and afterwards at *Breda* to *Musenbol*,
and immediately to the people; and now they give out to the prejudice of my brother
that he who scrupled before to subscribe the Catechism, has now so high a value for the
Resolution of the States, (for so they call the Formulary) that he sets his hand to it:
which is as much as to say, that he preferred humane things before divine. I told
you before, that most of the Ministers and Candidates for the Ministry exerted
themselves for *Musenbol*: But he has also two or three other persons that stand
up for him in the town; these are a kind of very self-conceited people, who though
they have no manner of learning, yet brag that they know more of the present
controversy than all the Clergy together. You will easily guess at the Ringleader,
though I should not name him, when I only acquaint you, that one of them is a
Visiter of the Sick. I have not found for several years, any that have a better
opinion of themselves than those of that employment, nor that are fitter, or more
disposed to trouble our churches, especially when they can get a Minister at the
head of their faction. Accordingly it comes into my mind, that the Clergy of
Dort (to say nothing of other towns) were in greater awe of one of these Re-
provers of their lives and doctrine than of any other people. It was one of these
who when *Lydius* entertained more moderate sentiments about the business of Re-
probation, and could not come into all the notions of the Separatists of *Rotterdam*,
exposed him among his own flock, as if he had deserted to the *Remonstrants*.

But *Lydius* being desirous to free himself from so heavy a slander, as he himself
understood it, preached a violent sermon against the *Remonstrants*; by which de-
vice he got into credit again with the people. But to return to this hypocritical Vi-
siter of *Breda*, who gives out in all places, that my brother is a *Remonstrant*. As
in the primitive times there was nothing more odious among the Heathens than
the name of a Christian, and it was believed that the very name was crime enough,
nay, that it comprised all sorts of crimes; so this *Musenbol*, the Visiter, and some
others of that party, have rendered the name of a *Remonstrant* so hateful to many,
that whoever speaks of a *Remonstrant* at this time, seems thereby to denote a sink
of all kind of heresies, and one who, by making a schism, paves the way for
betraying his Country. *Musenbol* said lately at my Nephews table in publick,
and without mincing the matter, that the *Remonstrants* intended by degrees to
bring

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bring in Popery again. They that talk thus before our friends and relations, or such as are wise enough not easily to believe these flanders, what will not they prate to an unthinking mob? Indeed, he and his party have already brought things to such a pass, that it is said, there are two hundred persons, or thereabouts, who are resolved for this only reason, to keep away from the holy Communion. My poor brother is so troubled at these things, that he has been very ill, at times, for several months past; and we are in great fear, that if they come to an open schism, which God forbid, he will sink under it. It will not be my brother's, nor *Boxborn's* fault, if the peace of the church be not preserved; provided that neither of them be compelled to hear or to teach these *Manichean* doctrines publicly. Indeed I cannot but pity a church, that has scarce thrown off the yoke of *Popery*, and is already drawn away by such Clergymen, with suspicions and flanders from the faithful Pastors. Methinks we ought to spare no pains for preserving unity: But how this is to be effected, your great wisdom, most honoured Sir, will doubtless inform you much better than I can. However, I will take the liberty to suggest what occurs to me upon that head. I do not question but you are acquainted at the *Hague* with that worthy Gentleman the Heer *Martinus*, a Counsellor in the Court of *Brabant*, formerly a Member of the Council at *Breda*, who by consequence cannot be ignorant of the temper and designs of the Magistrates of that place. What if he should privately write to one of those he most confides in, and seriously exhort him not to suffer that town to be thus miserably divided and rent into schisms, but require the Clergy there to live in peace with each other, and to conform themselves, with respect to their differences, to the most wise Resolutions of the States, and to avoid teaching on the one hand, the *Manichean*, and on the other, the *Pelagian* errors? But might it not be adviseable above all, that the Magistrates should call before them this same Visiter of the Sick, and two or three more of that kind of people, and earnestly admonish them not to go beyond their last, and much less to stigmatize the pious and learned Ministers of their churches, with the charge of *Heresy*, and fright the people from the table of the Lord? Besides, I think it to be of the utmost importance, that this town of *Breda* should be preserved from parties and factions, since the church in it is but young, and is governed by * a Popish Prince, who can influence a great many in the business of religion, and since (which is still more considerable) it lies so near the territories of the enemy. I do not at all doubt but the States, or his Excellency Prince *Maurice*, if any thing of this matter comes to their ears, will guard against the beginnings of so great an evil. When my brother was with me, about two or three months ago, I advised him to take a trip to the *Hague*, which he might easily do, and lay the whole state of this affair before that worthy and excellent man *Johannes Uitenbogat*. He was not very averse to this counsel; only feared that if it were known that he had been consulting with him, the Church might suffer by it, as times go now. He thought likewise, that if *Musenbol* should but have the least suspicion of it, he would presently fling it in his dish, as he is wont to do: for which reasons he would not consent to what he could not disapprove. Finding this, I thought it would not be amiss to write my self to the famous *Uitenbogat*, or rather, which seemed afterwards still more adviseable to me, to leave the whole business to your prudence; who if you think it proper, may deliberate upon it with him. This I do without communicating my design to any body: and my brother is not in the least apprized of it. I had forgot almost to tell you one thing (though perhaps it is no great matter) that *Musenbol* was in our town about a fortnight ago, not so much I think on account of *Pollio's* wedding (at which he was present, whispering all the time with *Festus*, at whose right hand he sat) as to form new projects with the man I last named, for the disquiet of the town. I might here argue, as *Cicero* does with respect to *Clodius* in his Oration for *Milo*, that if it had not been something of great consequence which induced him to go out of town, he would not have begun his journey just at the time when he knew that both his brothers were indisposed. —

But during his absence, his servant-maid (whom this wise man seems to have taken into his counsels) let fall: *That it was impossible for him to stay in a place,*

2

where

* Philip William Prince of Orange, Baron of Breda.

where he saw nothing but what was disagreeable to him. I am informed by one AN^DOM.
 who is very familiar with *Festus*, that as soon as *Musenbol* was returned home, he 1615.
 recommended to the benefice of the town of *Ter Heyden*, (where *Pollio* had been
 before) the poor man, who, as he phrased it, *had preached hitherto under the*
cross at Rotterdam. For that person having given some proofs in your town of his
 settled orthodoxy, is thought to have deserved a fixed establishment. I expect no
 good to the church of *Breda* from this sort of people, who for the service of the
 dissenting Brethren, or *Separatists*, as they are called in *England*, or *New Dona-*
tists, (that we may distinguish them by an old name) have set themselves up for
 heads of the party. I intend to write to my brother about it, to the end that he
 and his Colleague *Boxhorn* may take care that the Church do not suffer by his pu-
 fillanimity.

— Farewel, most Honoured Sir; and if you meet with an opportunity, let
 the famous *Uitenbogart* know how much happiness I wish him: I went not long
 since to the *Hague* on purpose to pay my respects to him, but was informed that
 he dined with the Prince; and my necessary affairs would not suffer me to wait
 another opportunity. This is the reason I have not seen that excellent man since
 we were both together at his house. —

December 3.
 1615.

Your Honour's

Most Obligated Servant,

G. VOSSIUS.

What followed upon the writing of this letter, which contains a lively sketch of
 those times, with respect to the divisions at *Breda*, does not occur to me. ¹ But
 we read in *Uitenbogart's* History, that *Diamantius* was afterwards called to *Delft*,
 where he was very much beloved by some, and no less disagreeable to others for
 speaking against the *Separation*. But he did not live long, dying in that town after
 a short fit of sickness on the 9th of *February*, in the year 1617. He was, as some
 think, of too meek and peaceable a temper to live in so quarrellsome an age. ² Ac-
 cordingly *Grotius*, during his sickness, expressed himself in a letter to this effect:
That in the scarcity of worthy men, we ought to pray to God to preserve such pious
and judicious Pastors, to the end that the Church might not be abandoned to the
plunder and rapine of those who were as violent as ignorant.

Not long before the writing the aforesaid letter of *Vossius*, concerning the discord at
Breda, *Grotius* communicated to him his opinion with reference to the insisting upon
 subscribing the Catechism, which is worth our notice: 'You have (*says he*) but
 too justly proved, that the subscribing the Catechism is a novelty; and even that of
 the Confession, if it be exacted also with the same design, *viz.* to testify an agreement
 in all points, is dangerous: And if it be done with a further view, that we should
 never vary from it hereafter, it is tyrannical; but if it be only required to the intent
 that nothing should be publicly offered against that Formulary of Unity, till it
 has been first proposed and examined at a proper time and place, that is tolerable.
 One may now perhaps very handsomely refuse it, because a Synod is expected, in
 which this and other matters will be considered. I lament the miserable state of the
 Reformed churches, especially in this respect, that whereas it belongs to the uni-
 versal Church to make Symbols or Confessions of Faith, they could never agree in
 that matter; and that in the mean time, certain little tracts formerly drawn up, and
 occasionally presented to the Emperor, or other Potentates, by way of apology
 against slanders, or else designed to be laid before a General Council, are begun to
 be applied to a quite different use: For what can be more different from Catho-
 lick unity, than that the Pastors should be forced to instruct the people one way
 in one place, and another in another? How strange would this have sounded in
 the ears of the pious Ancients? But the iniquity of the times obliges us to swal-
 low these and many other things.

Remarkable
 Expressions of
Grotius, con-
 cerning the
 subscribing the
 Catechism
 and Confes-
 sion, extracted
 from a Letter
 of his to *Vossi-*
us.

¹ *Uitenb.* p. 860.

² *Grot. Epist. ad Voss.* December 10. 1616.

AN^o D^o M.
1615.

In the mean time our Sovereigns did their utmost to stop or restrain these discords. At the meeting of the States of *Holland*, holden in *December*, it was represented upon the last article of their summons, that since their Call in *September*, there had happened many things in the Ecclesiastical assemblies, and many things had been set on foot by Ecclesiastical persons, tending to produce (I use the words of the States themselves) great troubles, divisions, and schisms, to the visible damage and injury of the country, and to the obstructing of the edification of the Christian community; and that in some towns the Clergy had too much inveighed against the power of the Magistrate in Ecclesiastical matters.

The Resolution
of the States of
Holland,
with respect to
the Ecclesiasti-
cal Differences.

Therefore after having deliberated upon this affair, the Nobles and Towns agreed that timely care should be taken to guard against those evils, pursuant to their former Resolution. But since it was given out by the Clergy, that in some towns and villages they knew nothing of this Resolution made by the States in the year 1591, for the preservation of Unity, the Peace of the Church, and Ecclesiastical Discipline, it was further agreed, that the same should be communicated to the Magistrates of all those towns and villages. — And as for the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the said year 1591, it was declared, *That the Governours of the Towns, Lordships, and Villages of Holland and West Freeland, who desired to conform themselves to the aforesaid Constitution with respect to the choice of Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, as also to the holding of Consistories and Classical Meetings, had leave so to do, and should be supported therein by publick authority.* In the letters of the like tenor, and written the same day, the 22d of *November*, the States said; *Agreeably to which our Resolutions and Ordinances, we judge it highly necessary, and do hereby decree, that all people conform themselves, and that nothing be done directly or indirectly contrary thereto: and that due punishment be inflicted upon those who shall infringe the same, as disobeying the lawful powers.*

Contents of the
Missive of the
States to the
Magistrates
and Clergy.

Some of the Clergy promised to comply with these Orders of the Government: And those of the Classis of *Woerden* and *Overijland* signified by a letter to the Committee of the States: — That they were entirely disposed to

The Classis of
Woerden pro-
mise to obey
the States.

Their Request,
in opposition to
the Lutherans
at *Bodegrave*.

comply with the aforesaid resolutions, some of them however reserving to themselves a right to object against some of the articles of the Church discipline of the year 1591, of which, if necessary, they promised to give an account to their Lordships. They likewise prayed, that care might be taken to hinder the Lutherans from preaching at *Bodegrave*, since their meeting there had been prohibited some time before, upon a certain Memorial which the Classis had presented above two years ago. Upon which prohibition the town had been at peace; whereas now the said Lutherans having purchased a house for divine service, in the finest part of the said town, they apprehended fresh troubles: That they the Ministers of the Classis of *Woerden* having nothing more at heart than the repose of the universal Christian church, and that Christendom, which is rent into so many pieces, might as soon as possible be restored to unity, were of opinion, that the Lutherans at *Bodegrave* ought not to hold separate meetings for the reasons following: *First*, because they agreed with the Reformed church in the fundamentals of Religion. *Secondly*, Because one of the principal inducements for making a schism had been removed by the resolutions which the States of *Holland* had taken for the preservation of the Church's peace. *Thirdly*, Because they the Ministers of the Reformed church were willing to admit the said Lutherans to Christian communion, and allow them to retain their opinions, provided they were quiet. *Fourthly*, Because they had refused to admit our people at *Hamburg*, and elsewhere, to their communion upon the very same foot. *Fifthly*, Because it gave offence; nothing of this nature having been tolerated in any of the towns of *Holland*, and besides, it drew people from other towns. *Sixthly*, Because their proceedings were contrary to some of the former Resolutions of the States, and particularly to their last publick Prohibition: besides, that many who were used to come to church, and were well enough contented, were now dissatisfied, and staid away, to the diminution of the alms, prejudice of the poor, and increase of the troubles and divisions. They likewise insinuated to their Lordships, that in case the Lutherans would not be satisfied with the doctrines of Truth as preached in the churches

churches of the *Reformed*, the Parish of *Bodegrave* reached as far as *Woerden*, where the exercise of their religion had been hitherto connived at, and with which they ought to be contented, without making a schism, and giving scandal, in contempt not only of the *Reformed* religion, but also of the Orders of their Lordships. From all which, it might be observed, that what they did, proceeded more from obstinacy and a contentious spirit, than just causes, or the love of piety. Therefore they prayed and intreated the States, that they would please to consider these matters, and guard against the aforesaid disorders and scandals, in such manner as they should think necessary for promoting the honour of God, the peace of the Land, the unity of the Christian Religion, and the repose of the Church.

AN^O D^OM^I
1615.

What answer was returned to this Memorial and Request, does not occur to me. But in the mean while, some people who did not approve of that authority which the States thought fit to exert in ecclesiastical matters, laboured with all their might to defeat the purposes of their last letter to the Classes. For which end they confounded ecclesiastical with political, and political with ecclesiastical matters. They perswaded the people more and more, that the proceedings of the *Remonstrants* would have very ill consequences: that besides the *Five Points*, they trump up certain heretical doctrines, which had been condemned by the Christians of old: and moreover that they kept a correspondence with the *Jesuits* and *Spaniards*, the enemies both of Church and State, to whom they designed to betray the Country. In opposition to this, *Uitenbogat*, who was accused in particular, did all that was possible to demonstrate his own, and his brethrens innocence. — However, those reports did a world of mischief; for it is incredible what influence, even such fictions, and idle tales had in the midst of these divisions upon the minds of men; for the most abominable things that could be invented of his party, were easily believed by the people. And indeed slander is generally received with such greedy ears, and takes such deep root in the hearts of credulous men, that it cannot easily be extirpated.

The Remonstrants are accused of corresponding with the Jesuits, and seeking to betray the Country.

Some *Contraremonstrants* had also the boldness at this time to publish at *Enkhusen* (one of the towns which would not agree to the Resolution of the States about the Ecclesiastical differences) and to put the Printers name to a book intituled: *Further advice concerning the Conference of Delft*, notwithstanding that the States had prohibited it, as calculated to increase the divisions. Against this Treatise, *Uitenbogat* writ his *Justification of the Remonstrants*, which was likewise printed. He also drew up a *Defence of the Resolution of the States of Holland*, for promoting the peace of the Churches, against a book published, but without a name, by *Jacobus Triglandus*, a Minister at *Amsterdam*, and an indefagitable promoter of the separation. About the same time *Antonius Waleus*, a Minister of *Middelburg* in *Zeland*, writ concerning the office of Ministers, together with the authority and superintendency that belongs to the Christian Magistrate, in answer to *Uitenbogat's* book, published about six years before, upon the same subject. It is said of this answerer, that his writings were much more moderate than those of others, as he also exceeded them in learning. The Heer *Hugo Grotius*, says of him in one of his letters to *Vossius*: He is fond of his own opinions, as most men are; and yet I could wish with all my heart that the rest of his profession were like him, for one finds in him both temper and equity. *Uitenbogat* thought this book deserved an answer; but being mindful that the States of *Holland* had formerly forbidden the Ministers to write about that subject, and other controverted matters, he presented to them a petition for leave; the contents of which may be learned from the Resolution taken upon it. What we find in the Journal of the States is as follows:

Waleus writes against Uitenbogat.

With respect to the Memorial of *Johannes Uitenbogat*, one of the *Hague* Ministers, concerning a book of *Waleus*, a Minister of *Middelburg*, published there against the authority of the Sovereign powers in Church affairs, it is resolved as follows: The States of *Holland* and *West Freeland*, having seriously considered of the said Memorial, do hereby declare, that the opinion of the late Prince of *Orange*, of glorious memory, and of the States themselves, has always been, and

The Resolution of the States of Holland, granting leave to Uitenbogat to answer the book of Waleus.

AN^O DOM.
1615.

and still is, that the authority of a Christian Government in Ecclesiastical affairs is undeniable, inasmuch, that those who write or speak against the same, are misled and deceived, either by their own misapprehensions and prejudices, or else for want of distinguishing between the Church persecuted, and destitute of all public protection; and the same Church in a flourishing condition, and defended and maintained by the Christian Magistrate: Wherefore in case the petitioner designs to refute the treatise or book of the said *Walaus* in the fear of the Lord, and with moderation, from Holy Writ, and from the practice of the ancient Christian Magistrates, together with that of the Kings, Electors, Princes and States, who in the last hundred years have thrown off the yoke of Popery, and reformed their Churches according to the Gospel; to the end that the author of the said book, and others, may be better informed; the same will be agreeable to the States. Done at the Hague, 21st December, 1615.

The Opinion of
Vossius concerning that
Book.

After this, *Uitenbogart* began to set pen to paper, and to prepare his Confutation; but many ensuing difficulties hindered the finishing and publication of it. However, a long time after, when his book concerning the *Duty of the Civil Magistrate in Church affairs* went to the Press the third time, his friends collected several pieces written in defence of that book against *Walaus* and 3 others, found among his papers, which were likewise published at the same time. The Regent of the Theological College at *Leyden*, *Gerardus Vossius*, speaking in a certain letter about this book of *Walaus*, says, among other things, *That there were a great many good things to be met with in it, but that the Author had made two mistakes in it; the first was, in censuring the opinions of his antagonist, which he did not understand, and fighting with his own shadow, whilst he thought that he encountered his adversary Uitenbogart. Secondly, in writing things that were disagreeing and inconsistent with each other.* He likewise relates what a great man judged of this book of *Walaus*; to wit, *He concedes so much to his enemy, that I can hardly see what difference there is between them.* However, a difference there was, especially in their minds.

It was observed too by some, that when *Walaus* affirmed in his book, that *Uitenbogart* unjustly accused his adversaries of aiming at a supreme jurisdiction in Church affairs, such as the Civil Magistrate exercised in those of the State; *Vossius* said thereupon, *Would to God they were wrongfully accused! For then would Christ's seamless garment not be torn in pieces by this our detestable Schism.*

But to the end our reader may have a clearer and fuller view, and be able to fathom the very bottom of this and other differences, it will not be tedious to him, we hope, if we cause him to observe a little more closely, with what eyes the aforementioned *Vossius* (whom the Impartial counted a man of a very clear, solid and penetrating judgment) lookt upon the divisions of these times. In his letter to *Grotius* concerning *Walaus*, which he then writ, and which is but lately come to light, he traces the evil of which he was going to speak, back to its very source, and discourses thus about it:

A remarkable
Letter of Vossius, concerning the Authority of particular Ministers, Churches, Confessions, &c.

As often as I reflect upon the first times of the *Reformation*, and compare them with those that immediately ensued, and these with ours, so often do I meet with a convincing proof of humane weakness.——For what was wont to be more frequently objected to *Luther*, and other pious teachers at first, than the Authority of the Pope, and the Disagreement of our Churches among themselves? But our people appealed from the Church to the testimony of the Scriptures, and from the Pope to the decision of the Civil Magistrate. And the good cause gained ground in several places. But *Luther* being but a man, and subject to humane infirmities, it happened that he sometimes scattered tares together with the good seed. This was observed by some, who perhaps were not inferior to him in virtue and learning, and therefore thought it their duty to endeavour to separate the wheat from the weeds. But those who were now sworn to the opinions of *Luther*, (as if what was said of the only and most perfect rule of Scripture, was only of force against the *Papists*) opposed them that had a mind to root up those weeds just springing up in their churches, with the same or the like weapons which had been used by the *Papists*. For as these urged the Authority of the Pope, so did the *Lutherans* that

* *Uitenb. Hist.* p. 505.—*Life*, Lib. VII. p. 76.

* *In the Year* 1647.

* *Acronius*, *Mehen*, *Voetius*, and *Revius*.

* *Voss. Dissert.* de jure Magistrat. in reb. Eccles.

Printed at Amsterd. 1669. p. 9.—38, &c.

* *Ibid.* p. 1, 2.

Joh. Uitenhov. Narrat. de institutâ, ac demum dissipatâ Belgor. in Angl. Ecclesiâ, p. 138, &c.

that of their Founder; as the former appealed to the Church of *Rome*, so did the latter to the *Saxon*, and other Churches; as the *Papists* quoted the *Councils* of the *middle* or *last Ages*, so the *Lutherans* cited the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, as of equal value with the *Decrees* of many *Councils*, against those who were of a different judgment — Where they found themselves the strongest, they began to thunder out anathemas against such who differed from them, (especially if the difference happened to be in the business of the *Sacrament*) renouncing all communion with them for the future. In which matter they also defended themselves by *Luther's* example, who, tho' otherwise a very good man, did not scruple using, a little before his death, the following expressions in a letter to *Jacob Probet*, Pastor of *Bremen*, **Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the Sacramentarians, nor standeth in the way of the Zwinglians, nor sitteth in the seat of the people of Zurich.** Neither did they stop at revilings and anathematizings; they proceeded to prisons and banishments, as alone sufficiently appears from their imprisoning *Peucerus* — To such evils as these were they driven, not so much by religion, as by their own wicked passions.

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1615.
A Comparison
between the
Proceedings of
the Lutherans
and those of
the Papists.

At last other churches began, through God's Grace, to flourish in *England*, *Germany*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*, which at the same time as they cast off the yoke of *Rome*, ventured likewise to differ from *Luther* in the point of the *Lord's Supper*; and being mindful for a time of the old dispute, as well with the *Lutherans* as *Papists*, insisted upon nothing else but the writings of the *Prophets* and *Apostles*, and of their own accord tendered the supreme moderation of Ecclesiastical matters to their Civil Governours. But when many of their Clergy found themselves out of all danger, and a number of young men, and meer novices, succeeded the stanch old Ministers, they themselves fell to treading of the same path which they had so much blamed, first in the *Papists*, and next in the *Lutherans*. For if any of their doctrines happened to be called in question, they would not suffer an appeal to the *Bible* only, nor to the *Fathers* of the first ages; but as the *Lutherans* gloried in *Luther*, so did these in *Calvin* or *Beza*; as the one party pinn'd their faith on the *Ausburg Confession*, so did the other on that of the *Netherlands*, or on the *Heidelberg Catechism*; as those boasted of the harmony of the *Saxon churches*, so did these of the agreement of the *Reformed* in our *Provinces*. And what was chiefly to be lamented, was, that the latter, as well as the former, pronounced all those to be *Hereticks* that differed from them in any religious opinion, and whom they could, they excluded from the pulpit. Which things, as often as I think of them, make me almost fear lest even those who, upon the account of some controversies about *Predestination*, are now represented as *Heterodox*, if they once come to get the upper hand, (why should I not speak freely to you) should treat others who shall presume to differ from them, just after the same manner; since they are men as well as the rest, and since (that I may say nothing of others) the common herd of learned men have always despised those who exhorted them to *Moderation*, and have rather joined with them that were for running things into extremes. But I hope this evil may in time be prevented by some great men who are capable of influencing them, and especially by our Civil Governours, whom the examples of former times may have rendered wiser. Now that those who defend the commonly-received opinions so stiffly, maintain that they have not departed a hair's breadth from the method of proceeding practised by the first Teachers of the *Netherland churches*, both at home and in exile, is what I am doubtful whether I should impute to their imprudence or impudence.

Some of the
Teachers of
Calvin's Per-
suasion com-
pared with the
Lutherans.

He goes on afterwards to relate some disputes that fell out between the first *Reformed* and the *Lutherans* at *Koldingen*, and in other parts, and says: 'At *Koldingen* there were two Pastors, *Paulus* of *Nimeguen*, and *Henry* of *Bois le Duc*; with these our people desired to enter into a christian conference. They, on the contrary, replied, that it was not necessary, since neither the King of *Denmark* nor they themselves had the least scruple concerning the religion professed in that country. Just so (for I am comparing those times with our own) we hear some cry, *Let these doubters try the Catechism, if they please, by the Touch-stone of scripture*; as for us, we have no occasion to do it, because we do not doubt in the least about it. But what said *Johannes à Lasco*, *Martinus Micron*, and *Johannes Uitenhoven* —

Certain Dis-
putes between
the Luthere-
rans and the
Reformed
compared with
some Disputes
among the Re-
formed them-
selves, with
reference to the
Doctrine of
Predestina-
tion.

(some

A^NO D^OM.

1615.

(some of the chief promoters of the *Reformation* in those times) to this excuse?
 They thought that such people were mistaken through prejudice, and that we ought
 not only to confer about rooting out the tares, as soon as they accidentally discovered
 themselves, but likewise that we should carefully search for them, because they
 were wont to be sown by the enemy, whilst the husbandmen, to whom the care of
 the Lord's field was entrusted, slept. — The *Lutherans* said, that our people
 denied the plain words of the Gospel, *THIS IS MY BODY*. Just as those Mi-
 nisters, who when they dispute about the doctrine of *Absolute Election and Repro-*
bation, say, that the words of the Apostle in the 19th of the *Romans* are no less
 clear; and that they who maintain a *conditional Reprobation*, should raze that
 whole chapter out of the Bible, before they aimed at establishing their notions.
 But what said à *Lasco* and his party in the like case? Why, that one of the men-
 tioned Pastors, in his preceding sermon had taught, and justly too, *that the truth*
of every doctrine was not to be proved by the evidence of one scripture text, but by
the unanimous agreement of the whole. They also objected to our people, that they
 interpreted every thing according to their own carnal apprehensions. And who
 knows not what is objected against those that deny an *unconditional Reprobation*? —
 The *Lutherans* further objected, that a quite different opinion from that of the *Re-*
formed concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was received in the King-
 dom of *Denmark*, which was like some people's defending themselves in the affair
 of *Predestination* with the authority of the *Netherland churches*; what right they
 have to do it I shall not here inquire. But to the *Lutherans* our people returned
 this answer: *That the truth of sound doctrine was not to be supported by*
the power or grandeur of a kingdom, but by the sure and clear evidence of holy
Scripture. It was also objected against the *Reformed churches*, that they differed
 from *Luther* and the churches of *Saxony*, and that they were condemned by the
 Confession of *Ausburg*. Just thus do some among us always cry out *Calvin, the*
Netherland church, the Confession, and the Catechism. But what said those
 excellent men, à *Lasco* and his Associates? *Luther*, and the *Saxon churches*, or
Ausburg Confession, are not the Catholick church. And again; *We look upon Lu-*
ther as a glorious instrument in the hand of God, but still the Holy Ghost was given
him by measure. We ascribe this honour to the Prophetical and Apostolical wri-
tings, that they contain nothing but what may be received with a sure belief: For
the rest, there are in Luther's books (and we may say the same of Calvin also)
plain proofs that he was not always, nor in all things, consistent with himself.
Wherefore both the books of Luther, and even the Ausburg Confession it self, ought
to be submitted to the Canon of Scripture, and to the lawful judgment of the churches,
nor ought men to be so prepossessed by Luther's doctrines, or by the credit of the Con-
fession of Ausburg, as to make a schism on their account. — Besides, since the
 Pastor had publickly accused our people of heresie from the pulpit, they fur-
 ther added; *We maintain that he acts contrary to the Gospel; because no body ought*
to condemn another man in the church, unless it plainly appears that such a one is
fallen from the principles of the Apostolical Confession revealed by the mouth of
St. Peter. And a little after they subjoined: *We never opposed any man on account*
of this difference, but bore with him in brotherly charity; and think that all those
ought to be born with, who are willing to treat us in the like manner, till the Lord
shall vouchsafe to compose this difference by his Grace; and the rather, because we
all hold the foundation of the Apostle's Confession. And the same may be yet
 more justly said of the controversie about *Predestination*. — When *Joachim West-*
phalus, at *Hamburg*, objected this which follows against *Micron*, as his best ar-
 gument: *There is no doubt to be made about the truth of our doctrine concerning the*
Sacrament, since it has been delivered down by an universal consent in all the Saxon
and East-country churches, so as it was received by very holy men their Teachers.
And on the contrary, the opinion of Zwinglius is false and to be rejected, as be-
ing condemned by the aforesaid churches. Very fine, said Micron: the doctrines
that are in dispute, are not to be established by the uniform agreement of many
churches, but only by the harmony of the holy scripture. Otherwise the Pope
would be most in the right. Then replied *Westphalus*: *Our Saxon churches are*
churches of God. But said *Micron*, *the church of God is not to be esteemed of*
according to the country or place where it is established. And as London does not
 cause

‘ cause the Church to be denominat^d the church of God, so neither does Hamburg AN^o DOM.
 ‘ nor Lubeck. Nor is there any such thing as an infallible church, besides that which 1615.
 ‘ is founded upon the Prophets and Apostles; as Luther himself taught (and Calvin
 ‘ too.) To this Westphalus: When Luther affirms that the Church may err, he
 ‘ means only that of Rome, not that of Christ. The other answered: Lu-
 ‘ ther certainly speaks of a true church of Christ, which may sometimes be
 ‘ misled in some matters through humane weakness; for we prophecy in part. It
 ‘ sometimes happens that a very eminent Doctor grossly errs, who is immediately fol-
 ‘ lowed through a perverse and obstinate zeal by others. From hence errors in the
 ‘ Church do often proceed. — The doctrine therefore of each particular church
 ‘ is not to be approved for its agreement with some other churches, but its conformity
 ‘ to the word of God. It was further objected to Westphalus: That he in his little
 ‘ treatise about the true Faith, submitted his doctrine of the Sacrament to the judg-
 ‘ ment of the Church; and therefore he ought not to decline an inquiry into it.
 ‘ The other replied: I did not propose my doctrine about the Sacrament to be judged
 ‘ of by the church of London, but by the church of God in Hamburg.

‘ Thus have we many in our time, who will not submit to the judgment of any
 ‘ churches, unless it be of those whom they verily think to be of their own
 ‘ mind. — When Micron said to Dr. Smetenstede at Wisnar: That the Ma-
 ‘ gistrate might be Witness and Judge too of the Conference, the other replied: The
 ‘ Magistrate! the Devil rather. What do such people understand of Religion? Let
 ‘ us go to Rostock, to the Doctors and Superintendants there; they are able to judge
 ‘ of the Conference. —

‘ He would admit of no other Judges but such as he knew would bestow the prize
 ‘ upon him. But said Micron to this: Do you thus despise the Magistrate, Doctor?
 ‘ Pray tell me by whose judgment had Luther at first the victory over the Pope,
 ‘ when he was every where condemned by all the Universities? This is enough to
 ‘ show, that those who at first gathered and reformed the Low Country churches,
 ‘ were always wont to appeal from the doctrines of any particular Ministers, and
 ‘ from the consent of any churches to the evidence of scripture, and to the judg-
 ‘ ment of the Magistrate; as was done in opposition to those with whom the men-
 ‘ tioned Ministers had this controversy; and just as some of us do at this very day. For
 ‘ one egg cannot be more like another than the aforementioned arguments of the Lu-
 ‘ therans and those of the Ministers who assert Absolute Predestination, and allow
 ‘ no judgment of the Civil Magistrate. — For they not only mutter, but speak
 ‘ out plain; and do not only speak, but show publicly by all their proceedings;
 ‘ that though they seem to ascribe some power to the Magistrate, for their own
 ‘ conveniency; yet they assume to themselves the supreme authority in Ecclesiasti-
 ‘ cal matters: for say they, every man is to be believed in his own art; now the
 ‘ art of Divines is Divinity. Wherefore they perswade themselves, that the Go-
 ‘ vernment having no skill in Theological matters, do very ill to interpose their opi-
 ‘ nions. And according to them, their Rulers are never so much in the right, as
 ‘ when mistrusting their own judgment, they submit to that of their Pastors.
 ‘ What else is this but setting themselves above the Civil Powers in matters that re-
 ‘ late to the Church, and erecting in the State two supream Governments, the one
 ‘ not subordinate to the other, but enjoying equal jurisdictions?

Thus speaks Vossius of some of the Clergy in his time. But not only he, but others
 observed that they meddled too much with political matters even at that time. And
 this brings into my mind what the Heer Hooft says upon the same subject; to wit,
 That several of the Clergy publicly preached at Amsterdam in those times, that it
 was the duty of the Ministers, privately to instruct every one of those Gentlemen
 that had a vote in the choice of Magistrates, how they were to behave in that mat-
 ter. Whereas they themselves did nevertheless choose their own Consistories as they
 pleased, which was a great privilege: and that this made people think on former
 times, when the Magistrates were appointed by the Grey Friars.

AN^O DOM. 1615. In this same year 1615, Bernard Buschof, Minister at Oyen in Gelderland, and afterwards at Utrecht, published a Hymn about the doctrine of Election &c. beginning with :

A hymn
much ap-
plauded by the
Contrare-
monstrants.

To God, who me elected has, be praise.

Of which the fifth Stanza ran thus :

God's dear Elect, what Creature shall deceive ?
Who shall me of the love of Christ bereave ?
In his Almighty arms, secure I lie ;
Nor Death, nor Hell, nor deadly Sin shall prove
So mighty to deprive me of his love :
Poffest of this, I fraud and force defy.

This Hymn, or Song, which was very pleasing to most of the *Contraremonstrants*, has been since frequently reprinted, and sung by thousands of people. But the *Re-
monstrants* no less condemned it, especially the fifth Stanza, reproaching them often with it in print, and maintaining, that this their assertion, that even no deadly sin could draw the Elect from Christ's almighty arms, or deprive them of his love ; put men under the temptation of falling more readily into such sins, and of being less careful how they extricated themselves from thence. But Buschof has since endeavoured to excuse his verses by the following interpretation of which I leave the reader to judge : Deadly sin, said he, cannot entirely separate an elect faithful child God from his Maker, because such sins have no place in the heart of such a person. He added : that the Reformed Divines divided sin into deadly and venial, calling those sins deadly, that are committed by Unbelievers, and those venial, of which the Faithful happen to be guilty. Besides, that in distinguishing thus between the two sorts of sin, we ought to regard the persons more than the sins ; since all sin, even the least concupiscence against God's law, is in his account deadly. But that the reason why sin does not bring forth Death, according to the nature of it, in Believers, is wholly owing to the mercy of God, which excuses the Faithful.



The End of the Twenty-third Book.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N
I N and A B O U T the
L O W - C O U N T R I E S.

B O O K XXIV.



AMONG the miseries of this quarellsome age, it was not perhaps the least, that men of great learning and virtue were too easily suspected of heterodoxy in doctrine, or of promoting heresie, if they did not show themselves zealots for the opinions then in vogue; whereby they were sometimes discouraged and rendered useles to their country. Thus it was, as some think, that the famous *Johannes Drusius* was treated in those times. This person, who was Professor of the *Hebrew* tongue at *Franeker*, and a great

Master of the other learned languages, had done no small service to the cause of *Reformation*, and yet was now become very obnoxious to some hot-headed men. ¹ Some thought his great learning had drawn upon him the envy and hatred of many; others, that the friendship he had contracted with *Arminius* and *Uitenbogart*, and their zeal in promoting his interest, were the cause of his being suspected.

AN^o DOM.
1616.

J. Drusius be-
comes obnoxious
to certain zealous
Divines.

Some warm Divines had so teased and tormented him for several years by their calumnies and misrepresentations, that in a certain letter to one of his friends, he speaks thus of them: *These restless people seem to aim at nothing more than to make a Heretick of me, or to shorten my days by grief.* And a little after, *Who ever got a little reputation by the exercise of any good quality, without drawing upon himself the hatred of the Divines?* Capnio, Erasmus, Arias, and Jerome, sadly experienced the same. *Diligence produces Virtue, Virtue Honour, and Honour Envy, the peculiar distemper of those that would be valued above others; whereas there is no vice more remote than Envy from true Virtue: for this plague deceives men under the cloak of sanctimony, whilst it seems to oppose Vice and to promote Virtue.*

Drusius had affirmed, in certain *Theses* or *Positions*, that the word in the original which signifies to *create*, sometimes too denoted the same as to *generate* or *beget*; and that *Christ* might be said in this sense to be *created*, i. e. to be *generated* or *begotten*. As soon as ever these *Theses* were printed, and before they were delivered out or distributed, *Sibrandus Lubbertus*, then Professor of Divinity at *Franeker*, without saying a word to the Compiler, sent them to *Leeuwarden* and *Amsterdam*.

He is accused
of Heterodoxy
by Sibrandus
Lubbertus.

B b

They

¹ Epist. Eccles. p. 119, &c. Epist. Clar. viror. edit. Harling. p. 371, 375. Vita Drusij Criticor. Sacror. Tom. VI. prefixa. p. 43.

AN^o D^o M.
1616.

He justifies
himself in
Print.

They were read at a certain meeting, as the said *Drusus* writes, by one that mortally hated him, and who there explained them contrary to his meaning, as favouring the doctrine of *Arius*; and that accusation met with so much credit, that he was urged to justify himself in print. For which end he wrote that famous Epistle to the *Netherland* brethren which is still in our hands, maintaining that his interpretation of the original word for *create* agrees with the genius of the *Hebrew* and other languages, and is of use more effectually to convince the *Arians*. At the conclusion of his Epistle we find these expressions: *They, into whose hands I put weapons against their enemies, are the people that bear hardest upon me; which makes me suspect that they are really of his opinion whom they pretend most to abhor.*¹ Thus many suspect that *Socinus* is secretly favoured by the person who by publishing his text, and so weakly refuting it, has rendered him more famous than ever; for by so doing, he has made abundance of *Socinians* in these parts, where the name was scarce known before; but I hope better of him (*Sibrandus*) though he hates me and the truth, or rather me for the sake of the truth. I thought my self bound to admonish you of these things, brethren, and it now becomes you to take this my admonition in good part; for if it was allowable for him to accuse me before you, it is no less so for me to justify my self. They that condemn any man unheard, do what is expressly forbidden by the Law of God.

His Death and
Character.

² Not long after the publication of this Defence, *Drusus* died on the 12th of February Old Stile, in the year 1616. He was born at *Oudenarde* in *Flanders* the 28th of June 1550. His Learning and Diligence, before so highly commended by *Beza*, were seen to shine forth with greater lustre to posterity after his decease. His incredible labour in explaining the books of the Old and New Testament, in searching into and discovering the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac* Antiquities, has been since the more esteemed. But two things particularly were observed and commended in him: First, That he owned, when arguments and proofs were produced which he did not think conclusive enough, that he doubted and suspended his judgment. Secondly, That he was not ashamed to alter his opinion when convinced by the force of reason, and to sacrifice it to a better, even in his old age, and in matters which he had been conversant in for so many years.

The Original
of the Schism
at the Hague.

³ But now the series of time puts us in mind of giving some account of the schism that happened at the *Hague*, under the very eye of the supreme powers of *Holland*. Some of the violent *Contraremonstrants* were of opinion, that the cause of the *Remonstrants* stood upon an ill bottom, being nothing but the artifice of a Faction which had its capital seat at the *Hague*; and that as the most powerful Patrons of it dwelt or resided there, it would be necessary to break the neck of it in its head-quarters. They cried, that *Uitenbogart*, who was now looked upon as one of the greatest enemies of the Church, must be attacked in his own kennel. They were of opinion, that the received doctrine of the *Reformation* could be no longer preserved in its ancient purity, without a total separation from the said *Remonstrants*, which yet was not very practicable whilst the States still maintained their resolutions for promoting *Mutual Toleration* and the Peace of the Church at the *Hague*, for from thence the influence of their authority diffused it self through most towns of the Province. *Uitenbogart* says in his books, that it was not thought proper to begin the business of separation in the *Hague*, but to make a trial first in some other places, the better to judge as it were, of their own strength, and to see what the Patrons of *Mutual Toleration* would or could do in opposition to the schism, whereby, as he thought, they endeavoured to open a door, and make a wide gap for a projected Revolution both in Church and State. And thus having discovered how people were affected in some places, it was then judged time to second the endeavours of others in the *Hague*, and to execute the general contrivance as far as possible. In that place there were four Ministers; of these, *Johannes la Faille* and *Johannes Lamotius* were *Contraremonstrants*, but such as conformed however to the Order of the States in the business of the differences, and kept up peace and friendship with *Uitenbogart*, though a professed *Remonstrant*.

¹ He points at *Socinus's* Book, de *Servatore*, or concerning our Saviour, which *Sibrandus Lubbertus* published with his own Refutation. Vide *Epist. Eccles.*

P. 444. al. 416. 417.

² Baud. Mem. Lib. VIII. p. 37.

³ Trigl. p. 872.

⁴ *Uitenbogart's* Life, Lib. VIII. p. 89. Hist. p. 637.

Henricus Rosæus, the youngest of them all in age, as well as in the Ministry, appeared at first to be of very moderate sentiments about religious matters; yea, it is said of him, that whilst he was at *Freemersum* in the County of *Meurs*, he scrupled the peremptory subscription to the Catechism. And accordingly *Uitenbogat*, from whom he had received many kindnesses at the beginning of his Ministry at the *Hague*, and with whom he had entered into a strict friendship, communicated to him the first *Remonstrance* of the *Remonstrants*, before it was delivered to the States, desiring his opinion about it: but when he returned it, he neither said good nor bad of it: however, he was heard to say occasionally, that he would not quarrel with the *Remonstrants* on account of their opinions, and that there ought to be a mutual forbearance. This language he continued to speak till the year 1612. But at that time, or soon after, he was observed to express himself quite otherwise, and act a very different part, abstaining by little and little from *Uitenbogat*'s company, and afterwards avoiding his sermons. And being of a voluble tongue, and agreeable delivery, he began to inveigh very warmly from the pulpit, abandoning himself to his passion, to which he was very subject. He first declaimed against the Professor *Conradus Vorstius*, who had formerly been his Tutor, and whom not long before he had mightily extolled, and without the knowledge or consent of the Consistory, had brought to the Lord's Table, as well as treated at his own house. — Then he proceeded to speak against the *Remonstrants* and their Patrons, but in general terms, and without naming any body; as also against Innovations and Innovators in matters of Religion, without saying what or whom he meant. The *Contraremonstrants* however understood his language, and accordingly all of them, some sooner, others later, first quitted *Uitenbogat*'s Sermons, and then the Sacrament. *Rosæus* too spoke plainer by degrees, till at last he declared openly against his Colleague, *viz.* in the year 1615. But before it came to that, he was heard to say: *That Arminius and Uitenbogat had endeavoured to bring him to their lure, and that their friendship towards him ceased as soon as they perceived he would not hearken to them.* And when somebody reminded him of the former good understanding between *Uitenbogat* and him, and asked him how he could be so much altered? he let fall these expressions: *I made myself so familiar with him, in order to fathom his principles, which having discovered, I took my leave of him.*

A^N D O M.
1616.

H. Rosæus
opposes Uiten-
bogat and
the Remon-
strants.

Uitenbogat tells us in his own Life, that during all that liberty which *Rosæus* took in the pulpit, he held his peace intirely, for fear of giving any occasion to the Schism or Separation, which, as he believed, they aimed at bringing about by this man. He seldom mentioned any thing of the controverted points in his sermons, and when he did, he only proposed his own opinions, without refuting those of *Rosæus*. But at last, censures and accusations ran so high, and the party of his Colleague increased so much, that *Uitenbogat*, the accused person, thought he was obliged to speak for himself (and his two other Colleagues, *La Faille* and *Lamotius* agreed to it) but not by way of complaint against any body, but by declaring his sentiments concerning the chief points of the Christian religion, to the end, that the whole church, who had heard *Rosæus* so long and so often declaiming against *false teachers, seducers, wolves and foxes that were among them, who had no God, who were to be avoided, with whom no communion was to be holden, who were not to be received into the house, nor so much as to be bidden God speed, lest they should be partakers with them of their sins,* might now also at last, having heard *Uitenbogat*'s own confession, judge from the whole, what sort of man he was.

This Declaration was made by him upon a Sunday, being the 16th of September, of the foregoing year, in a certain sermon preached upon a text out of † *St. Mark*. He discoursed upon the fundamentals of *Christianity*, and the *Five Points*, according to the opinion of the *Remonstrants*; shewing, that the *Primitive Christians* and Fathers of the Church were not uniform in their sentiments about these matters; and that both doctrines, as well that of an *absolute Predestination*, (which was called the high) as that of a *conditional* one, were allowed to be taught in the church without *damning* one another, or making a *schism* on that account: That at the time of the *Reformation* too, *Calvin* and *Melancthon*, the former maintaining an *absolute*, and the latter a *conditional Predestination*, did, notwithstanding this difference, main-

Uitenbo-
gart's publick
Declaration
and Protestati-
on.

AN^o DOM. 1616. tain christian peace and friendship with each other. At the conclusion of the sermon, he thus addressed his hearers.

‘ I most earnestly entreat you, in the name of *Christ Jesus*, not to suffer your
‘ selves to be drawn into parties, divided or rent asunder for my sake, or any other
‘ man’s. Strife and hatred are reckoned by the Apostle among *the works of the*
‘ *flesh*; concerning which he declares, *that they which do such things shall not inher-*
‘ *it the kingdom of God*. This is a dreadful sentence, whether it be against me
‘ or others who may be found guilty of so doing. Divide not therefore from
‘ each other, but continue united, serving the Lord with fervour of spirit, and pray-
‘ ing always for the peace of the Church. As for what personally concerns me, I
‘ protest before God (and solemnly offer it before all of you now present, and before
‘ the Angels of God) that I will rather resign up my office and depart, taking my
‘ leave in peace, than be in any wise the cause, or give the least occasion to a schism in
‘ this Congregation, which I have served so many years, and which I love and
‘ honour so much.

Rosæus com-
plains to the
Consistory.

This sermon gave great satisfaction to many: the Ministers *La Faille* and *Lamo-*
tius, and some of the Elders, thought that *Uitenbogart* had freed himself from all
unjust suspicions, and the Church from divisions. But it happened quite otherwise.
For *Rosæus* having advised with some of his adherents, resolved to push his de-
signs to the utmost, and to make this sermon serve his purposes, though he had
not heard it. Having kept silence above two months, he came to the Consistory just
two days before the celebration of the Sacrament, and there complained against *Ui-*
tenbogart and his sermon, which, as he said, tended to create a schism in their church,
and to throw the odium of it upon him; praying the Consistory to take that ser-
mon into their cognizance. — The Consistory it self was likewise reproached
by him, for suffering *Uitenbogart* to do what he would, and to go forwards and
backwards, and travel about the country to make parties and divisions. They soon
observed what he aimed at, *viz.* to abstain from the Lord’s Table. *La Faille* re-
plied among other things: *That Rosæus, by absenting himself from the Communion,*
would become his own judge; and that it were absurd to desire the Consistory to take
cognizance of a matter, upon which he had already past sentence. *Lamotius* and
the Elders were of the same opinion, and desired he would tell them plainly, whe-
ther he would appear at the Communion, or not. He answered: *He could not tell,*
but that he would consider of it.

The Heer *Apollonius Schotte*, a Member of the supream Council, and sufficiently
famous for his excellent learning, and the Counsellor *Swerius*, both of them Elders,
used their utmost diligence to move *Rosæus*, begging him not to stay away from the
Sacrament, forasmuch as it might induce many others to follow his example, and so
he himself would be the occasion of the schism. But all that *Uitenbogart* could say
in his own defence, or the Consistory for peace, was in vain: *Rosæus* grew only the
more violent, and broke out at last into these expressions: ‘ The schism is made al-
‘ ready, but not by me. We all know what *Uitenbogart* has done. — He talks
‘ indeed of peace and charity, but it is only because he wants power. But every
‘ one sees how things go where he and his party are uppermost, where the good and
‘ orthodox Ministers are obliged to quit the towns; the same would have happened
‘ at the *Hague*, where I should not have been suffered long, if *Uitenbogart* could
‘ have helped it. — The Consistory ought long since to have taken notice of
‘ that man’s doctrine and behaviour; but as they have not thought fit to do it, I
‘ must: But I do it not for my self only, but in behalf of many more. Let the
‘ Consistory therefore do their duty; what I do, is out of pure conscience towards
‘ God (*at the same time lifting up his eyes to Heaven*) of which I shall give a good
‘ account to the Son of God at the last day.

To these and other high words were return’d the like answers, too tedious to be
here repeated. It was also proposed that *Rosæus* should draw up his accusations in
writing

* See *Uitenbogart’s* xij. Sermons printed at the | *His Life*, Lib. VIII. p. 111. Trigl. p. 874.
Hague, 1644. p. 347, 353, 364, his *Hist.* p. 639. | * Gal. v. 29, 21.

writing, and deliver them in at the next meeting; to the end that the accused person might answer them article by article. The next day the Heer Apollonius Schotte was heard to say; *Now I find that some people act like the Jesuits, endeavouring to load their adversaries with lyes.* Besides, he join'd with other Elders to beg of Uitenbogat, that he would not upon this account forsake his usual Ministry, nor absent himself from the Table of the Lord; since he had not affronted and ill-treated *Roseus*, but *Roseus* him. He came then to the Communion, but got another Minister to officiate in his turn, in order to disarm *Roseus* of the scruple he made to receive the Bread from his hand; but the other staid away nevertheless, and many with him. Uitenbogat, who was of opinion that by this action *Roseus* hung out the Flag of *Schism* publicly, made his complaint to the Consistory in these words: 'By his staying away, he has done great injustice to the Church, the Consistory and to me: To the Church, by the scandal he has given, in laying the foundation of a publick *Schism*; to the Consistory, in despising their exhortations and intreaties that he would not absent himself, and in not expecting their Judgment upon the Complaints he brought against me; but prejudging matters himself, beginning with the Execution before the Tryal; to Me, as one whom he has already excommunicated, as far as in him lay, or at least by staying away on my account, has declared unworthy of the Sacrament, and consequently of Christian communion.' He further prayed 'that the Consistory would oblige *Roseus* to give an account of his proceedings in these matters, and particularly to deliver in the articles of his accusation in writing, that so he might return distinct answers.' *Roseus* was then asked, whether he had drawn up any charge in writing? he said no; and that it had not been required of him. This occasioned a debate among the Members of the Consistory; some maintaining that he had been directed to do it, others denying it. After further consideration, the Consistory thought it not proper that he should draw up any thing in writing against Uitenbogat, but that the articles should be taken from his mouth. But some of the Elders, who were reckoned to be favourers of *Roseus*, and who made a tool of him to bring about other purposes, seem'd to affect delays in the matter. One of them, the Counsellor Francis Franken, who was not present at the former meeting of the Consistory, inveighed warmly against schism, which, he said, 'proceeded sometimes from ambition or vain-glory; that it was ambition that occasioned these disputes and controversies in particular; that many had been guilty in that respect, particularly *Koornbert*, who having deserted his native country, had afterwards stirred up these disputes out of ambition and malice, and done a deal of mischief.' Blaming moreover Uitenbogat and *Roseus* too; the former, because he needed not have preached that sermon against which his Colleague complained; and the latter, for not having carried himself more moderately at the beginning. 'No body, says he, will own himself to have been the cause of divisions, every one shifting it from himself to another; but I pray God to put to shame all those who are the authors or promoters of them.' Upon this Uitenbogat return'd him several remarkable answers, and this in particular: 'That one might often easily judge of disputes, but not so easily of their motives, viz. whether they proceeded from ambition, or from a true zeal for God, and love of his Truth: This was what concerned the heart, which was known to God only. That the controversies about *Freewill* and *Predestination* might be handled in a manner justly to be rejected; but they might also be so managed, as that the advantages of them, with respect to the honour of God and holiness of life, should be visible and palpable: That frequently by the means of ill-managed and unnecessary disputes, certain doctrines had been introduced, which though false and pernicious, were in time prest upon others, and preached up as necessary: That this had obliged some to endeavour, by good and seasonable disputes, to undo the evil that had been done, and to remove from the shoulders of the Church, the intolerable burden which others would lay upon it: The truth of this had been seen in the *Romish* Church, and by what our Divines had disputed against those of that communion upon several articles. If therefore all those were to be accounted schismatical, and causers of divisions, who pursuant to their call, and in order to discharge their consciences before God and the Church, to which they minister, do any thing whereby afterwards quarrels or even schisms ensue, and that it were to be understood as if they had laboured to make such quarrels and schisms, then

AN^O D^O M.
1616.

He absents himself from the Holy Communion
Uitenbogat his Complaint against Roseus.

His Speech to the Consistory.

' would

AN^O DOM.
1616.

He defends the
Common Cause
of the Remon-
strants.

And his own
Conduct with
reference to
the Affairs of
the Hague.

would the best men that ever trod upon the earth, yea even our first *Reformers* themselves pass for authors of schism. Our prospect is at present confined, *said he*, to the narrow compass of our own country, and the troubles that here present themselves to our notice; but let us once cast our eyes upon the state of all *Europe*, and observe what divisions, what effusion of christian blood, what desolation of countries and destruction of people are to be met with every where. Are these to be ascribed or imputed to the men that pointed out the corruptions which had gradually crept into the christian church, and who endeavoured to reform them, only because these their proceedings were attended with schisms and factions? God forbid ——— The times themselves have often their peculiar difficulties, and reduce us to great inconveniences, if we will keep our consciences void of offence. Schisms likewise frequently spring, not from the designs of the Clergy, but from the ambitious factions of Statesmen, whereby they are able sometimes to impose upon and mislead one party, and sometimes another, for their own secret views; pretending religion, and the controversies about it, the better to cover their vile passions, discontents against the government, love of change, and lust of power. As for what relates to our own *Holland*, I should be glad to know whether those of the Clergy, who would fain have seen any point of importance amended by the usual way in the churches where they ministered; but perceiving that way, by some unaccountable methods, was become impracticable, and yet finding themselves defamed and slandered both at home and abroad, as promoters of novel and dangerous doctrines, who being also plagued, or at least threatened with ecclesiastical censures, presented an humble Remonstrance to the Government, in which they disclosed their grievances, begging either a Synod or a Toleration, or a discharge from their Ministry: I should be glad to know, I say, whether they committed any crime in so doing? I acknowledge I have been instrumental in such things; and being thereupon accused before the higher powers, as a false Teacher, together with others, I joyned in defending my opinions as true, and agreeable to God's word, being thereto required by and before the Civil Magistrate. Now what is there in all this that looks like schism? And yet it is laid to our charge, notwithstanding we openly declare, and solemnly protest, that we desire nothing else but mutual forbearance in this diversity of opinions, which have never yet been determined in any Synod, and consequently ought to be free. Such who aim at nothing more, do not seek to make a schism, but others rather, who will not bear with us, and therefore endeavour to render us odious to the people; those who seeing no means to conquer us, separate from us, and push on matters to a formal schism; and whatever endeavours the Magistrates, whether supreme or subordinate, use for obviating such a schism, abuse and pervert them towards the support of it.

As for the church of the *Hague*, I have always laboured for peace there; I never brought any controversy either into the Pulpit or Consistory, abstaining as much as possible from touching upon any of the points in dispute, and bearing with many reflections, contempts and injuries in silence, in hopes that he who treated me thus, would be weary and forbear; or that the Elders, as it was their business, would take cognizance of it. But neither of the things happening, and perceiving that the congregation began to entertain ill thoughts of me and my doctrine, and suspected even my silence, and that many who had before frequented my sermons with eagerness and pleasure, conceived an aversion to them, I have been necessitated once for all to declare myself before the said congregation publicly, in order to open their eyes, to exhort them to peace, and to make them easy. This I did, and many were well pleased with my proceedings; neither have I heard any body complain but *Rosæus*. Nor do I know why I had better have let alone this sermon; but on the contrary, I think I ought not to have omitted it, and should be glad to learn the opinion of the Consistory about it. But since there were not above four persons of this body present when I preached it, that is to say, two Ministers and two Elders, I am content that the congregation, or the chief of them be consulted about it, and I will deliver it in writing as far as I can recollect myself, in order to submit it to the judgment of the Consistory. But it is not this sermon only that is the matter in question. *Rosæus* has offered other and more grievous accusations against me, which I can not pass by with honour and a good conscience, without justifying myself against them. For which purpose, (since *Rosæus* produces

duces a very confused charge against me, sometimes denying that he had said *AN^o DOM^o* 1616. this or that, or giving another turn to things than as I understood them) I still desire the articles may be given me in writing. In this case I likewise pray that the Consistory would exert their authority. They cannot refuse so reasonable a request, nor decline the cognizance of this affair.

The Ministers *La Faille* and *Lamotius* were of opinion that the charge against him ought to be drawn up in writing: but the Heer *Franken*, and some of the Elders, judged that it would only tend to create further disputes, and that it did not in any sort belong to the Consistory to determine about doctrines. Whereupon *Uitenbogat* said: 'That what *Roseus* alledged against him, did not so much relate to his doctrine, as his actions and behaviour, of which the Consistory might justly take cognizance. — Besides, that there was no danger of further quarrels, since he would readily submit to the decision of that body; and in case the Consistory should be satisfied of his innocency, he was ready to behave himself as decently towards *Roseus* as the Consistory should desire: but if they judged him guilty, and that he had deserved to be either suspended, or even totally deprived of his Ministry, he assured them he would entirely acquiesce in their censure, though he were persuaded that he had been wrongfully condemned, without occasioning any schism on that account; but still with a *salvo* to the opinion he had embraced, which he would not suffer to be run down or overborn.

But all these arguments did not avail: they could come to no conclusion. Upon this, *Uitenbogat* perceiving that the Consistory left the matter depending between him and *Roseus*, found himself necessitated to become *Plaintiff* instead of *Defendant*. Wherefore he applied himself to all the Elders, as also to the Heer *Franken*, desiring them to do him justice, and to order that he might have a sight of the accusations against him in writing, and be heard thereupon.

Most of them referred him to *Franken*, who returned him the following answer: 'I am not versed in your ecclesiastical ways of proceeding. The cause is general, and cannot the refore be determined in a particular Consistory. The question is no longer about *Religion*, but *Government*. Some of the Magistrates and Senates finding themselves the weakest, have introduced *Papists* and *Libertines* into the Government, in order to keep out others of the established Church. — You might have let alone this sermon. Neither can *Roseus* be excused for absenting himself from the Sacrament: and if you leave us, the schism will be still greater. For my own part, I shall not quit the Congregation for the sake of either of your opinions. People should stick to the received doctrines. Had yours been received, I should have approved it as well. I can think of no better expedient, than to admonish *Roseus*.

Uitenbogat, who immediately noted down these expressions, of which he guessed at the meaning, pressed in vain for a hearing, and for justice to be done him by the Consistory. They talked of agreeing the matter. He urged, that he might be first declared innocent. But at last the Consistory (with the help of the Heer *Franken*) drew up an instrument of accommodation, which *Uitenbogat* (after making such amendments in it as the Consistory themselves judged reasonable) approved, but which was rejected by *Roseus*, though the said Heer *Franken* said at first, he was satisfied with it. This project, as recited by *Triglandius*, was of the following tenor.

WHEREAS *Henricus Roseus*, a Minister, complained to the Consistory of the Hague, of a certain sermon made by his Colleague *Johannes Uitenbogat*, together with his proceedings with respect to the Ecclesiastical differences: and whereas the said *Uitenbogat* insisted, that the complaints which were brought against him should be couched in writing, the Members of the Consistory considering that the common disputes which at present disturb many churches, God help us! are intermixed with this affair, do judge it very prejudicial to push it to extremity; being, on the contrary, of opinion that the publick tranquillity of the Church ought to be preserved and promoted by all imaginable means; for want of which, the Community

*A Project of
An act of Accommodation
between Roseus and Uitenbogat.*

¹ *Uitenb. Life. Lib. VIII. p. 127.* ² *Uitenb. Journal on the 27th Oct. 1615.* ³ *Trigl. p. 877.*

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munity falling into parties, the word of God cannot be inculcated so efficaciously, nor mutual charity exercised as becomes Christians: They have therefore thought fit, that henceforwards nothing shall be taught or preached from the pulpit, but what is proper for the building up of God's Church, and the instruction of his people; and that no mention be made of the *Five Points*, which are at present controverted among some Divines, unless with prudence and great temper, and without cavilling: and that those who are of different sentiments in these matters, shall not molest each other on that account, nor abate of their christian charity. And if any one presume to act contrary to this their Resolution, he shall be liable to the censure of the said Consistory; who will proceed therein, so as they think most likely to tend to the benefit of the Church. And further, that the aforementioned *Uitenbogart* and *Rosæus*, at the pressing instances and request of the said Consistory for the service of the Church, and love of the publick Peace, shall forgive one another all offences and disputes that have past between them to this day, as they do hereby sincerely, cordially and brotherly forgive each other; promising henceforwards to assist each other like good Collegues, and without any contest in promoting the honour of God, and in instructing the Congregation, as is the duty of pious Ministers and Brethren, looking upon all the past differences and quarrels, as if they had never happened. *Done, &c.*

Rosæus refuses to consent to it.

He is summoned to appear before the States of Holland.

The Consistory took great pains to induce *Rosæus* to come into this agreement, and for that purpose met alone with him, in the absence of *Uitenbogart*. He put it off from one week to another; so that it was never the nearer. At last they indulged him the liberty of consulting with others about it, *Plancius* only being excepted, as too partial. Finally, being still pressed to accept of the terms abovementioned, and to return to the Lord's Table, he absolutely rejected all accommodation; and a few days after, was guilty of so much heat and intemperance in the pulpit, that the States of *Holland*, who had been informed of the substance of his sermon by some of their own body then present, resolved to take order about it themselves. They cited *La Faille* and *Lamotius* before them, and required them to convene the Consistory, to demand of *Rosæus* his last resolution, and to make report to them the next day: But the Consistory desired it might be delayed. The States considered the Act of Accommodation drawn up by order of the said Consistory and approved by them. They judged it to be equitable; and sending for *Rosæus* to their Assembly, they acquainted him what dissatisfaction his sermon had given, and asked him: 'Whether for the future he was willing to live in peace and unity with his Collegues, according to the Resolutions of the States, who were of opinion that schisms and discord among the Clergy ought no where to be less endured than in the *Hague*, on account of their being under the eye of the States in the place where they met, and where his Excellency [Prince *Maurice*] resided, as well as the other sovereign Colleges of the Government and Courts of Justice?' *Rosæus* declared, 'that he was not sensible he had said any thing but what was agreeable to God's word, and to his text in particular. That as to his absenting himself from the sacrament, he was uneasy in his conscience at *Uitenbogart's* sermon, in which he made a confession of his faith:' adding further, 'that he could not unite or entertain Christian charity with this his Colleague, till he was united to the established Church.' Upon this he was acquainted: 'that after the Conference about the *Five Points*, the States had not thought fit, for weighty reasons, to come to any determination upon the different opinions among the Clergy; but had declared that such a diversity of opinions ought not to occasion the breach of christian and brotherly peace; and that he [*Rosæus*] having been exhorted to peace and charity by the Consistories project of an Accommodation, what he had said and done, in opposition to the States Orders, and the said Project, was not to be endured.

However, *Rosæus* persisting in his intentions, the Consistory was again ordered to exhort him to accept the abovementioned Project, or at least to entertain christian unity, peace and the communion of the holy Sacrament with his Collegues; and in case

case he could not be prevailed upon to do it within fourteen days following, to give A N^o D O M.
notice of it to the Lords of the Committee of the States. ——— 1616.

Afterwards being asked once more: *Whether he had further considered what was offered him?* He said, *he could not make any other answer as yet.* Then he was told, *that he should take care what he did, and not rashly reject the orders of the States, and the proposals and exhortations of the Consistory; or that otherwise they the States would give such directions as they thought fitting in his case; and that the Nobles, and Deputies of the towns, were much displeased at the Declaration he made in their Assembly.* It was further resolved, that if he could not be persuaded to close with the said proposals, within the time appointed, nor to maintain christian love and unity (conformably to the States Resolutions, as well in his sermons, as in the use of the sacrament) then the afore said Committee should be empowered to suspend him from the exercise of his Ministry till the next assembly of the States, who would consider further of his case, and proceed as they saw convenient.

Uitenbogat observing the danger that hung over the head of *Rosæus*, did on the 4th of January, by means of the Heer *vander Myle*, and the Counsellor *Hoogerberts* represent to the Advocate of *Holland*, and by his intervention to the States, that in his opinion the said States would do better to let him quit the *Hague*, than *Rosæus*: for he verily believed that in case *Rosæus* were dismissed, he would from thence take an occasion to set up a separate church, which was not to be apprehended from him [*Uitenbogat*.] Afterwards he made the same motion himself to the Advocate. But *Rosæus* pursuing his design absented himself the second time, being the 10th of January, from the Communion, with a considerable number of the Congregation. The space of fourteen days allowed by the States to the Consistory to persuade him, and to him to consider, was lengthened out to more than a month: and yet he put it off from time to time.

In the mean while some of the Consistory were of opinion, that if *Uitenbogat* would declare that he had no other difference with the *Contraremonstrants*, save in the business of the *Five Points*, and would agree to a meeting, in order to deliberate how they should behave themselves in teaching and preaching, with respect to these differences, it would be a means to establish peace. He replied, that he had already declared himself as to the first of those points in publick print, and that he adhered to what he then said. And as for the second, that the bounds of preaching could not be better settled, than conformably to what the States had already determined by their so often-mentioned Resolution. The Elders were satisfied with this declaration, which he afterwards, at their request, delivered to them in writing, in which he said, as to the second point, *viz.* about meeting with certain persons in order to adjust the limits of preaching with respect to the differences, *that it was not free for him to agree upon any such particular meetings, since the Government had already settled matters in that respect. However, that he would not decline a meeting or conference, when the States should think fit to appoint the same, and empower him to attend at it.* But nothing was effected either by this verbal or written declaration.

Rosæus, who still continued his violent manner of preaching, made new demands by the Heers *Schotti* and *Verius*. He desired 'That *Uitenbogat* should promise he would use his best endeavours to promote the meeting of a *National Synod* upon the following conditions. *First*, That such a Synod should consist of persons chosen and deputed by the Churches, or Provincial Synods. *Secondly*, That whoever proposed any alterations, or made objections to any thing contained in the *Confession* or *Catechism*, should be deprived of his vote in the said Synod. And *Thirdly*, that whatever should be carried in the Synod by the majority of votes, should be received for a definitive judgment.

Uitenbogat's Answer was: 'That he adhered to the Act and Resolution of the Consistory of the *Hague*, for the maintaining peace, and to his own further Declaration, which at their request he had presented in writing; but that he could by no means enter into any engagements with reference to the Synod, because the face of affairs was very much altered since the year 1607, when he had offered his advice about calling a Synod, and that this business extended now beyond his own

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‘ safe, or that of *Rosæus*, or of the Church and Consistory of the *Hague*: He resolved therefore to submit to such a Synod, as the States General, or those of *Holland*, his lawful Sovereigns, should think fit to call. And concluded with praying that he might not be further importun’d about these matters.

Thus distant were the Parties one from another, when the Committee of the States cited the Minister *Rosæus* before them again, and once more asked him, *Whether he would obey the orders of the States for the promoting of peace, or no?* He persisted in his resolutions, charging *Uitenbogat* with certain passages in his writings, which seemed to him somewhat too sharp. But the latter having been heard upon it, explained himself to the satisfaction of the said Committee, who asked him further, whether he could think of any expedient for accommodating this affair with *Rosæus*? He repeated all that had been done to that very day; adding, ‘ I have done all that was possible for me to do; if your Lordships know any other proper means, I am very ready to hear and follow your orders; for I don’t desire that a hair of *Rosæus*’s head should be touched; and as for my self, I am content to be silenced, if your Lordships do not think my ministry edifying.

*Rosæus is
suspended from
preaching.*

‘ Matters being in this condition, two of the Lords of the Committee, the Heers *Van Beveren* and *De Graef* made one more essay to bring *Rosæus* to a sense of his duty. The Advocate of *Holland* also treated with him privately upon the same occasion, and exhorted him to a compliance: but he persisted in his refusal. This was followed on the 12th of *February* by a suspension from preaching till further order from the States: which rendered *Uitenbogat* still more obnoxious to the *Contraremonstrants*, for they reported that all this was his doing. A few days after, *Uitenbogat* falling into discourse with one of *Rosæus*’s Party and Confidants, penetrated a little deeper into the mystery of this Quarrel of the *Hague*; for upon testifying his disposition towards peace, and saying, *I am ready to pass by all considerations, and bear with the opinions of Rosæus, provided he will bear with mine; and to keep up friendship, and enter into a conference with him about a Synod, in order to accommodate all matters*: The aforesaid friend of *Rosæus* let fall unadvisedly the following expressions: *That the separation at the Hague was brought about at the desire of other churches* (for so he stiled the Conventicles of the discontented *Contraremonstrants*, who had separated from the church at *Rotterdam* and elsewhere) *in order to support them, and so to obtain a remedy: and that Rosæus was obliged to keep up a correspondence with those other churches, and pursue their methods.*

*The secret Mo-
tive of the Se-
paration at
the Hague
discovered.*

‘ *Triglandius* also tells us, that *Rosæus* had consulted with several Churches and Ministers of the *Contraremonstrant* persuasion, and not only with those to whom he could apply by word of mouth, but likewise by letters with others in *South* and *North Holland*, and in other parts of the *United Provinces*; and that he had receiv’d a two-fold advice: 3 some were for his returning to Church-communion with *Uitenbogat*, but upon certain terms, which in their judgments were very reasonable, (though 4 *Uitenbogat* himself thought them very absurd and unjust) others advised him to stand his ground, without stirring one step nearer, or making any kind of concessions. We also read in the History of *Triglandius*, that the Ministers of *Dort* writ at the same time to *Rosæus*: That the Resolution of the States, concerning the Pacification of the Clergy, had never been received by the town of *Dort*, the first and most ancient of all *Holland*, no more than by those other towns of *Amsterdam*, *Enkbusen*, *Edam* and *Purmerent*. By these means they endeavoured to keep up the courage of *Rosæus*: though otherwise what is said about *Dort* does not seem very credible, if compared with what was formerly done by that town concerning this Resolution of the States; or since, with respect to the Deputation to those of *Amsterdam*, to persuade them to approve of the said Resolution, in which the Heer *Hugo Muis* of *Holly*, Scout of the town of *Dort*, with others, were employed; of which more hereafter. The town of *Edam* had likewise received the said Resolution. 5 But *Triglandius* says in another place, that *Dort* stuck close to the party of the *Contraremonstrants*, though they did not declare themselves till at last.

¹ *Memoirs of Episcopius on the 12th of Feb.*

² *Uitenbogat’s Life, Lib. IX. p. 138.*

³ *Trigl. p. 882 — 92.*

⁴ *Uitenb. p. 659.*

⁵ *Trigl. p. 872.*



MAURICE PRINCE of ORANGE

But be this as it will, *Rosæus* proceeding in the separation, and being desirous to depart as far as he could from *Uitenbogart* and the rest of his Collegues, began not long after to go to a Conventicle at *Riiswick*, out of the *Hague*, with his family, and some of his followers. This was very displeasing to many Members of the Church. They thought that neither he, nor his, had any reason to separate from the body of the *Hague* church, and to run out of town to private meetings, especially whilst they could hear *La Faille* and *Lamotius*, both of them *Contraremonstrants*. But because those two Gentlemen conformed themselves to the Resolutions of the States, and lived in peace with *Uitenbogart*, they became disagreeable to the rigid party. 1 Besides there were above two hundred persons that entered into an association to deliver petitions in favour of *Rosæus*, which afterwards became a practice. This strengthened the schism. 2 On the other hand, the Counsellor *Apollonius Schotte* endeavoured to encourage *Uitenbogart* against these proceedings, exhorting him to do his duty, and to leave the event of things to God, without making himself uneasy. But the Counsellors *Kouwenburg* and the Heer *Anthony Duik*, Secrecary to the States of *Holland*, together with two other Counsellors, *Rosa* and *Barsdorp*, declared that they could not hear him longer with a safe conscience.

3 About this time, or a little earlier, the Committee of the States sent for several Gentlemen from the Colleges, one from the supreme, another from the provincial Council, and a third from the Treasury Chamber, acquainting them with what had happened and was done in the business of *Rosæus*, to the end that they might make a report of the whole to their respective Principals. The Advocate of *Holland* likewise communicated the matter to his Excellency Prince *Maurice*, telling him: That he had hitherto spared his Excellency, being unwilling to engage him in such disputes; but now, since all was tending to open faction, he perceived the States would find themselves obliged to beg of him to assist in supporting the publick Authority. The Prince seemed to be surpris'd at his saying, and desired, That he might not be drawn into this quarrel, he having always kept himself neuter. Afterwards *Uitenbogart* discoursing with the Prince about the Ecclesiastical Differences, prayed that he might be heard against them who represented him as a promoter of divisions, as one who had an understanding with the Jesuits, and attempted to make alterations in Religion, and who was also the cause that *Rosæus* was suspended from preaching; offering immediately to resign his ministerial function, if it should be thought proper, and assuring him, that nevertheless, without making parties and factions, he would still frequent the publick worship, that so he might set a good example to others. His Excellency thereupon returned him this answer: That he looked upon those accusations as slander: that nothing was to be expected either from a voluntary resigning of the ministry on the one hand, or from violently thrusting one another out of the pulpit on the other; but that the business ought to be accommodated, and expedients thought of for that purpose. The other replied, That he knew of no other expedients, than either a formal separation by publick authority, or unity by a mutual toleration; and that he looked upon the latter as the better of the two. The Prince owned, That there was no better means; but was however of opinion, that each party should have a distinct church, to preach and celebrate the sacrament in. *Uitenbogart* maintained, That this would be a complete Schism, and liable to many inconveniences; and besides, that wherever the *Contraremonstrants* were uppermost, as at *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, *Enkbusen*, and elsewhere, they would by no means consent to it, but avoid granting any favour or advantage to the *Remonstrants*. His Excellency said further, somewhat angrily, That they had deposed a Minister at *Rotterdam* (meaning *Geselius*) because he had taught the doctrines of the *Contraremonstrants*. To which *Uitenbogart* answered again, That at *Amsterdam* indeed a Minister had been turned out (speaking of *Goulart*) for preaching the doctrines of the *Remonstrants*: and that for the like reason a Visiter of the Sick had been deprived of his place, and his wife and children reduced to beggary: and lastly, that the people of *Rotterdam* denied that they discharged their Minister on account of Religion. The Prince said: That it was easy to find a cloak. He added too: That the Resolutions of the States about Toleration, and the establishment of Church-discipline in the

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Rosæus proceeds in his Separation.

The Advocate of Holland communicates the Affair of the Separation to Prince Maurice.

Some discourse between the Prince and Uitenbogart.

C c 2

year

¹ *Uitenbogart's Life*, Lib. IX. p. 154.

² *Trigl.* 884. *Uitenbogart's Hist.* p. 652. and *Life*,

Lib. IX. p. 137.

³ *Ditto's Annotat. or Journal* on 17 and 23 Feb. 1616:

AN^O DOM. year 1591, were unseasonable; and the obliging men to comply with them, a kind of
 1616. Inquisition; seeing that the Ministers considered them as contrived by their enemies; and that he was sure they would not submit to them: and lastly, that some of the Members of the States were too violent, and had no mind to remove these grievances. Uitenbogat told the Prince: That, in his opinion, not the States, but much rather some of the Clergy, endeavoured to bring in an Inquisition as often as they would bind their Collegues and Brethren by new Acts framed by their own authority, and without the knowledge of the Civil Magistrate, or hinder them from the discharge of their functions, in case of refusal: and when they pretended to teach things for necessary doctrines, and impose them upon people as such, though they were indifferent, or not necessary; and also that the Resolutions aforementioned were not Acts made by Enemies, but by the States themselves, who ought to be esteemed our common Parents. The Prince fell next upon the case of Rosæus, saying: That he had delivered a petition to the States, in which he desired but two things: the first was, that Uitenbogat might plainly declare that he had no other scruple but about the Five Points: the second, that he would enter into a conference with him [Rosæus] about the manner of teaching. The other reply'd: That Rosæus aimed at quite different matters, as would sufficiently appear to any one that read his 1 Paper, and considered the demand made in his name by the Heers Schotte and Verius.

His Excellency seemed likewise to press for a new meeting and conference of some of the Clergy, saying: That we ought not to determine these matters by authority, but by way of accommodation. Uitenbogat put his Excellency in mind of the Conference at Delft, which, he said, had cured him of the desire of ever appearing again in such assemblies; but if it were the pleasure of the States and his Excellency, that they should meet again, he was ready to obey. 2 The Prince had also made some mention to Oldenbarnevelt, of Uitenbogat's opinion and doctrine concerning God's prescience or fore-knowledge with respect to evil; as if he thereby would rob God of the government of above half the world, viz. of evil, with which the world mostly abounds. On which occasion the other replied, for the Prince's information, that his doctrine was, that all things in the world, both good and bad, were under the government of God; but that there was a very great difference between governing or over-ruling the evil which happened, and doing, or causing it: That God did not cause the evil of Sin, but governed, forbad and punished it. But when the Prince seemed not satisfied with that explanation, Uitenbogat askt him whether his Excellency, being Count of Meurs, was guilty of all the mischief committed by ill men in that country? or whether he had done it, or ordered it to be done? The Prince answered in the negative: To which Uitenbogat replied, that is very true; and yet your Excellency governed or over-ruled it, since you forbad it by good laws, and shew'd your dislike of it by punishments.

This dialogue plainly discovered to which side the Prince inclined, and whom he most favoured. The Remonstrants therefore were not a little alarmed. 3 And accordingly some of their chief Ministers, and Episcopus among them, met at the Hague in February to consult about their matters. They talkt of the Conference which the Prince had propos'd: but they expected no good from thence. Some said: ' We have had many Conferences in vain, to what end should we appoint another? ' And about what shall we confer? Are we to consider whether the Resolution of ' the States is agreeable to the word of God, or not? That is a new question, and ' it may justly be doubted whether the States ought to suffer it, since it would so ' much tend to the diminution of their Authority, and violation of their Orders. ' Or must we confer upon Points that were never propos'd before? That would be ' fresh confusion. Or shall we confer about the Five Points? They have been suf- ' ficiently debated. Or lastly, shall we confer about the limits and bounds to be ' set to our Preaching and Teaching, in order to preserve peace? These are already ' set us by the Resolution of the States. It would be in vain too, unless it were first ' declared whether the points are tolerable, as far as relates to the substance of them. ' And how can that be done by those who have already so precisely fixed the li-
 mits,

2 See Uitenbogat's Life, Lib. IX. p. 146, IV. cap. 10. &c. p. 375—97.
 &c. and Hist. p. 668, &c. Concerning this important
 matter, we may consult the Sermons of Episcopus upon
 John xvii. 3. p. 443—52. and his Instit. Theol. Lib.

3 From the Memoirs of Episcopus upon the Month of February.

mits, that they can not in conscience extend them any farther, and who have even declared already that the points are not tolerable, and that no concessions ought to be made? AN^O DOM. 1616.

But the States of *Holland*, who met in *March*, observing what was aimed at, endeavoured either to divert the course of these quarrels, or else to put a total stop to them.

They therefore declared in a Resolution which they past the 18th of this Month: A Resolution of the States of Holland, for preventing Faction and Schism.
 ' That these ecclesiastical disputes were, in defiance to their former Resolutions, and
 ' contrary to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Government, carried on to *Faction*
 ' and *Schism*, from whence no advantage could be drawn or expected by any but
 ' the enemies of the true christian reformed religion, and those who envied the wel-
 ' fare, peace and tranquility of those Provinces, and the good Inhabitants thereof.
 ' — Therefore to avoid all sinister interpretations of the aforesaid Resolutions, it
 ' was their meaning that the national rights and prerogatives should be preserved
 ' under the direction and government of the States General; that the christian religi-
 ' gion, as reformed according to God's word, should be maintained in its purity; the
 ' different opinions about the *Five Points* tolerated equally and impartially, as well in
 ' regard to Ministers as other Inhabitants, without suffering those of either persuasion
 ' to rail at, or accuse others; and that the exposition of all other articles of the Christian
 ' faith should be conformable to scripture, and to what was always taught, and sum-
 ' marily contained in the *Netherland Confession* and *Heidelberg Catechism*; the
 ' Resolution concerning the revision of those Formularies continuing in full force:
 ' And further, that all the Clergy and people of the land, should live in chri-
 ' stian charity, unity, and to their mutual edification, for the preventing of faction,
 ' discord, and schism, on pain of being treated as disturbers of the publick tran-
 ' quility.'

But this Resolution had not sufficient influence, for want of unanimity among the States themselves. The Deputies of some of the towns scrupled to approve it without the knowledge of their Masters and Principals; yet each of them undertook to use his best endeavours to come fully instructed for that purpose, to the next meeting. The city of *Amsterdam*, where the hottest and most zealous of the Ministers of the *Conrtaremonstrant* party were supposed to be, was also the chief of the towns that refused to agree to the Resolution taken by the States for accommodating the differences of the Clergy. Nevertheless the Deputies of *Amsterdam* declared at the last meeting, that they would stand by and support the present Government; and were of opinion with the Nobles and other Towns, that the supreme authority and direction not only of Civil, but also of Ecclesiastical persons and matters, belonged to the States of this Province. Therefore the States being fully convinced how much depended on that City, the most powerful of all *Holland*, thought it absolutely necessary to inform the Burgomasters, and the rest of the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, by a solemn Deputation of five Members of their own body, of their sincere intentions for the true Christian religion, and of the important reasons that induced them to come to those late resolutions for the peace and benefit of the Church. For this purpose they named the Heers *Adrian van Matbenes* Lord of *Matbenes*, *Hugo Muys van Holy* Scout of the town of *Dort*, Mr. *Gerrit Janson van Eyk* Burgomaster of *Delft*, *Hugo Grotius* Counsellor of *Rotterdam*, and *William Peterson Hases* Burgomaster of *Horn*. But in order to defeat the designs of this Deputation, it was given out through the town, both before and after the arrival of the said Deputies, by some persons whom it least of all became, and instilled into the heads of people of all degrees, that their errant was to make a change in the established religion. This rumour reached the ears even of the Deputies themselves, who did not fail to assure as many as they could of the falshood of that report, and of the good intentions of the States, and themselves for the preservation of the true *Reformed* religion. The Heer *Hugo Grotius*, one of the most eloquent Orators of his age, was their Spokesman at the meeting of the Council of XXXVI, on the 23d of *April*, and exerted the whole strength of his wonderful judgment, learning, and wisdom, to induce them by many arguments to concur with the rest of the Members. I have thought fit to insert the Speech he made, notwithstanding its length, *verbatim*, into this Work, partly because it is not possible to gratifie my Reader with any short abstract, without

A Deputation from the States to the Magistrates of Amsterdam.

A Report spread with design to render the Deputation ineffectual.

* From the printed Report, p. 2. and the Notes of a principal Magistrate.

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without a sensible prejudice to the meaning of it, and partly because the copies of it are hardly to be met with now; but chiefly because of the importance of the subject of the Speech, which runs thus:

Honourable, Worthby, Wise, and Prudent Gentlemen,

A remarkable
Speech of
Grotius, ad-
dressed to the
Magistrates of
Amsterdam.

The design of
the Deputati-
on.

MY Lords, the States of *Holland*, have commanded us most affectionately to salute your Worships in their names, wishing you all kind of happiness. Their Lordships make no question, but you have sufficiently understood from the reports of those Deputies, who have appeared on your behalf in their Assemblies, for several years last past, the situation of the Ecclesiastical affairs, the Resolutions past by the States thereupon, and the Reasons that induced them to the taking of those measures. But since they have notwithstanding observed that the City of *Amsterdam*, and some others, scruple to conform themselves to those Resolutions; and since after having considered of all methods, not only for several months, but whole years, they can find no other means to extricate this land from the daily increasing divisions, than what are therein prescribed; and not being able to bear that the Churches should fall into greater confusion, for want of proper remedies; they have commanded us to wait upon you, in order to perform such good offices as are usual in such diversity of opinions; I mean, to intreat those Members who are scrupulous, that they would joyn with the opinions of the major part of the Assembly. It is very agreeable to my Lords the States, to hear by your Deputies, that you, as well as the Nobles and other Towns, are fully resolved to support and maintain the present laudable Government, under which Almighty God has so remarkably blessed us; and that your Worships are displeased as well as they, at the actions, writings and speeches of those persons who have publicly endeavoured to render the Government either despicable, or suspected. It has been no less agreeable to them, to observe that You together with the Nobles and other Towns are of opinion, that the supreme moderation and direction, not only of Civil, but also of Ecclesiastical things and persons, belongs to the Lords the States; that alone being a notable article of our *Christian Reformation*; in opposition to that preposterous maxim of *Popery*, which asserts: *That Kings, Princes and Potentates, as well as private persons, are obliged implicitly to follow the dictates of the Clergy, both in matters of Faith, and in the affair of Ecclesiastical discipline*: Whereas the contrary has been always maintained by the Protestant Clergy; and it is strongly proved from scripture, that neither private persons in their particular actions, nor the Magistrate in publick ones, ought entirely to rely upon the wisdom or conscience of another, but are themselves bound to inquire into matters, and so to act as they find most consonant to the word of God. This appears very plainly from the petition which was presented to the King of *Spain* by the *Reformed*, at the time of the Persecution, as well as to the States of the Land, though the most part of them had at that time little knowledge of the true Religion. And the same has been always held as undeniable, and publicly avowed, by the constant, open practice of all the Electors, Princes, Counts, and Governours, both of greater and lesser Republicks, who, together with the *Popish Religion*, have thrown off its tyranny, idolatry and heresy, and embraced the pure Gospel-worship; especially by that of the late Prince of *Orange* of Glorious Memory, and the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*; the Prince having not only projected certain regulations for the establishment of the publick authority in Church-affairs, but also maintained it against several of the Clergy. Your Worships have doubtless understood too, that my Lords the States of *Holland* and *West Freeeland*, have often with great sincerity and integrity declared, in order to remove all unreasonable jealousies and suspicions, that they are resolved always to maintain the true Christian Reformed Religion, without suffering any violation of it; and even that the Nobles and Towns have often protested, that it would be doing them the greatest injustice in the world, to imagine they should in any sort give up or abandon so precious a pledge as that of the true Religion, the free exercise of which hath cost them so much blood and treasure, and which has been hitherto so bravely maintained. Now, my Lords, the States earnestly desire to be apprized of your unanimity not only with reference to the matters already mentioned, but to all the others, and particularly to the contents of their Resolutions lately transmitted to

the Towns and Claſſes, which conſiſted of two principal points, relating to the *A. N. D. O. M.*
Government of Churches, and the tolerating certain Eccleſiaſtical differences. 1616.

As to the Government of the Churches, there is nothing elſe ordered, but what was projected in the year 1591, by ſome of the Clergy and Laity together, and approved by his Excellency the Prince, by the Sovereign and Provincial Council, and even by the Magiſtrates of this City themſelves. The oppoſition that was made to it in the ſaid year 1591, proceeded from the towns of *Delft, Gouda, Rotterdam, and Medenblik*, who would not conſent to the allowing leſs power to the Civil Magiſtrate in the choice of Miniſters and ſome other points, than he had enjoyed in theſe Provinces in the like caſes, whiſt we were under the yoke of *Popery*, as thinking it unjuſt. But thoſe very towns obſerving afterwards the great inconveniences that daily reſulted from the want of a fixt regulation, repented of their former ſtiffneſs, and have now accepted what they before had ſcrupled. Which may ſerve for an example to other towns, who might otherwiſe learn in time by their own experience, that it is better to accept things upon a tolerable foot in ſeaſon, than by ſtiſly inſiſting upon extreams, to let them fall into confuſion.

Two Principal points contained in the Reſolutions of the States.

even that

The Scheme for the Election of Church-officers, which has been ſeveral times agreed upon by the States, purſuant to the afore-mentioned project, is doubtleſs ſo well contrived, that the ſecurity of religion is ſufficiently taken care of by it; ſince none can be admitted to the Miniſtry, but ſuch as ſhall be judged fit by the Miniſters, after a due examination into their lives and doctrines. Thus likewiſe the names, both of Miniſters and Elders, are propoſed to the people before confirmation, to the end, that every one may freely offer his objections againſt them: inſomuch, that it is not in the power of the Government to promote any to the ſervice of the Church, but thoſe who after a legal examination, are found to be teachers of the true Chriſtian Reformed Religion.

Now ſince beſides the intereſt of the church, the government of the towns, and of the whole land, are concerned to take care what kind of men they place in the pulpit to harangue to the people, reaſon itſelf ſhows, that a particular inſpection and authority belongs to the Magiſtrate in this buſineſs. Yet this authority is ſo qualified by the aforementioned Reſolutions, that the right of propoſing perſons for the Miniſtry, belongs half to the Deputies of the Conſiſtory, and half to the Deputies of the Civil Governours; and thoſe Deputies themſelves muſt be likewiſe qualified for ſuch an act, that is to ſay, they muſt be well-affected to the intereſts of the Church and Religion.

As for the appearing of the Deputies of the Civil Magiſtrates in Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, this has been the uſage in ſome towns from the very beginning of the Reformation, particularly at *Enkbuſen*, where the ſame is obſerved conſtantly to this day; and it contributes not only to the maintaining of good order in ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, but likewiſe to a better correſpondence, and underſtanding between the Government and the Clergy; ſince the Clergy by that means have an opportunity to communicate all their grievances to the Government through the hands of the Deputies, and ſo to procure proper redreſs. Beſides, this is not preſcribed as of abſolute neceſſity, but is left to the diſcretion of the Magiſtrates. True it is indeed, that it were to be wiſhed, an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution could have been introduced long ago, not only with reference to theſe matters, but whatever elſe concerned the Church; by which means, perhaps, many inconveniences had been prevented. — But becauſe ſeveral points of great conſequence occurred; and ſince you yourſelves agreed in the opinion, that ſomething ought to be done, in order to put a ſtop to the emerging differences, before it could be undertaken with ſucceſs; and ſince in the mean while all elections would have been at a ſtand; it was abſolutely neceſſary that ſome regulation ſhould be forthwith made; and the rather, becauſe every town almoſt had practiſed a particular form of election hitherto; from which diverſity, many troubles and diſorders were found to ariſe, and the queſtions and ſcruples reſulting from thence, were daily brought before the States, who could not therefore avoid making ſome provisional order about them.

It was always the cuſtom for the Deputies of the Government to appear in Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, from the very beginning of the Reformation.

We ſhall now proceed, Gentlemen, to the ſecond Capital Article of the Reſolutions of the States, conſiſting in an Order for preſerving Unity, by a *Mutual Toleration*.

AN^O D^O M.
1616.

Toleration, notwithstanding the differences that have arisen in the churches under their jurisdiction, about the business of *Predestination*, and the points which have a relation to it. This their Order is founded upon a fixed rule, which we may justly call one of the pillars of our Christian Reformation; for the *Reformed* churches being so taught from the word of God, have always asserted, that doctrinal points were of two kinds; the *first*, of such a nature, that all persons as soon as they attained to years of discretion were bound to understand and embrace them with a sincere faith, at the peril of their salvation. These doctrines were called *fundamentals*, and the *Reformed* churches always judged them to be but few in number, and to be clearly and plainly proposed to us in holy writ, attended with a promise of salvation to those who believed them, and a threatening of damnation to such as did not believe them: Whereas all other doctrines were judged not to be of the *Foundation*, but of the *Superstructure* only, * which if proposed agreeably to God's word, might (as the Apostle expresses it) be called *Gold and Silver*; but if otherwise, *Hay and Stubble*.——They further asserted, with the same Apostle, that the Ministers or Teachers, who build with such *Hay and Stubble*, do not merely on that account forfeit their salvation; from whence it follows that they ought not to be shut out of the Church, as being owned by *Christ* himself for his members; but that we on the contrary are obliged to bear with the weakness of such persons, and not to judge them, but to receive them among us, waiting till the day when the Truth shall be revealed. The contrary practice of *Popery*, in which Communion, in consequence of an Ecclesiastical decision, people are anathematized and declared Hereticks for all sorts of doctrines; was always affirmed, by our Divines, to proceed, not from the spirit of *Christ*, but from that of *Antichrist*. Accordingly, when the *Papists* reproached our people with the diversity of opinions about certain points among the *Reformed* Ministers, inferring from thence that we were of different religions; they very justly replied, **That such diversity of opinions did not constitute different religions, nor dissolve the unity of the Church**; alledging the examples of all the Doctors of the ancient Church, among whom there were scarce two to be found who entirely agreed with each other in all points; and yet, notwithstanding such disagreement, they always continued Members of the same Catholick Church, maintaining among themselves all Christian Communion.

The want of Moderation with respect to matters not fundamental, was always censured by the Protestant Divines.

The contrary was always practised by the Reformed Churches.

This forbearance, in matters which are not absolutely necessary to salvation, has not only been preached up by all the chief Pastors of the Protestant churches, but actually put in practice. Accordingly we find, that both in the year 1520, and in 1537, during the disputes between *Luther* and the Clergy of *Switzerland*, about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there was a sincere Brotherhood promised and maintained for a while, though afterwards broken by the heat of some, to the great prejudice of the Evangelical churches, and to the joy, advantage, and strength of *Popery*. The same project of a Toleration was again set on foot in the year 1570, in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, by the churches of the *Ausburg*, *Bohemian*, and *Swiss* Confessions; all which, notwithstanding their disagreement in the business of the sacrament, promised to maintain all christian love and charity with each other, to esteem each other as orthodox churches, and to be ready to show their unity, both by frequenting the same Christian religious worship, and by joining in the communion of the Lord's Supper. Which unity has, thro' God's special grace, continued among them to this day, and enabled them to make a stand as well against the *Papists* as the *Samosatarians*.

The like union was begun in the year 75, and lately renew'd between those of the *Confession* of *Augsburg*, and those that are called *Hussites*, together with the Brethren nam'd the *Waldenses* in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. Neither was it our fault that an Ecclesiastical union among the *Protestants* in *Germany* could not be effected, we having always offered it to the *Lutherans*, leaving each party to enjoy their own opinions; which renders the *Lutherans* inexcusable in the sight of God and

* 1 Cor. iij. 11, 12.

See the Authentick Acts of David Blundel in 1655. p. 55. As to the Brotherhood between Luther and the Swiss Ministers, it was indeed desired by the latter, but never granted by the former. Vid. G. Calixti iudicium de contro. Theol. in Lutheran. & Reformat. p. 97.

Nevertheless we find in a certain Instrument reciprocally subscribed by Luther, Zwinglius, and others; That though they did not entirely agree in the business of the Sacrament, yet that each side should treat the other with Christian Charity, as far as they could with a good conscience. Ibid. p. 96.

and Man. ¹ This appears by the Conference holden at *Montbeliard*, and by the Letters which the late Elector *Palatine, Frederick*, of happy memory, writ to the Duke of *Newbourg*; ² as also by many different books published by our Reformed Ministers, and among others, not long since, by one of *Paraeus*, Professor at *Heidelberg*, written expressly to induce the *Lutherans* to come into such a *Toleration*. Our *Low-Country* churches have likewise shown long ago, after a particular manner, their disposition towards such moderation; for when some of the *Saxon Divines*, had in the year 1577, published a certain Treatise, intituled, *The Concord Book*, in which they condemned the churches that differed from them in the business of the sacrament, there met at *Frankfort*, the same year, the Deputies of the *French, Polish, Hungarian, Bohemian, and Swiss* churches, where was likewise present an Ambassador from the late Queen of *England* of glorious memory, together with some Deputies of the Count *Palatine John Casimir*, and of the *Netherland* churches. ³ They unanimously joined in a Remonstrance to some of the Electors and Princes of the *Ausburg* Confession, to shew the imprudence and danger resulting from the said condemnation, and the breach of unity.

AN^o DOM.
1616.

There was moreover in the year 1579, an excellent book published in the name of the Ministers or Clergy of the *Low-Country* Reformed churches, calculated purely for preventing the schism which the *Lutherans* had begun. With the like intention the Synod of *South Holland*, so long ago as the year 1574, visited the *Lutheran* Minister at *Woerden*, by their Deputies, and invited him to an union, according to the example aforementioned of the churches of *Poland*. Now as we have always offered a *Toleration* of the differences about the sacrament, and of other matters in which the *Lutherans* dissent from us; so likewise it is well known, that controversies have arisen in *England, Swisserland*, and other parts, about *Christ's* Descent into hell, about Excommunication, and several other points, which are not yet decided; but these things have made no breach in the unity of the Church. *Franciscus Junius*, in his life time Professor in the University of *Leyden*, being moved by certain ecclesiastical disputes that had happened at *Utrecht*, published an exhortation to peace, wherein he most strongly maintains this doctrine of the *Toleration* of different opinions, and recommends it as highly necessary for the good of the Church.

The mentioned Synod of *South Holland*, holden in the year 1574, having been warned by the *French* churches, that *D. Piscator*, Professor at *Herborn* in the county of *Nassaw*, propagated certain errors relating to Conversion, Faith, and *Christ's* active Righteousness, were pleased to exhort those of the *French* churches not to drive on matters with such heat, as that a schism or quarrel might arise; since which *D. Tilenus*, Professor at *Sedan*, following the opinion of *Piscator* in the business of Justification (which was always considered by the *Reformed* churches as a point of the last importance) was thereby engaged in a violent dispute with *Du Moulin*, a famous and excellent Minister in *France*; which dispute was accommodated by the interposition of Monsieur *du Plessis*, and other learned persons, in such manner, that they reciprocally owned each other for orthodox Ministers, and yet each retained his own opinion.

The same plan of *Toleration* has been practised as well in this as other countries by those who maintain an unconditional *Predestination*, some of whom place it above, others below, the Fall; insomuch, that the Brethren of the *Contraremonstrant* persuasion, who were at the Conference of the *Hague*, expressly declared, that this difference never produced any discord or quarrel in our churches.

Moderation
practised
among them-
selves even by
the Assertors of
an Absolute
Predestination.

Now to apply this general rule of *Toleration* to the particular dispute about *Predestination* and its dependances, as it was canvassed at the said Conference, and and from whence, God help us! such sad divisions have sprung up in our churches, who is so rash as to dare maintain that the knowledge of it either on the one side or the other is absolutely necessary to salvation? For all things that are of such necessity, ought to be understood and received by women as well as men, by young as well as old, by the most ignorant as well as by the most learned, at the peril of their eternal welfare. How many plain good men are there in the church of *Christ*, and even among the Clergy themselves, who do not so much as know the

The general
Rule of Moder-
ation and For-
bearance ap-
plied to the
Points in dis-
pute.
The Criterion
whereby to di-
stinguish be-
tween what is
necessary, and
what not.

D d

state

¹ Uitenb. p. 127. ² Eirenicum, edit. Heidelb. 1614. ³ Uitenb. p. 118. Blond. Actes Auth. p. 59, 65.

AN^O DOM.

1616.

In what the
two Opinions
agree.In what the
Difference con-
sists.The Practice of
mutual For-
bearance ought
to be extended
not only to the
Laity but to
the Clergy.Moderation al-
ways practised
with reference
to these very
disputes in the
Reformed
Churches.The Offer for-
merly made by
the Reformed
Divines to the
Lutherans,
sufficiently
proves that
these Points
are tolerable.The Testimonies
of Perkins
and Paræus.Ministers of
both Perswa-
sions tolerated
in England.The King of
Great Britain
declared both
the Opinions
tolerable.

state of the difference, much less which side they ought to chuse? And dare we re-
fuse salvation to such persons? God forbid that a christian man should entertain so
hard a thought! Both opinions agree in this, that all the decrees and operations of
God relating to the salvation of men, are founded in *Christ Jesus*, and accordingly
we hold him to be the only foundation. Most of these disputes turn upon the or-
der which is conceived to be between God's *Foreknowledge* and his *Decrees*, and
yet we allow that both are in him from all eternity. From hence, through the
subtilty of disputing, there have arisen such crabbed questions, that the most
learned hardly know how to extricate themselves: For which cause, even reason
it self teaches us, that a toleration of such points ought to be extended, not only to
the common Members of the Congregation, but also to their Pastors, since Pastors and
Teachers are not altogether exempt either from ignorance or error, any more than
their flocks, and upon that account may be justly included in the number of those
whose weakness we ought to bear with; and the constant practice of the *Reformed*
churches clearly shows it. The House-Book, or Manual, of *Bullinger* is sufficient-
ly known in this country. The *Loci Communes* of *Melancthon* are published not
only in *Latin* but in *French*, with a noble recommendation of *Calvin*. Whoever
will compare those books with the Institutions of the last mentioned Author, or
with what *Beza* has writ about *Predestination*, and the points relating to it,
may plainly enough discover the difference of their opinions about modern contro-
versies. Nevertheless, all these were men of learning and piety, excellent instru-
ments in the hand of God, and pillars of the Church: these did not condemn nor
excommunicate one another for the sake of such differences; but on the contrary,
treated each other as dear and worthy brothers and fellow-labourers in the Lord's
harvest; thus leaving to their successors glorious examples of prudence and mo-
deration.

All that we have said above, concerning that Toleration and Union which
our people formerly offered to the *Lutherans*, is likewise applicable to the case
in hand, since the *Lutherans*, besides that wherein they differ from us in the
business of the sacrament, teach the doctrines of *Universal Grace*, *Predestination*
from Faith foreseen, and that some true believers, by sinning against Light, fall
entirely from Grace and Faith; so that the Synods and Ministers beforementioned,
when they offered such a union to the *Lutherans*, did by so doing declare, That
they did not look upon those points as necessary on either side, but as objects of
Toleration: which is likewise expressly shown by *Perkins*, an eminent *English* Di-
vine, and one that held with the Brethren of the high opinions (whom we here
call *Contraremonstrants*) in the business of *Predestination*, and other points; who
allows that the *Lutheran* churches, though maintaining *universal Grace*, are true
churches of God, and that they hold the foundation of salvation uncorrupted; and
who ranks the errors about *Free-will* among those points that by no means destroy
the fundamentals of religion. With this agrees what was writ some years since by
Paræus, Professor at *Heidelberg*, and a *Contraremonstrant* too, since he places the
articles of a divine *Predestination*, its cause and effects, and the nature of *Free-*
will, not among the fundamentals of our Faith, but among those Theological de-
cisions, about which men may disagree, without breach of peace or charity;
adding, that if the Reformed Divines would seriously consider this, there would
be fewer dissensions in the Church, and the remedies would be at hand to heal our
wounds, and restore unity. The churches of *Anbault*, as well as some of the
Clergy in *Denmark*, having forsaken the *Lutheran* doctrine about the sacrament,
continue nevertheless in the lower opinion concerning *Predestination*, and the
points belonging to it, as maintained by the Brethren in these Provinces, whom
they call the *Remonstrants*; and yet it is well known, that the other *Reformed*
churches maintain all good agreement, and fraternal correspondence with those
churches and their Pastors. In *England* at this very time there are persons of both
perswasions, in some of the most eminent stations in the Church, without any in-
fringement of Ecclesiastical unity.

To come yet closer to the matter; his Majesty of *Great Britain*, having perused
and maturely weighed the articles, as contained in the *Remonstrance*, and compared
them

them with those of the other party, has declared and written accordingly to the A^NO D O M.
States, that he found that both opinions might very well consist with the truth of
the christian faith, and the salvation of our souls. 1616.

If we turn our eyes from *England* to *France*, we shall meet with none there
of greater credit and fame among the *Reformed* Clergy than *du Moulin*, who in a
certain advice, which he gives for uniting the churches, says, That we should en-
deavour to form one Confession out of all those of the *Protestants* (which was
likewise the Counsel of the Deputies of the churches at the Assembly of *Frankfort*
formerly mentioned) and that in the said Confession we should tacitly pass by
many things, without the knowledge of which a man may be saved; such, says
he, as is the controversy moved by *Piscator*, and many nice opinions proposed by
Arminius concerning *Free Will*, the *Perseverance* of the *Saints*, and *Prædestina-*
tion; to which he adds, That all the errors in religion have proceeded, *De vouloir*
trop savoir, ou de vouloir trop avoir; that is to say, *from too much curiosity, or too*
great covetousness and ambition; and that as the latter was the cause of the cor-
ruptions in the *Romish church*, so some endeavour to corrupt ours by the former.
But if we could prevail with our selves to be ignorant of many things, and to be
contented with the knowledge of those only which are necessary to salvation, and in
matters that are not absolutely necessary to bear with them that err, or differ in
their opinions from us, we should then have reached above half way towards
peace.

If these instances from *Germany*, *England*, and *France*, do not satisfy us, but
we will likewise consult the judgment and practice of our own countrymen, we
shall find that about forty years ago persons were admitted into the Ministry here
in *Holland*, who at the time they were publickly received declared, that they ad-
hered to the *low* opinion, which is now called that of the *Remonstrants*, and yet no-
body ever pretended to oppose their admission on that account, nor ever urged them
to preach contrary to that opinion. *Gomarus*, *Trecaltius*, *Kuchlinus*, solemnly
declared, at the time when *Arminius* served with them at *Leyden*, that there was
no difference among them about fundamental doctrines, as far as they knew. And
which is more, in the year 1591, after the state of the controversy was fully dis-
covered by the Conference then holden, when the States exhorted and required the
Ministers respectively to maintain christian and brotherly love among themselves,
and to help to direct all matters towards peace and tranquility, the said Ministers,
as well of the one party as of the other, promised to act accordingly.

In the Synod of the *French* or *Walloon* churches of these *United Provinces*,
holden in the years 1612 and 1613, the Members promised, first by word of
mouth, and then by writing, to maintain brotherly unity with the Churches and
Ministers of their said Synod, notwithstanding the differences then depending.
Now though the fire of discord has since burnt more fiercely among them than
we could have wished, yet this could not alter the nature of the thing, nor make
that a just occasion of schism, which till now was always considered as the object
of Toleration; which being prudently and piously considered by many Ministers
of the *high* opinion, yea by many Churches and Classes consisting of Ministers of
both parties, they have hitherto maintained the Toleration and Christian unity, not
only in *Holland* and *West Freeeland*, but also in the neighbouring Provinces, where
the same disputes have been agitated, among which Ministers there are many of so
great learning, that it would be a presumption to accuse them of ignorance in this
matter; and of such integrity, that it would be impudence to charge them with
doing it against their consciences.

And here it ought to be well considered, that these points of controversy are
not only not necessary to salvation, but also that they are so deep and so difficult,
that we cannot find they were ever synodically determined, either in the Christian
churches of old, or in the *Reformed* of later times: as for the ancient church, it is
well known, that the Fathers and Doctors of the first *Four Centuries* which fol-
lowed the Apostolical age, do all along show they had no knowledge of these deep
points, and consequently the people could not learn any thing of them from their
sermons and writings: and what is more, *Calvin*, *Beza*, and others of the same
opinion, frankly confess, that the Doctors of the primitive times thought and spoke
differently from them about these matters; yet it is no less certain, that christian
simplicity

Du Moulin placed these and some other Points among such as were not necessary to salvation.

The Professors at Leyden declared, in the time of Arminius, that these Disputes were not fundamen- tal.

The Managers of the Confe- rence at the Hague pro- mised to main- tain brotherly Unity: As did the Walloon Sy- nod.

The Points were never determi- ned by any sy- nodical Deci- sion.

The Primitive Fathers either had no notion of these deep Points, or else were of a diffe- rent opinion from Calvin and Beza.

AN^O D^O M. 1616. *simplicity never flourished more than in those ages; and that never more Martyrs offered up their souls to Christ: a plain indication that both piety and happiness are to be attained without the knowledge of those profound subtilties.*

St. Austin *first took the liberty to dissent from the more ancient Fathers.* *Afterwards, when certain Hereticks began to cry up the natural strength of Man, in opposition to Grace, St. Austin, a very famous Doctor of the Church, carrying the matter somewhat higher, maintained the necessity of Grace in order to salvation, in such a manner, as to join with it an absolute Predestination; but not without being opposed by many. Now though there were four or five Councils held in his time against the mentioned Hereticks, and though St. Austin was the chief Manager in one of those Councils that met at Carthage, yet it appears from the Acts of those Councils, that nothing was determined by them on the one or the other side about the doctrine of Absolute Predestination and the points that depend on it; but the substance of the Decrees of the said Councils amounts to this, That all men are corrupted, and that none can do any thing that is spiritually good, without some internal and unmerited grace of God. And whereas some others afterwards so far acknowledged the efficacy of divine Grace, as to agree that perseverance or continuance in Good proceeds from such Grace (being still of opinion at the same time, that some men by the beginnings of a good Will do prevent Grace;) against those there was a Council holden at Orange, in which it was summarily taught, That the beginnings of Good proceed from Grace, but without making any mention of an Absolute Predestination to salvation; and so matters rested for that time.*

An Account of the Decrees of certain Councils held upon the Points.

These Opinions were not decided even in the Romish Church; tho' otherwise very apt to proceed to Decisions.

We shall not call to our assistance the examples of the Papacy; yet this is worthy our observation, That the points about which the scholastick Writers (as they are called) so much disagree, that the Dominicans dispute upon them with the Jesuits, and even the Jesuits among themselves, are by no means to be esteemed causes of our separating from Popery; and though it has been the custom for many hundreds of years in the Romish church to proceed very lightly to decisions and condemnations, yet have not the Popes determined the disputes about Absolute or Conditional Predestination, nor concerning the manner how Grace acts upon the will of man, either on the one side or the other, but have left liberty of opinion to both parties, forbidding them to anathematize or rail at each other. Would to God that the children of light were as wise in this matter as the children of darkness; and that what the Papists do for the support of their temporal kingdom, the Protestants would do for the raising Christ's spiritual kingdom in love and peace.

The Confessions of Reformed Churches speak differently of these matters.

If now we will take a view of the times from the beginning of the Reformation down to this day, we shall find, that though these controversies have sufficiently troubled all our churches, they have never yet been determined in any lawful Synod; and how variously the several Confessions speak of this matter, may be easily observed by every one that will take the trouble to read them with attention.

Some imagine, that these disputes were synodically determined in England, at Lambeth in the year 1595; but that is a great mistake; for the meeting at Lambeth was no Synod, nor ever counted such, neither do the Articles that were there agreed upon, denote any thing more than a declaration of the opinions and advice of the Divines assembled at that place; and besides, they are drawn up in such a manner, as that both the high and low men may receive them without changing their own opinions. But that which is most remarkable of all, is, that the late Queen, of glorious memory, did by her own authority forbid the publication of the afore said Articles of Lambeth; and that the King, who now reigns, being desired by some Divines to cause those Articles to be inserted into the Confession of the English church, refused his consent, thinking it would be of no use to stuff the said book of Confession with Theological conclusions.

These Disputes were not synodically determined at Lambeth.

For these Reasons the States chose to prevent Schisms, on account of these Points, by publishing Resolutions.

My Lords, the States being convinced by these and other reasons, that it is not allowable for any to make a schism in the Church, on account of the points debated in the Conference, think it their duty to obviate and prevent any such attempts of making schisms, by virtue of their supream Authority, Christian Decrees, and Resolutions, and by the proper execution of the same.

In opposition to this, it is pretended by some, that this being an Ecclesiastical affair, ought to be first discussed in a lawful Synodical Assembly; but in answer to this

A Synod at this time, neither necessary nor serviceable

to this pretence, it has been shewn that a Synodical meeting was not necessary in this AN^O DOM. 1616.
 ' case, neither in the present situation of times would it be of use. That it is not
 ' absolutely necessary appears from what has been said before, concerning the au-
 ' thority of the Civil Magistrate over Ecclesiastical persons and things; upon which
 ' head the Government of *Amsterdam* have always agreed with the other Members
 ' of the Assemblies. For if the supream Governours have received from Almighty
 ' God, full power and authority to ordain and execute whatever he has commanded
 ' in his holy word (as all our *Reformed* Teachers have hitherto asserted against the
 ' *Papists*) they need not borrow any authority for so doing from the Church; nay
 ' they are bound to make use of such authority not only without, but against the
 ' consent of the Clergy. Now since schisms or separations, on account of questions
 ' not necessary to salvation, are plainly prohibited by the word of God, and since
 ' the points that came before the Ministers at the Conference, were after long and
 ' mature examination, and after the matter of them had been thoroughly debated by
 ' the most eminent Divines on either side, publickly owned not to be necessary to
 ' salvation, the Government could do no otherwise then put the law of God in
 ' execution, and hinder all contravention.

*The supream
Civil Govern-
ment may use
their authority
with respect
to Ecclesiastical
matters, not
only without
but even a-
gainst the con-
sent of the
Clergy.*

' The *Reformed* unanimously teach, in opposition to the *Papists*, that the Right
 ' of convoking Synods belongs to the Civil Magistrate, in which right is, without
 ' doubt, comprized the liberty of judging whether a Synod is wanted or not: but
 ' the Magistrate is deprived of that liberty when people once assert the absolute ne-
 ' cessity of a Synod, even after such an examination as has been related above.

*The Right of
calling Synods
and of judging
whether they
are of use, be-
long to the
Civil Govern-
ment.*

' Constant practice too runs counter to this pretended necessity: For the *Jewish*
 ' Kings reformed many things in Church-matters according to God's word, but
 ' without Synods. And many of the *Protestant* Writers, quote the example of the
 ' Emperor *Theodosius*, who, say they, after calling upon God for a blessing, made
 ' a decision which, produced more good than some Synods had done. The *Refor-*
 ' *mation* itself, was that brought about by Synods in the Kingdoms and Countries of
 ' *Europe*? Certainly no. How could we expect the remedy from the Clergy, who
 ' had been the occasion of the evil? And least it should be imagined that such a
 ' *Reformation* obtained only in the case of so great a corruption as was that of *Popery*,
 ' those Electors, Princes and Cities of the Empire, who excluded the errors with
 ' regard to the Lord's Supper, out of their Churches (which in other respects had
 ' been already reformed) did not do it by Synods, but by their own authority.
 ' God has been pleased to bless their zeal, and our people highly commended them
 ' for so doing.

*Reformations
have been fre-
quently
brought about
by the Civil
Government
without the
help of Synods.*

' If then the Civil Magistrate has the power of *Reforming doctrine*, without a
 ' Synod, how much rather may the civil authority take place, where there is no
 ' attempt of changing any part of our Religion, but only of preventing schisms?

' They that will a little reflect upon Ecclesiastical transactions, may easily find,
 ' that the authority of the Magistrate has always been esteemed the most proper
 ' remedy against divisions and schisms.

*The interposi-
tion of the pub-
lick authority,
the most
effectual reme-
dy against
schisms.*

' Thus when the *Donatists* in *Africa* had separated from the Universal Christian
 ' Church, and the affair had long been the subject of the Clergy's deliberations, but
 ' without effect, the Emperor *Constantine* was forced at last to take cognizance of,
 ' and to decide it himself. But the matter not having been entirely adjusted, the
 ' orthodox Clergy long desired and at last obtained leave of the Emperor *Honorius*,
 ' that there might be a Conference in the presence of his Commissioner *Marcellinus*;
 ' where both parties appearing, and producing the whole strength of their cause,
 ' *Marcellinus* pronounced sentence, by means of which, most of the schismatics
 ' returned to the unity of the Church.

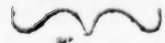
' Shall we proceed to the examples of our times? 2 The King of *Great Bri-*
 ' *tain* observing a disposition or tendency towards a schism in the churches within
 ' his dominions, as well on the account of some nice disputes in doctrine (among
 ' which was likewise the controversie about *Predestination* and the points relating to
 ' it) as on account of Church-government; caused the disagreeing parties to appear
 ' before him at *Hampton-Court*; and having heard them upon every point, proceeded
 ' to make such orders as he in conscience thought proper, which was just the same
 ' case,

¹ This Conference is related in the little Tract inti-
 titled: *Gesta Collationis Carthagini, habitæ inter
 Catholicos & Donatistas Papirij Massonis studio e-
 dita. 1588. Vid. & Concil. Tom. Lib. I. p. 780.*

Paris. Edit. 1636.

² See the substance of this Conference at *Hampton-
 Court*, in January, 1603. published by W. Barlow;
 Dean of *Chester*. Printed at London, 1604.

AN^O DOM.
1616.



Whether a
Synod be ne-
cessary for the
better informa-
tion of the Ci-
vil Magistrate.

The consent
or agreement
of many emi-
nent Divines
may furnish as
good instructi-
on as the con-
sent of a Synod.

As much may
be learned
from an anci-
ent as a mo-
dern, from a
foreign as from
a domestick
Synod.

case, and the same manner of proceeding with this of the States. And to come yet nearer, *Beza*, of worthy memory, tells us, in one of his books, that a schism beginning to rise at *Bern* in *Switzerland*, on account of the business of *Predestination*, the Council of that City published an Edict, in which every body was forbidden to speak rashly concerning that abstruse point, and the Clergy were required to treat of it moderately, religiously and without giving scandal, according to God's word, as often as they should have occasion of mentioning it; ordaining, that none should run from the jurisdiction of *Bern* (as some of them foolishly did) to that of *Geneva*, or other places to receive the sacrament, but that every one should receive it from the hands of the Pastor of his own Parish: by which means, says *Beza*, an end was put to those troubles.

Now if any one should object, that the judgment of a Synod is not therefore necessary, because the Civil Magistrate has no authority in Church-matters; but only on account of his need to be instructed in those affairs; this may be refuted, First, by many of the aforementioned examples, in which the Civil Magistrate did not at all consult a Synod; and by reason too, since there are some things proposed in holy scripture, with respect to which he may be so fully satisfied, as to be under no necessity of consulting with flesh and blood; for no body is obliged to ask advice in a matter of which he has a perfect information, as the Magistrate can and ought to have of these two propositions; viz. *That God has commanded a toleration in things that are not absolutely necessary to salvation: And that the doctrines now in dispute, cannot be reckoned among things that are absolutely necessary.*

It is likewise to be observed (as *St. Austin* often asserts) that as good advice, and as compleat knowledge of affairs may be learned from the agreement of many eminent Divines, as from a formal Synod: Who would not have the greatest esteem for such a Synod, in which he should hear the discourses of *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Hyporius*, *Ursinus*, *Whitacre*, *Perkins*, *Jewel*, *Daneus*, *Junius*, *Paræus*, *Casaubon*, *Piscator* and *Du Mouliu*? Ask all these, whether we are not obliged to tolerate one another in these nice points, and others of the like nature? their books and writings will answer for them in the affirmative. Is not this yet sufficient, and will any man still insist upon a Synod? Let him consider, that we may be as well advised and instructed by an ancient as a modern Synod, as well by a foreign as by a domestick one.

The ancient Synods, holden in the time of *St. Austin*, as well as that of *Orange*, inform us, that the doctrine of *Grace* may well be maintained without determining any thing about that of *absolute Decrees*, and its dependencies. The Synods of *Sendomir* and of *Frankfort*, both of them mentioned above, unite in recommending Toleration. Would you have the opinion of a Synod of our own age and country? We have already quoted the Synod of *Woerden*, and that of the *French* churches. As many Classes as there are which practice Toleration, with respect to these subtil controversies, so many little Synods are there, if we look upon the thing, rather than the name. The twelve Disputants at the *Conference*, who being the chief of the Clergy of both opinions, were fully heard and alledged every thing that they thought could be of service to their cause, and who notwithstanding promised to live with each other in brotherly love, ought not to be less valued than a Synod. If this be not sufficient to inform and instruct any man of the merits of the cause, nothing can.

If then it was not necessary to call a new Synod about this matter; let us next consider whether it was useful or expedient. For in cases that are not absolutely necessary, prudence must govern, in order to judge what is to be done, or omitted, according to the circumstances of times. Synods served frequently of old to condemn Heresies: But we have already shown, that the errors which either side may be said to have been guilty of in this case, were never judged by the *Reformed* churches to be heretical or condemnable; as also, that these points were never looked upon to be of such a kind, as to require a solemn decision: so that this use of a Synod would have been very useless. Besides, in order to pass a determination upon any question, it is necessary to have a clear judgment, free from passion, which would be difficultly found in our country at this time of day, as does but too much appear from the heat of our daily sermons and writings. That an equitable plan for Toleration should be projected and unanimously received by means of

of a Synod, is rather to be desired at present than expected. For to hope for any moderation from immoderate men, is to hope without probability; we see all their action too visibly tend either to great extravagance in doctrine, or else to schism. Moderate men have no credit with these hot-headed people, to qualify them to bring about any good; nay, we even see what pains are taken by the violent party, to rob the others of all the credit they still have with the community. What discretion, what impartiality, what peaceful counsels are we to expect from minds that are in so furious a ferment? That which has happened hitherto in some classical assemblies that have been lately holden without leave of the Government, sufficiently shows what these people drive at. Together with the good fruits which have sometimes proceeded from Synods, we ought to remember some of their sour productions: We have formerly seen how Synods dividing the one part from the other, have made two different Assemblies, and mutually excommunicated each other. It is no less worthy our observation, that many of the Clergy, having fallen out with their Civil Governours, upon the point of jurisdiction, have even endeavoured to support themselves by factions among their own Congregations. Now, as all power is much greater when collected than when diffused, so Synods have often served to strengthen the authority of the Church in opposition to that of the State, of which many examples, if necessary, might be produced.

The great difficulty that occurs in calling a Synod (if the Government were never so willing) ought likewise to be considered, on account of the many preliminaries that must first be adjusted. Many of the Clergy assert, that the right of deputation to the Synod, belongs only to their classical Assemblies; but the Government, on the contrary, think it to be their business to take care, that the fittest, on account of discretion and learning, be sent thither. And from hence there arises another question, whether the majority of the Members of the States shall make such a deputation, or whether each Member of the Assembly shall send some.

Some of the Clergy maintain, that those who signed the Remonstrance, or who object against the Confession and Catechism, ought to appear at the Synod as accused persons, but not to enjoy the right of voting as Judges. These points are necessary to be decided before the holding of the Synod.

We know the scruples that some make against the clause for resuming the consideration of the said Confession and Catechism; this scruple must likewise be first removed.

Besides, the Synod that is to be called, must be either provincial, national, or general. The Provincial Synod (over and above all that has been already objected) would be obnoxious to this difficulty; that in those places where the Classes are divided, each part would pretend to be the true Classis of the District, and consequently that the right of sending a Representative belonged to them, if it should be thought fit to make the deputations *classicaliter*. As to a National Synod, we are to consider the prejudices which have discovered themselves in some Provinces, not only in their particular, but even in their general Assemblies; inasmuch, that the persons sent from the said Provinces will without doubt be suspected by some. And if there should happen to be some in those Provinces more moderate than others, yet it is very uncertain whether such would be sent to the Synod, nay, the contrary is much more probable. Besides, as it is the custom in National Synods to proceed by votes, the churches of *Holland* and *West Freeeland* might easily be out-voted, and such resolutions be taken by the Deputies of the rest of the Provinces, which might indeed agree with the state of the said Provinces, but by no means with that of *Holland* and *West Freeeland*. If we pass on then to a General Synod (as in ancient times all disputes concerning doctrine were usually discussed in such Synods, which were esteemed by Kings, Princes, and Divines, to be the only remedy for healing the divisions in the Church) to dispose the several Kings, Princes, States, and Churches, to agree to such a Synod, would be a work of time; besides, his Majesty of *Great Britain*, the Elector *Palatine*, *Du Moulin* in *France*, and others, are of opinion, that those of the *Reformed* who are styled *Lutherans*, should also be invited; from whence perhaps new difficulties would arise. But however this might be, the state of our churches will not permit of their being held so long in suspense, till such a Synod can be assembled, which will require both time and pains to bring about.

AN^O DOM^O
1616.

Remarks on
the holding of
a Synod, whe-
ther Provin-
cial, Natio-
nal, or Gene-
ral.

There

AN^O D^OM.

1616.

Whether the
Government
shall be obliged
simply to sub-
mit to the De-
crees of the Sy-
nod.

‘ There is yet a matter that deserves to be particularly considered, with respect to
‘ Synods. The Government must resolve, either simply to submit to the Decrees of
‘ the Synod, or to reserve to themselves a subsequent judgment. The first is incon-
‘ sistent with the word of God, with the principles of the *Reformation*, and with
‘ the laws of the land, of which the States of *Zeland* being sensible, did expressly
‘ reserve to themselves the right of judging of the Synod’s proceedings: *And doubt-*
‘ *less, if our Rulers should give up this point, it would bring these Provinces into the*
‘ *utmost danger, because it might happen, that the hot-headed men prevailing, such*
‘ *resolutions would be taken as could never be put in practice, without bringing all*
‘ *things into the greatest confusion.* On the other hand, if my Lords the States should
‘ reserve to themselves the last cognizance of synodical matters, it might easily fall
‘ out, that the judgment of the Synod, and this of the States, would interfere; and
‘ and in such case, it is much to be apprehended that the people, especially those
‘ who are used to pay more respect to the Clergy than to the Civil Magistrate,
‘ (as the cloak of religion imposes upon many) being supported by the Decrees of the
‘ Church, would be prejudiced against their lawful Governours; and if any seditious
‘ sermons or books should concur (as might easily happen) would soon be misled
‘ from the path of duty and allegiance.

‘ But we do not start all these objections, Gentlemen, as despairing of ever seeing
‘ such a regular Synod, as is the desire and expectation of so many pious souls; in
‘ order to which such good resolutions have long since been taken, as well by the
‘ States of *Holland* and *West Free-land* as by the States of all the United Provinces
‘ together; but only because we are of opinion, that it still requires some time to
‘ prepare the minds of men, to the end that they who compose the Synod, may bring
‘ with them all necessary qualities for so great a work; and above all, a good incli-
‘ nation to Peace, and just regards for the Government, to which the humours cannot
‘ be disposed, till a mutual Toleration be better practised; nor can that in the mean
‘ while be brought about, but by good examples and the support of the Civil au-
‘ thority. Add to this, Gentlemen, if you please, the advice of the King of *Great*
‘ *Britain*, who so earnestly exhorted the States, by his Letter to them, to compose
‘ these differences by publick authority, which he said was the best way of doing it.
‘ This the States of *Over-ysel*, and the supreme Courts of Justice in *Gelderland* have
‘ already done, as knowing no other method of freeing themselves from the same ec-
‘ clesiastical quarrels.

The Counts of
Holland
have in an-
cient times ex-
ercised their
Authority
with reference
to Ecclesiastical
Persons.

‘ Nor is it a new thing which has been lately done, with respect to these matters,
‘ in the Provinces of *Holland* and *West Free-land*; for besides that the Counts of *Hol-*
‘ *land* had so much courage, in the times of *Popery*, as to oblige their Pastors or Pa-
‘ rish-Priests to continue in the exercise of their spiritual functions, notwithstanding
‘ any Interdicts and Excommunications from the Court of *Rome*, promising to sup-
‘ port them against all persons whatsoever; the Sovereign Court of the said Province
‘ had likewise the courage to write to all Officers, in the year 1536, when the power
‘ of the Church was at the highest, *to require the Pastors not to preach imprudently*
‘ *upon obscure matters, or such as might scandalize the people, nor give them an oc-*
‘ *casion to murmur against their Rulers, or others; but to expound the Epistles and*
‘ *Gospels, so as might most tend to the suppressing of vice and immorality, and to for-*
‘ *bear railing against each other in the pulpit: and in case they heard of any thing*
‘ *that was scandalous or heretical, to admonish the party concerned in private, or else*
‘ *to inform the Officer, or the Court, of it, to the end such methods might be taken as*
‘ *should be thought convenient.*

The States
have of late
times used
their Autho-
rity with re-
gard to Church
Affairs.

‘ I doubt not but you, the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, will easily call to mind how
‘ many towns, since the *Reformation*, have been disturbed with these controversies
‘ about *Predestination*, and how often that matter has been discussed in the assem-
‘ blies of the States: Particularly you cannot but remember, that about 18 years
‘ past, the business of *Tako Sibrants*, who was loaded with the censures of the
‘ Church, was accommodated by the authority of the said States; you know what
‘ advice was given to *Gomarus* and *Arminius*, first by the sovereign Court or Council,
‘ and next by the States themselves; what troubles arose afterwards by obliging
‘ people in an unusual manner to subscribe the Confession and Catechism; and lastly,
‘ how their Lordships, the States, endeavoured to manage all things with modera-
‘ tion for the prevention of schism: these things were succeeded by the Conference.
‘ Your Worships know very well who were the occasion of it. After the States had

the patience to hear all that could be offered by the Managers of the Conference on AN^O D^O M.
 both sides, they came to a certain resolution, on the 20th of *May* 1611, whereby 1616.
 they declared that the *Five Points* should continue as they were before the Conference;
 and they further exhorted and charged the Ministers to live in brotherly and christian
 charity with one another, and to unite their endeavours for peace, by informing
 the good people, by the most proper means, of their sincere intentions to that end;
 and accordingly to treat of the said points with such temper and moderation, as was
 most conducive to the repose and edification of the people, without pretending, on
 the one side or the other, that they had got the better of their adversaries. The
 equity, wisdom, and moderation of this Resolution was so visible, that it not only
 passed without any opposition in the Assembly, but the Ministers of both opinions
 accepted of it, and promised to conform themselves to it, as we have shown above. Which was
submitted to
by the Clergy.
 What better evidence can the States have of their impartiality, than the confession
 of both sides? This Resolution has been the ground of all their subsequent delibe-
 rations, as containing in general terms every thing that has been since expressed in
 particular. For in the Assembly, of *August* and *September* following, it was agreed
 to communicate the said Resolution to the towns, to the end that the Burgomasters,
 and others in the Government, should notify the same respectively to their Mini-
 sters, and require them to regulate themselves in all respects accordingly. The
 States having met again in the month of *November*, adhered to the said Resolution,
 declaring, that they considered whatever was done by any in opposition to it, as the
 effect of disobedience, and again requiring and commanding all persons whatsoever
 to submit to it, on pain of suffering the rigour of the Law, as contemners of the
 Orders of the Higher powers; adding, that as they never had, nor did design to
 oblige any to consent to the *five controverted Points*, as contained in the Remon-
 strance, so they were resolved that none should be troubled on account of his ad-
 hering to them; but that all Ministers of each party, notwithstanding their diffe-
 rent opinions, should live and teach in their Cures and Benefices which they either
 had, or might have, or in whatever stations they were placed, with mutual, bro-
 therly, and christian love, to the promoting the honour of God, and the edification
 of the true *Reformed* church, and preservation of publick peace and tranquility;
 but all provisionally, and till matters should be otherwise ordered upon mature and
 due deliberation.

In the year 1612, after the Managers at the Conference on both sides had formed
 the state of the controversie, and delivered in their advice, and maturely considered
 of the matters in debate, in such manner as that nothing more could be offered,
 they, the States, continued in the same mind, and ordained that all endeavours
 should be used for procuring peace and unity among the Clergy.

After this, it being found by experience, that the affairs of the Church were ra- On what occa-
sion the States
proceeded to
their Resolu-
tion of the
year 1614.
 ther worse than better, since the meeting of some of the Managers of the Conference at
Delft, (the aforementioned faithful admonitions of the King of *Great Britain*, inter-
 vening, which imported, *That these controversies should not be discussed by theolo-*
gical conferences, but extinguished by publick authority:) the States found it ne-
 cessary to settle a *Toleration* of this diversity of opinions upon a certain reasonable
 foot, in order, among other inconveniences, to prevent people from attempting to
 screen themselves behind the title of *Remonstrants* or *Contraremonstrants*; and so
 by making use of the benefit of the *Toleration*, to defend some doctrines which nei-
 ther the ancient Christian, nor the modern Reformed churches allow to be tol-
 erable. And these are the views of that Resolution too, which after long exami-
 nation was with great equity and circumspection passed, first in *January*, and again
 in *March*, 1614, by the States of *Holland*.

Now, though your Worships, when you scrupled to receive the aforesaid Resolu- The Objections
against that
Resolution sol-
ved.
 tion, did nevertheless declare, that you were not against its being put in practice
 by those who were desirous to make use of it for the service, ease, and welfare of
 the churches and communities within their own jurisdiction; yet it seems as if
 some ill-inclined persons had from thence taken an occasion, or pretext, to traduce
 the aforementioned christian Resolution, as if it was partially contrived, obscurely
 proposed, and conceived in terms either inconsistent with truth, or injurious to the
Reformed churches. All which calumnies spring from minds biased by passion and
 an unbounded liberty of speaking ill. What a long and mature examination pre-

AN^o D^o M.
1616.

ceded the taking of this Resolution, has been already shown, and needs not be repeated.

What some object, that this was the contrivance of the *Remonstrants*, you know to be false. The draught of the Resolution was first made in the Assembly of the States: every man was free to speak his mind upon it, and to offer his objections against it. Twice did the Representatives of the towns adjourn about it, taking with them copies of it, and having opportunity allowed them to consult with men of learning and judgment. The towns of *Leyden*, *Rotterdam*, and some others, offered certain clauses, which they thought necessary to be inserted by way of amendment in the said Resolution, but dropped them again for the sake of peace. The Magistrates of *Dort*, after consulting with the Clergy of their town, proposed their thoughts on the said Resolution in several meetings of the States, as well as of your Worshipps, but at last complied so far, as to acquiesce in it on the like account of peace. How then can this Resolution be reckoned partial, especially by our brethren the *Contraremonstrants*; since it was not only penned with so great judgment and knowledge of affairs, but was embraced and received by so many eminent Clergymen of their opinion, from an inclination to unity, and an aversion to separation? Let the Resolution itself be examined, and you will find that there is not the least word that sounds like partiality.

The Resolution of the States speaks indeed of violent disputes, and mutual reflections and slanders; but does not this too plainly appear from many books and sermons? All persons are exhorted by it to propose their opinions with moderation, and conferences are allowed to the men of learning. Who is aggrieved by this? Certainly not the *Contraremonstrants*, who themselves declared at the Conference at the *Hague*, that the doctrine of *Predestination* ought to be proposed with great caution and prudence from the pulpit. It is true, there are bounds and limits set, but they are prescribed to both parties; and if you consider the nature of them, you will find that they affect the *Remonstrants* more than their adversaries: For the *Contraremonstrants* are only warned to avoid three extreames; but the *Remonstrants* are forbidden all the following points, *viz.* *The ascribing the beginnings of our salvation to the natural strength of man, or the middle, or the end, to the same cause: The asserting that all these, or any single branch of them ought not to be ascribed to the Grace of God: That the divine Grace can be any otherwise imparted than in Christ our Saviour: And, lastly, that this Grace can be merited.*

There is no danger to the *Contraremonstrants* from all these restrictions; but they are calculated to show how far the *low* opinion, I mean that of the *Remonstrants*, can and ought to be tolerated; these being the very same bounds that were set by the ancient christian Councils for excluding such doctrines as might be prejudicial to the Grace of God; neither is there any thing to be found in those Councils, the substance of which is not contained in the said Resolution.

Now as for that which follows in the Resolution, with relation to believing and teaching: *That God Almighty from all eternity, according to his good pleasure founded in Christ Jesus our Saviour and Redeemer, has chosen to everlasting salvation all such as through the unmerited grace and operation of the Holy Ghost believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and persevere to the end in the same faith; and on the contrary, has abandoned to perdition those who do not believe in Christ, and who continue to the end in the same unbelief.* This doctrine, or opinion, is not that of the *Remonstrants*, as distinguished from the *Contraremonstrants*; but it is the doctrine of all the *Reformed*, yea, of all christians. For however we understand the point of *Predestination*, it is still unquestionable, that the Elect of God, and such who sincerely and stedfastly believe, are the same persons, as also that they are the same persons who are rejected, and who die in unbelief. They that deny this, deny the fundamentals of the christian religion; neither does the Resolution say, that none may believe or teach any more than this; but it supposes the contrary, in asserting the abovementioned doctrine to be sufficient: Now that which is more than sufficient may indeed be true, and useful, but cannot be absolutely necessary. The States say in their Resolution; *That no body shall be molested on account of this opinion, nor obliged to trace the matter any higher; leaving to those who approve of the high opinions, the liberty of enjoying and professing them, pro-*

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vided it be with moderation, and avoiding all extreams. That which further fol-
 lows in the Resolution (to wit, *about adhering to the doctrine of the Reformed*
churches, and particularly those of this land, in the exposition of all the other branches
of christianity) was publickly subjoined at the desire of the *Contraremonstrants*
 themselves, who accused the *Remonstrants*, or at least some of them, of receding from
 the doctrine of the said churches in other matters exclusive of the points in que-
 stion. The conclusion of the Resolution is nothing but an exhortation to love,
 unity, and mutual edification.

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If all this be thoroughly considered, who is there but must acknowledge that this
 Resolution is drawn up with perfect impartiality, and calculated for the ease and
 just satisfaction of the contending parties, especially of the *Contraremonstrants*. As
 for the charge of obscurity or equivocation, it is as ill-grounded as the rest. The
 expressions are plain, and the sense easie to be understood, if not perversly and im-
 pudently wrested. Otherwise the Confession and Catechism, and even the Word of
 God himself, are as subject to wrong interpretations as this Resolution of the States.
 For as to what is there said; *That the work of salvation may be ascribed to Grace,*
either on account of resistible or irresistible operation; and that the faithful may be
said to be elected, whether Faith be conceived to precede Election, or Election Faith;
 this argues no equivocation in the Resolution, for it is one thing to speak equivo-
 cally, and another to express plainly, that in which men agree; (*viz. That the*
Faithful are the Elect, and that all good works are to be ascribed to Grace) and so
 to leave undetermined the things that are in dispute. Thus they proceeded in the
 Synod of *Sandomir*, with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and thus
 we should of necessity be obliged to proceed, if, according to the advice of the Sy-
 nod of *Frankfort*, of *du Moulin*, and others, we should reduce all the Protestant
 Confessions into one; since this could not be done without dropping many contro-
 verted points. When his Majesty of *Great Britain* exhorts us in matters of Di-
 vinity to agree upon the thing, without curiously inquiring into the manner how it
 came to be thus or thus, he does not perswade us to equivocate, but only to confi-
 der what we should speak, and what we should be silent in; which, in *du Moulin's*
 opinion, is the shortest and safest way to peace.

It is a meer wresting of the words of the Resolution, without any reason or ap-
 pearance of it; to say, that the asserting that God has created no man for perdition,
 and compels none to sin, is a denial of his foreknowledge, or of original sin; for
 the words speak of God's creation, and not of that which men bring upon them-
 selves; and of a necessity which proceeds from a previous act; but not of the infal-
 libility of knowledge. Who ever defended God's Prescience better, or maintained
 Original Sin more strenuously than *Austin* or *Prosper*? yet both these affirm, *That*
God moves none to sin, is no cause of sin, pre-ordains none to sin, and forces none to
commit it; nay, they say further, *That God puts no man under a necessity of sinning,*
for this very reason, because he is infallible in his knowledge.

As for the third restraining clause in the Resolution, inserted for a warning to the
Contraremonstrants, the words of it are not less unreasonably wrested by some. For
 when the Resolution ordains that Ministers should not teach, *that God calls*
or invites any to salvation, to whom he has decreed not to grant it; the contrary,
 which is esteemed to be true, is not; that God has absolutely decreed to grant sal-
 vation to all whom he invites, (for what God absolutely decrees must always take
 effect; whereas we know, that *many are called but few are chosen*) but this is what
 is esteemed to be true and edifying doctrine; *viz. That the invitation which God*
uses, necessarily imports, that God in some measure wills the salvation of those whom
he invites, or has in a certain sense (viz. conditionally) decreed to grant them sal-
vation; so that this very well agrees with what the *Contraremonstrants* said at the
 conference; *That God offers grace to no man, to the end he should refuse it, but that*
he offers it only on condition of faith and repentance, with the intention that those
who do not partake of it, may know what is the reason why they do not attain to
it; *viz. because they do not comply with the terms required*; adding, *that the word*
of grace is not through God's intention the word of reprobation, but becomes so
through our own fault; agreeably to what was formerly said by *Prosper*, *That*
God does not ordain unbelief, and that no man is called not to believe. The
Contraremonstrants say further; *that God has not decreed the damnation of any*

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Thus it appears, that the above-mentioned *Three Points*, inserted in the Resolution of the States, being impartially explained, according to the propriety of the words, are by no means incompatible with the truth. Let us now see whether the Reformed churches are stigmatized by it, as some people rashly affirm. Do the States pretend that the Reformed churches teach, or profess any one of these extremes? No, by no means. Do they say the Contraremonstrants teach, or profess the said extremes? No, neither; but they only affirm, that some (without saying who) are reported so to do. And I pray, whom does this affect? Certainly these extremes cannot be imputed to the Reformed churches, without charging them unjustly: for all their confessions assert, **That God wills not sin, and is not the cause or author of evil.** And particularly our *Netherland Confession* teaches: *That God made man good; just and holy: To which the Catechism adds: That God made man to love him, and to live with him in everlasting happiness.* The aforesaid *Netherland Confession* teaches us farther: *That God saves some men from the fall, but leaves others in it, and in that state of perdition, into which they have brought themselves.* Can any man then, with the least shadow of truth, accuse our churches of teaching the contrary? The suffrages of those Reformed Doctors who condemn the mentioned extremes, are very numerous, but it is not necessary to quote them here.

To what end then does the Resolution make mention of these extremes? Certainly not in vain. For, first, it is not done to charge the Reformed churches, but to discharge and justify them. St. Austin observing that he was accused by some in France and Italy of teaching such extremes, publicly condemned them, and so justified himself. The Council of Orange, being assembled to defend the doctrine of Grace, made no scruple to anathematize all such as should affirm that God pre-ordained man to evil. Now from thence to conclude, that the design of those Fathers was to stigmatize the Church, is nonsense: On the contrary, they thereby justified the churches from slander. Thus the States knowing that the Jesuits, and other enemies of the Reformation, accuse our Church of ascribing to God, cruelty, injustice and falshood, effectually show (as defenders of the Church) that such absurdities are so far from being taught, that they are not so much as tolerated. This is the shortest way to stop the mouths of our adversaries, I mean by our own condemning what they unjustly accuse us of.

The second reason why mention is made of the aforesaid extremes, is to forewarn all whom it may concern, not to overshoot themselves by too warmly opposing their adversaries; which frequently happens. St. Austin himself observes, that some who thought they were propagating his doctrine, fell into gross errors, which

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were afterwards called the errors of the *Predestinarians*. He thought it therefore necessary to warn and reclaim such persons, and to contain them within their just bounds. Why may not that which happened then by misinterpreting the writings of St. *Austin*, be the case of others in our age? Without doubt it may; for the *Contraremonstrants* themselves owned at the *Conference*, that *Nicasius vander Schuuren* carried his opinions to such a height, as to teach, *that God induced men to sin*; for which he was censured by the Church. What the States therefore do in this case, is no other than what the churches do on the like occasion; *i. e.* they warn people against running into extreams. They admonish the *Remonstrants* not to teach, *That salvation can be obtained by our natural strength: That happiness can be merited: That saving grace can be had without Christ*. Now the *Remonstrants* do not exclaim against this treatment, but only say, they never did, nor will ever propagate such doctrines: They thank the States for this warning, and justify the *Resolution*. It had been very agreeable to the States, and would still be so, in case any of the brethren who are called *Contraremonstrants*, had likewise taken the trouble, or would still take it, to vindicate their said *Resolution*, and to show that those extreams; to wit, *That God necessitates any man to commit sin: or, That man is created in order to be damned; or, That the invitation and call of sinners is not earnest and sincere*; have been always rejected by the *Reformed* churches, and that they will not preach nor teach any doctrines from which the same may be justly deduced. We therefore are perswaded, Gentlemen, that every impartial person must judge that the *Resolution* so often mentioned, was framed with great equity: that it does not decide the points in question: that it is conformable to sound doctrine; and calculated for the honour and edification of the *Reformed* churches. The said *Resolution* having been laid before the King of *Great Britain*, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several other Prelates of great learning in *England*, all of them highly commended both the act and the intention; saying, they observed that the design of the States was to warn their people against two equally dangerous rocks, the one of *Manicheism*, the other of *Pelagianism*, and to cause them to be confirmed in the doctrine, which by ascribing to God alone the *first* and *last*, that is to say, the beginning, progress, and perfection of salvation, does not at the same time render *good works* void, and of no effect. They signified on that occasion to the Lords the States, that they did not doubt but by these methods, all persons of too great curiosity would be kept within due bounds, and the churches restored to their former tranquility. † The Letters containing these expressions of the King and Bishops are still in being, and may be produced if necessary. It also actually appears, that many Classes and Ministers, even of the *Contraremonstrant* party, have already accepted of this *Resolution* as *christian* and equitable, and by no means burdensome to their consciences, and promised to conform themselves to it. We think therefore, Gentlemen, that we have sufficiently vindicated the aforesaid *Resolution* of the States from the calumnies of some too violent persons.

As for your Worships, we firmly believe that you judge more prudently of the designs and actions of my Lords the States; but we observe that you are concerned for the preservation of the *Reformed* Religion, and apprehensive lest the *Toleration*, when admitted, should be turned into licentiousness, and innovations steal in upon us, incompatible with the grounds on which the *Reformation* is founded. For which reason we are commanded by the Lords the States to assure your Worships, that your care for the *Reformed* Religion is very agreeable to them, and besides that, the rest of the Members of their body, consisting of the Nobles and Towns, will not easily yield to any in their zeal for preserving the said Religion: so that all the Members of the Assembly having the same good inclinations, and assisting each other according to their bounden duty, our Religion can be in no danger. It is to be believed that in these troublesome times, some people take greater liberties than we could wish; but the cause of the licentiousness proceeds only from the want of toleration and forbearance in matters that ought to be tolerated. For if the *Contraremonstrants* and the *Remonstrants*, who have no other differences between them, than what were treated of at the *Conference*, (as was owned by such

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as appeared there on behalf of those of the latter denomination) would maintain brotherly love and communion, and mutually assist each other, none would have the courage to broach any such novelties. But now the Brethren being at variance, and mutual jealousies spreading among them, they that are exorbitant, seek for refuge and shelter with the one or the other party. To which may be added, that in some places the Classis is divided, and so disabled from exercising any censures in a proper way, insomuch that for this cause only, it is necessary to procure a reunion of those Classes. Whatever inconveniences there may be upon this account, the States at least are not to be blamed for it, since their Orders never interfered with any of the churches censures any farther than as they regarded the points treated of at the Conference: So that it is free for every man to accuse such who transgress those bounds, before the Classical meetings; or in case of neglect or delay, to bring the matter before the States themselves. It is true indeed, that the States knowing, *that secret things come not under the judgment of the Church*, could not approve the method of proceeding against each Clergyman by inquisition or examination, and consequently did not judge it either useful or edifying, that the *Remonstrants* should make any declaration upon the points proposed to them by their adversaries; for the very same reason, for which the *Contraremonstrants* declined answering their Antagonists upon the questions put to them at the same conference, concerning *Reprobation*. But the States at the same time declared, that they would use their authority for the preventing any thing that should be proposed against the sound doctrine of the Church. And they actually did so, by the aforesaid Resolution of the year 1614, in which it was said, *That in all other points of the Christian doctrine, the Clergy should preach and expound according to the word of God, and according to what had been received and taught in the Reformed churches of this land*. And though this might have sufficed, yet in order to a further accommodation, and for removing all unreasonable suspicions and jealousies, in the Act of Recess or Prorogation, which past in the present Sessions (as before in the Resolution of May 1611) express mention is made of the *Netherland Confession* and *Heidelberg Catechism*, two Formularies that may be of singular advantage to the Church, provided they be used with discretion, not by searching for nice and subtil questions in them, with an intent to ensnare people, but by comparing them with the confessions of other *Evangelical* churches; in order to demonstrate the great concord and harmony there is among them in so many and weighty articles of doctrine: which harmony is therefore the more to be valued, because it was not the effect of force or fear, as among the *Papists*, nor occasioned by a combination of any assembly of men, but was providentially and wonderfully brought about by the power of God's word, and the operation of his holy spirit, in the hottest times of the persecution, when the churches were dispersed throughout all *Europe*. If now any of the Clergy should depart from this Catholick or Universal Faith, and vent any private heterodox opinions in the publick congregations, the States will not only hinder, but on the contrary, will give all possible encouragement for the prosecution of such persons, and that regularly, and conformably to the word of God, by which we are taught, *that we ought not to receive any accusation against an Elder, but by two or three witnesses*.

The design of
the States
Resolutions
was not to
exclude the
Contraremonstrants
out of the
churches.

None of these
were ever ex-
cluded merely
on account of
their opinions.

Others, it seems, are apprehensive that the design of the aforesaid Resolutions, was to exclude the Ministers of the *Contraremonstrant* party out of the churches. But this is a false alarm, and without any grounds; being inconsistent with the intentions of the States, and the plain sense of that Resolution, which says: **That both parties should be equally indulged**: as is also abundantly repeated in the Act of Recess. It is likewise so far from the design of depriving any of the Clergy of their Ministry, as being of the *Contraremonstrant* persuasion, that on the contrary, we do not know of one town in the Province of *Holland* and *West Freeisland*, that is served only by *Remonstrant* Ministers. As for those persons who have been deprived, either by the States themselves or any particular towns, this treatment was not on account of their being of this or that opinion, or of their publick profession of it; but because they not being satisfied with enjoying their own liberty, would not tolerate others, but breaking the communion of Saints, made a publick schism in the Church, and set up Altar against Altar: and yet they have been long born with, and all endeavours have been used, by arguments and persuasions,

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and the advice of moderate men to bring them to a sense of their duty. But when neither exhortations nor commands could prevail, the Government was reduced to such a dilemma, that they were obliged to exert their authority, or plainly own that they allowed of the schism. Every man who is concerned for the unity of the Church, may easily judge which of the two was preferable. *The Toleration was therefore to be extended to all such as desired to enjoy the benefit of it.* We are informed by *Paræus*, that, in the dominions of the Elector *Palatine*, some of the more violent Clergy were discharged from their Ministry, because they would not obey the pious commands of the Elector, who forbid them to rail, and required them to preach the Gospel to edification, and treat of the points in dispute with moderation and discretion before the people. His Electoral Highness, making use of that authority which belonged to him, against such sort of men, did not thereby endeavour to lord it over conscience, but on the contrary, to prevent one Minister from domineering over the conscience of another. However, your Worships may be assured, that neither the States nor the Towns do willingly exert such authority; nor will they cease to use all possible patience, prudence, and discretion, to the end they may avoid, as far as possible, this sort of remedy. It likewise sufficiently appears, that the number of the Clergy, against whom they should be obliged to make use of their authority, cannot be great, since many have declared already for a Toleration, and others have approved it by their actions: and many of the most violent being either influenced by the advice of the moderate Ministers, or at least by the example of what has happened to other hot-headed men, will not carry things to extremity.

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There still remains one scruple, or objection, which some make against a Toleration, by putting in practice the Resolution of the States; viz. *That the consequence of it will be, that each party will propose their own notions to the people, who, by that means, will be continually kept in suspense, when they reflect upon the inconsistent methods of their instructors.*

But to this we answer; first, That according to the frequent declarations of the *Remonstrants*, and the concessions of the *Contraremonstrants* themselves, at the Conference upon the article of Reprobation, some points are contained in holy scripture, which Ministers are not bound to preach upon to the people, because of the offence that may be given to such as are not thoroughly versed in those matters. Accordingly, the *Contraremonstrants* say very well, that not only simplicity is recommended to Ministers, but discretion too; for they are required to distribute the word of God duly, that is, to apply it, according to the circumstances of time and place, for edification, and not for destruction; so that some things, though never so true, may with a good conscience, be concealed, at least for a while, if they find that the declaring them will produce troubles or disturbances. Which caution, if ever there was an occasion for it, ought, above all things, to be attended to at the present juncture, when the preaching on these mysterious points has caused such heats and animosities in many of their hearers; insomuch, that it would be undoubtedly more for the benefit of such persons to be daily exhorted to piety and all christian virtues: at least, the preaching upon such nice points might be very well postponed, till it plainly appeared that the people had been first taught that which is of the greatest necessity, viz. Repentance or Amendment of life; which yet is for the most part but little regarded. Indeed such who should zealously preach up this duty, though they in the mean time omitted matters of controverſie, would never complain of having mis-spent their time. The bringing these controverſial matters into the pulpit at this time of day, is the less necessary, because the people have now been a long time entertained with them, and for this reason ought to be sufficiently instructed, as well by books as sermons, in what is to be said upon the points. And since there are many other articles of the Christian doctrine (and many of them too more necessary than these nice points) there ought to be some time spent in infusing them into the minds of the people, lest, while they are taught too much of the one, they know too little of the other.

But if some think that they ought not entirely to be silent, with respect to the aforesaid points, there may be still a way found out, to gratifie their humours without quarelling. For though there is some difference in opinion, yet it is not so great as some take it to be; and it appears as well by the conference, as by other

* The Difference
between the
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strants and
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books and writings of learned men, that those of the one opinion may teach many things without being contradicted by those of the other persuasion. To prove the matter in as few words as possible : The whole first Article of the *Remonstrance* was agreed to by the *Contraremonstrants* ; only they said, that the Conclusion, contained in that article, did not include the whole doctrine of *Predestination*. The *Remonstrants* allow it, and confess, that there is a certain *Predestination* or *Election to Faith* : They likewise own, that God, in sending his word to some men, and in not sending it to others, in calling more powerfully upon one than upon another, in granting to one man a longer life than to another, makes use of his own good pleasure and wisdom, which to men is wholly inscrutable. Again, some who are of the *Contraremonstrant* party maintain, that we ought not to differ about the order of God's decrees, to wit, the decree of giving faith, and the decree of granting salvation. The *Remonstrants* agree, that Election does not flow from works, and even that faith it self is not a cause of Election, but that the chief cause of Election is merely the good pleasure of God. Again, the *Contraremonstrants* acknowledge, that *Christ* is the ground of *Predestination*, and that God has not purposed to save any, without respect to faith and repentance.

As for what concerns the second Article, the *Remonstrants* own, that all men are not restored to the state of Grace, and that therefore, as far as relates to the effectual application of *Christ's* merits, he may be said to have died only for believers. On the other hand, the *Contraremonstrants* say, that the sufferings of *Christ* are of so great value and efficacy, that they are sufficient for the sins of all and every man ; to which must be added what we have already quoted out of the opinions of the most learned of that party, viz. that God wills the salvation of every man upon certain conditions ; and what others of the same persuasion do allow ; that God always bestows more gifts upon those who make a good use of the few they have received.

The third Article of the *Remonstrance* is quite out of dispute.

And as for the fourth, which regards the manner of the operations of Grace, the difference between the parties is so very nice, that one must have good eyes to distinguish it well. For the *Remonstrants* confess that our understandings are irresistibly enlightened by God, and that all good desires, and the power to believe, are infused by him in a manner no less irresistible. The *Contraremonstrants*, and such as are of their mind, confess on the other hand, that grace moves men to the act of conversion by internal persuasion, and does not deprive men of the whole power of resisting, but only of resistance it self ; so that grace being considered in its own nature, leaves us the liberty of resisting. They likewise maintain against some *Lutherans*, that the will it self is not entirely passive in the first act of conversion, but that it co-operates freely and without compulsion, though influenced by grace.

The *Remonstrants* again confess, that grace not only produces the power of believing, but the act of faith it self ; though this is a particular grace which is not bestowed upon all men, but upon some only, in whom it takes away all resistance ; and that our conversion also does not depend on our will.

As to the fifth and last Article, the *Remonstrants* own that believers have some kind of certainty of their salvation ; and that as they advance in holiness, that certainty is still greater. The *Contraremonstrants* confess, on the other hand, that those who lead an ill life are not entitled to the certainty of salvation : that such certainty is also attended with fear and trembling : that there are some degrees or beginnings of true Faith that may be rendered fruitless ; that there is a certain measure of Faith within which the Elect can be no more assured of their salvation than the reprobated, and that many never attain a compleat certainty before the end of their lives. The *Remonstrants* teach that the Faithful must steadily rely upon the mercy of God, not only for the present but future too. The *Contraremonstrants* teach that, in respect to themselves, the Faithful may relapse. The *Remonstrants* agree, that men do not forfeit Grace by all kinds of sin. The *Contraremonstrants* allow, that we lose the principal operations of Grace by heinous sins.

Now he that will consider all these points, in which the most learned of both sides agree, will be convinced, that the Ministers of each opinion may preach a long time upon *Predestination*, and all that belongs to it, without any contestation ;

and the rather, if we do not regard the speculative, but the practical part, to which all doctrines ought to be directed. The design of the *Contraremonstrants* is, that we should ascribe the origin of our salvation entirely to the mercy of God, exclusive of all merits. Who can find fault with it? The meaning of the *Remonstrants* is, that no person, whilst living, ought by us to be entirely deprived of the hope of salvation. This the *Contraremonstrants* do not oppose. Again, the latter endeavour to cut off all boasting from man. It is just, and cannot be opposed by the former. The design of the *Remonstrants* is, to exhort men not to harden their hearts against the voice of God, nor to expect such an attraction as cannot be withstood. This is likewise so well grounded, and so edifying, that none of the *Contraremonstrants* will dispute it. Again, the *Contraremonstrants* seek to guard true believers against all despair and slavish fear. Who is there among the *Remonstrants* that is capable of hindering such a design? The *Remonstrants* endeavour to draw people off from carelessness or security, and to exhort them to make their election sure by good works. This is highly necessary, especially in these times, and can be blamed by no body. From hence, and from what might be further added by the learned, and such as better understand the matter, it is easy to conceive, that the Clergy on both sides, might preach according to their consciences, even concerning *Predestination* and its dependancies, and yet attain the principal end of their preaching, without much contradicting each other.

But suppose, at the very worst, that people could not forbear entering into the deepest part of the controversy; (though perhaps it would be neither necessary nor useful so to do) yet even this might be done without disturbing the Church, if the Clergy, as they formerly declared they ought, did but handle the matter with temper and civility, and would not rail at each other about it, nor call Hereticks, and anathematize, and even damn one another, much less load each other with false accusations and calumnies; if, in proposing their own sentiments, they would exhort the good people to shew their christian love and unity to all the household of faith, without excepting even them who might be of a different opinion, in hopes that God will some time or other manifest more clearly the truth of these disputes, and the difference between points necessary to be known for salvation, and others that are not necessary.

Under such moderation is likewise comprehended a just distinction between times and places; for a thing may be proposed at one time and place with edification, which cannot be done at another without offence: But with respect to these matters, the Magistrates and Consistories of the several places, are capable of giving directions with sufficient prudence.

Thus, Gentlemen, we think we have given your Worships good reasons for the toleration of the differing opinions, for the exerting the authority of the Government in these matters, and for the substance of the resolutions which have been hitherto taken by the States. We think, and trust, we have given a sufficient answer to all that has been objected, as far at least as has come to our knowledge: Your Worships will weigh the importance of these things, on which depends the welfare of our dear country, as well as that of the Church.

For if the Toleration be rejected, one of these three things will necessarily follow; either all the Clergy must be brought to one and the same opinion with respect to these points, or else one part of them must be excluded the Ministry; or, lastly, there must be two *Reformed* churches in these Provinces. * To bring all the Clergy to be of the same mind, is impossible; for both parties quote several passages of Holy Writ in their favour, produce many plausible arguments, and boast of many great men of the Primitive as well as of the Reformed churches. † To turn out of the Ministry those of either of the opinions, is neither christian nor practicable: It is not christian, because the doctrine of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* teaches more moderation and temper, than to allow that any mens talents should be rendered useless, for no other reason, but because they disagree with us in opinions which by many are so difficultly understood: Neither is it practicable, for the number, as well of the Clergy as of the People, on each side is too great to bring about such a business, without putting the nation in a flame. The *Reformed* church of these Provinces (which, God be praised, has hitherto been uniform) may indeed be rent, or divided, but it will be dangerous to the last degree.

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At many things might be taught without opposing either opinion; so the differing opinions might be treated of without offence to the People.

* The impossibility of bringing the whole body of the Clergy to agree in one Opinion.
† To exclude the Clergy of either Party from the Service of the Church on account of either of these Opinions, would be neither agreeable to the Spirit of Christianity, nor indeed practicable.
Separation, or the setting up Altar against Altar, of pernicious consequence.

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A Schism in
the Church
soon becomes
incurable.

Schisms fre-
quently produce
Errors worse
than the pre-
tended causes
of the Schisms
themselves.

Schism in the
Church is dan-
gerous to the
State.

It is true, Gentlemen, we connive at some Conventicles, or private Meetings of *Martinists* and *Mennonites*, but you know this is a quite different case; since the States have not taken upon them the defence of such Sectaries, but only that of the true *Reformed* churches, which they ought to preserve undivided, as when they received them under their patronage. It is the expression of Truth it self, that *every kingdom divided against it self cannot stand*: That is likewise remarkable which we are taught by the experience of all ages, that *when once a schism is fully formed, the wound is scarce ever to be healed*. The schism of the *Novatians* in the Primitive Church, began in the year of our Lord 320; and in spite of all the efforts and diligence used both by Clergy and Laity, and even of the authority of the then christian Princes, it could not be composed for the space of 150 years. The schism of the *Donatists* had its rise in the year 300, and the Church was plagued with it above one hundred years after. About the year 600, the *Western*, or *Latin*, church, of her own authority, and without consulting the *Eastern* church, took upon her to determine that difficult point of the *Procession of the Holy Ghost*; from whence sprung the division between the *Greek* and *Latin* churches which has lasted to this very day, without any consolidation of the divided parts, though attempted by many Councils. The schism between the *Lutherans* and the *Reformed* had its beginning about the year 1530, increasing more and more, till it was entirely formed in 1575; since which many pious Divines have laboured to cure the wound, but in vain: *So much easier is it to divide than to unite; and therefore the beginning of such evils ought to be obviated with the utmost industry; and the rather, since schism is of such a nature, that there spring from it in time, many errors which are much worse than the pretended causes of the schism it self*. Accordingly we find, that both the *Novatians* and *Donatists*, after their separation from the Orthodox, departed still more and more from the Truth, as have the *Lutherans* by falling into the *Ubiquitarian* error. The reason of this (next to the just judgment of God) is, because by schism, all order and discipline is destroyed, and each party, apprehending further divisions, is afraid to use the proper remedies. All wise and pious men, observing what passes daily, may judge whether we be not threatened with the same danger, and whether we have not great reason to fear it in case the schism goes on as it has begun: And who can assure us, Gentlemen, if it be not stifled in its birth, that it shall not extend far beyond the present controversies? Nay, who is so weak as not to see that nothing less is to be expected? For if it be lawful to make a schism on account of the articles in question, why not on account of others which equally regard the business of *Predestination*, and with reference to which even the *Contraremonstrants* differ among themselves. Is it allowable to separate for these? then why not much more for the points that concern *Justification*, such as those which are canvassed by *Piscator* and *Tilenus* on one side, and *du Moulin*, and many more with him, on the other? Nay, as many theological disputes as there are (which yet are very numerous) so many new schisms would there arise, if this principle should once be admitted; *viz. That Church-Communion may be dissolved on account of differences in points not necessary to salvation*.

This likewise agrees with the experience of all ages; for as the *Novatians* separated from the ancient orthodox church, so did a certain sect, named the *Quartodecimani*, from the *Novatians*; and the *Donatists* after having broken ecclesiastical unity, were subdivided among themselves into *Rogatists*, *Meximinianists*, *Parmenianists*, *Cirrenses*, *Circumcelliones*, and many other sects. And the same thing have we seen to happen in our time: The *Lutherans*, after having separated from the rest of the *Protestant* churches, were immediately split into *Flaccians*, *Osiandrians*, and the like. We see the *English* Puritans are separating from the Church, and from one another, every day: But above all, the *Anabaptists* are remarkable on this account, who have so many sects swarming among them, that scarce any can reckon their number or names.

From hence, Gentlemen, we may justly conclude, that if we once suffer a separation, we can expect nothing else but greater devastations in the *Reformed* churches, to the hurt of the true religion, and to the joy and victory of the *Papists*; and what mischiefs it may introduce into the State, is not unknown to our Civil Governours. If the plague of schism be spread in the churches, it will soon infect

the

‘ the State ; especially in a Nation where the chief band of union is Religion : For
 ‘ when once that band is broken or untied, there will follow a dissolution of the unity
 ‘ of the State, discord between one Province and another, quarrels among the towns,
 ‘ factions in the towns themselves, and party-rage even in private families ; as for-
 ‘ merly happened in *Germany* and *Italy*, in the time of the *Guelphs* and *Gibbellines*,
 ‘ and in these Provinces when the minds of men were so distracted by the factions of
 ‘ the *Hooks* and *Cabelyaws*, that they could scarce be composed in the space of two
 ‘ hundreds years. Such hatred and rage of parties would be the more to be la-
 ‘ mented, and the more to be dreaded too, because they would affect none but the
 ‘ best Patriots, upon whose fidelity the welfare of the land chiefly depends ; and
 ‘ because by means of their divisions, all those who are disaffected to the Govern-
 ‘ ment, would have but too good an opportunity to attempt its ruin.

‘ In Kingdoms themselves, diversity in the publick exercise of religion is extream-
 ‘ ly prejudicial ; but to Republicks it is utterly destructive. What further inconve-
 ‘ niences may from hence, in time, befall this noble and populous City, you the
 ‘ Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, will judge according to your great wisdom ; it being
 ‘ plain, from the experience of all ages, that ecclesiastical dissentions have always pro-
 ‘ duced the most dangerous effects in the greatest Cities. All this, Gentlemen, is
 ‘ the fruit which is to be expected from the separation, besides other inconveniences
 ‘ that are better understood than expressed.

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Ecclesiastical
dissentions pro-
duce the most
dangerous ef-
fects in the
greatest Cities.
The great use-
fulness of a du-
ly limited To-
leration.

‘ On the other hand, if we embrace christian Moderation, and allow of a Tole-
 ‘ ration with reasonable restrictions, we shall first attain that which is most ne-
 ‘ cessary for us in this burning feaver, rest and quietness : all doctrines contra-
 ‘ dictory to the universal faith of the *Reformed* churches, will be unanimously ex-
 ‘ pelled out of our churches. The Clergy laying aside every thing tending to pro-
 ‘ mote animosities, will then be more inclined to a better correspondence and friend-
 ‘ ship among themselves ; and so, all obstacles being removed, the way will be
 ‘ prepared for a legal and impartial Synod, in which by amicable conferences, and
 ‘ good instructions out of God’s word, the disputes may be lessened, and they may
 ‘ draw nearer and nearer to each other in their opinions ; the effect of which must
 ‘ be, that the people will be edified by doctrines tending to piety, and exhorted to
 ‘ charity, unity and obedience. In fine, the good correspondence and harmony be-
 ‘ tween the Nobles and Towns, among the Towns themselves, and among the best
 ‘ of the inhabitants of these Provinces, (I mean, all persons well affected to the true
 ‘ Christian *Reformed* religion) will by this means be more and more promoted, to
 ‘ the honour of God, the welfare and prosperity of our dear Country, and edification
 ‘ of the Church. For attaining these ends, Gentlemen, we offer, on the part of
 ‘ the States, whatever any way depends upon them, and in particular our own
 ‘ persons, as being chiefly come hither with the intent to serve you ; begging your
 ‘ Worships to take all in good part.’

This Speech and Proposal having been heard with great attention, the rest of the
 Deputies added a short recommendation of the matter ; and the Senate or Council of
Amsterdam, were very gravely exhorted by the Heer *van Matthenes* in particular,
 to believe that there was nothing in the world which the States more earnestly desired
 than the preservation of the *Reformed Religion*, and the peace of the churches of
 these Provinces. And the Scout of *Dort* begged them, ‘ not to believe any re-
 ‘ ports against the Magistrates of *Dort*, or against him in particular, but to be fully
 ‘ perswaded that the said Magistrates taking notice of the uneasiness of the best Pa-
 ‘ triots, both of the one and the other party, by which that sincere love that ought
 ‘ to unite them, was very much lessened, and believing that nothing could be more
 ‘ pernicious to the State, than a schism in the Church, which for want of a proper
 ‘ remedy, would naturally ensue ; and moreover, not being able to discover that those
 ‘ of the *Contraremonstrant* opinion suffered any violence in their consciences, or
 ‘ were compelled to alter their mind by the Resolution of the States, or by the ex-
 ‘ planatory Act of Recess, had for these and other good reasons received the afore-
 ‘ said Resolution : adding, That though he came in the name, and by the autho-
 ‘ rity of the States, and not from the town of *Dort* in particular, yet he was very rea-
 ‘ dy to give the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, a fuller and more circumstantial account

AN^o DOM. 1616. of those just reasons and considerations which had induced the Magistrates of his town to receive the said Resolution, and Act of Recess.

To this all the Deputies in general added, and repeated it several times: 'That in case the Gentlemen of Amsterdam had any scruples remaining, or believed that it was in the power of the States to do any thing further for promoting peace, they desired they would let them know it; and hoped to give them entire satisfaction on behalf of the States, by removing all kinds of objections.' But they of Amsterdam returned no other answer to all this, but only: That the Senate would take the matter into their consideration.

The reply of the Magistrates of Amsterdam.

The next day, being Sunday the 24th, the Deputies heard a sermon in the French church, being informed, that it was sacrament day in the Dutch. On the 25th the Burgomasters and the Pensionary of the City of Amsterdam, waited on the States Deputies, and after having returned them thanks for their salutation and good wishes, desired them to assure the States, of the good inclinations of the Magistrates and Government of their City towards the Nobles and the rest of the Towns; adding: 'That they the Burgomasters and Council were fully instructed, by what they had received from them, of the reasons and motives of the States, in forming and transmitting to them their Resolution with respect to Church-matters: and that they had also taken into their consideration certain reasons on the other side, and considered the constitution of their City, and should impart to them their intentions by their own Deputies.' Upon this the five Deputies represented to them: 'That it both had been, and still was their earnest desire to hear the objections which they the Magistrates of Amsterdam had to offer; hoping they might give them satisfaction in case they might be admitted to audience: and that otherwise, if they sent up their Deputies to the Assembly with limited instructions, they would not be able to obtain any thing, though never so well introduced, and consequently that the affairs of the Church would want due redress.

The difficulties proposed by the Magistrates.

But since the Burgomasters declared, that the Senate did not think fit to go into any further debates with them, or to give them a second audience, they entered into a friendly and private conference with them upon the principal points of their proposal; and observed that the things which stuck most with them, were 'Their belief that the people were under a continual apprehension of an alteration intended to be made in Religion, as not being sufficiently informed of the nature of the Toleration, and the hope they had conceived, that by the means of a lawful Synod under the authority of the States, or by such other methods as might be thought of, mens minds would be better disposed to a *Mutual Toleration*, as well as confidence in one another; and that the reason why they scrupled to receive the Resolution of the States was, because the Government expected that wherever the said Resolution was received, it should be put in execution; whereas such an execution, according to the present constitution of many towns, and especially that of Amsterdam, would produce great damage to the Church, decay of Trade, and perhaps other inconveniences.'

The reply of the Deputies.

To these objections the Deputies replied: 'That the people of these Provinces were of a good natural disposition; that they revered their Governours, were inclinable to friendship, and, consequently, no lovers of parties and divisions; and that all discreet men were fully satisfied by the proceedings of the States, of their extraordinary zeal for the good of the Reformed churches: besides, that by these Resolutions of the States, an effectual bar was put to all innovations and alterations in Religion: And as for the Toleration, that no body had just cause to think otherwise of it than the States, since it would not be found that any of the Protestant Divines, who were men of fame and note, had ever maintained, That Church-communion might be broken on account of the various opinions concerning Predestination, or the points relating to it: That from thence it might be plainly concluded, that all the troubles which had lately infested the Church, were not occasioned by any neglect of the States, nor by the perverse temper of the people, but only by the warmth and violence of some of the Clergy, who yet were not very numerous. — For a proof of this, they needed only to consider that peace and unity had been maintained in several churches since the starting of these disputes, till the very time that some one of the Ministers had by his own example caused the banner of schism to be set up, and drawn the people after him; which

All the disturbances in the Church proceeded from the indiscreet zeal of some of the Clergy.

which yet had happened in other places out of these Provinces, even where there was no dispute about any articles of doctrine: that the States, and particularly the Nobles and Towns, having been sufficiently informed of all this, had nevertheless treated the authors of such factions and commotions with great temper; but that when it once appears that patience cannot prevail, but on the contrary loses ground, and that such persons become the bolder by it, authority must then interpose; or else the Government must sit down quietly, and see the schism go on, and even authorize it, which they firmly believed the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* would never approve; that it would be no hard matter to restrain the people within the bounds of their duty, in case their Rulers would mutually stand by and support each other, as was stipulated by the Union; and if the faithful Ministers would earnestly exhort their respective flocks to a just reverence and submission to the Government, and love to each other. That as to the calling a Synod, they thought they had shown by the reasons which they laid before them, that it was not a proper season for doing it; nay, that no good could be as yet expected from it, but that if the Gentlemen of *Amsterdam* had any thing to offer against what had been proposed, they were ready to hear and answer it as well as they could. That they had likewise plainly shown, that these matters had been so maturely and fully discussed at the Conference, and the advice so thoroughly examined, that it was impossible for a Synod to have done more. But since the Burgomasters were not disposed to treat with them, but only declared: 'That none ought to despair of the unity of the Church; and that when their own Deputies had opened their Commission in the Assembly of the States, they should be ready to hear what might be further offered, and, if necessary, make a report; adding, That they should be very sorry, if any of their inhabitants disturbed the peace of the land, or that of the other towns:' the Deputies returned them thanks, and once again heartily recommended unity to them. From hence the Deputies could easily observe, that their mission to *Amsterdam* was all in vain. For though near half the Council were inclined to agree with the States, yet the rest, who were the majority, could not be prevailed upon to join with them: 'It was several times put to the vote, and carried in the negative by not above two or three.

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These became bolder by Liberty, therefore Authority was to be made use of.

The 27th of *April*, the five Deputies made their report to the States of all their negotiations with the Governours of *Amsterdam*. — And the matter being again debated, and several questions put about it, it was at last agreed and resolved: '2 That the Resolutions taken in the years 1611 and 1614, with regard to the ecclesiastical Differences, and the mutual Toleration of the *Five Points* discussed in the Conference, together with the limitation of the said Toleration, and the putting in practice of the ecclesiastical Constitution established in the year 1591, with respect to the manner of choosing Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, as also to the significancy and influence of the Consistories, should be put in execution, according to the ordinance of the month of *December* last past, in all the towns and villages, where the respective Magistrates might think it useful and necessary, as the same was explained and declared at the abovementioned recess of the 23d of the last *March*; yet in such a sense nevertheless as that the expressions relating to the *Netherland* Confession, and the *Heidelberg* Catechism therein inserted, should not be understood to be there inserted, as if they were to be compared, or put upon a level with the holy Scriptures or Word of God, but only as they were to be considered as Formularies of unity with other *Reformed* churches, which were always to be expounded conformably to the sacred Writings. And they, the States, charged and required their Committee to take care to enforce these their Orders by all proper methods, and, if desired, to give their assistance to all Magistrates and Officers of Justice. But they declared it was not their intention that any Burgomasters, Councils, or other Magistrates of towns should be obliged to put these Orders in practice, if they did not think them serviceable in their respective jurisdictions; as desiring that nothing should be done or suffered by one town in relation to another, that might occasion any discord or uneasiness among the people directly or indirectly. And the said Committee was authorized and required to depute some of the Members of the Colleges, or other persons, to the towns that should scruple to receive these

A Resolution of the States of Holland.

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. VIII. p. 89.

² See the *Journal of the States of Holland and West* | *Freeland*. This Resolution is to be found in the *Memoirs* of Baudart, Lib. VIII. p. 9, 10, but maim'd and imperfect.

AN^o DOM. 1616. these Resolutions ; in order to prevail on them by the best arguments they could use, to agree to the same. And the Nobles and Deputies of the towns took upon them, each for himself, to consider between this and the next Assembly of the States, whether the whole Ecclesiastical Constitution of the year 1591, might not be provisionally established ; or in case there should be any thing more necessary to be done about it, to take care that it might be regulated as soon as possible, and settled upon the same foot as was then done.* This Resolution passed the 28th of April.

A Declaration
of the Magi-
strates of Am-
sterdam.

As to *Amsterdam*, it was declared on the part of the Magistrates of that City, at the meeting of the States Committee, upon the verbal proposition made to them by the Heer *Hugo Grotius* : ' That they were of opinion, that the true Christian religion, which had been exercised for above fifty years in this country, ought to be supported : that it would be prejudicial to the Government to make any the least alteration therein, unless the same were first well and maturely weighed in a lawful Synod : that therefore they could not agree to several Propositions and Acts made or done since the year 1611, nor the Act of Recess of the 18th of *March* of the current year, nor the propositions made by the Deputies of the States ; neither could they consent that any Placard should be issued in the name of the City of *Amsterdam*, and much less executed against those of the established Church, till the controversies about religion, and the changes meditated therein, and in the affairs of the Church were considered and discussed in a lawful Synod holden by the authority of the States : that in the mean while they did not allow that any Ministers of the *Contraremonstrant* persuasion ought to be suspended or deposed from their Office, because their consciences would not suffer them to hold church-communion with the *Remonstrants* ; or, that the *Contraremonstrants* should be disturbed in their religious worship under the pretence of schism, or because they conscientiously scrupled to frequent the sermons of the said *Remonstrants*, or those who were their favourers. And all this till these differences and changes should be examined and discussed by a lawful Synod, under the authority of the said States.

The Clergy of *Amsterdam* were mightily pleased with this Declaration, extolled it to the skies from their pulpits, greatly praising the Magistrates, and calling it a *manly Resolution*, and exhorting them *manfully* to abide by it. But it gave offence to others, that the city of *Amsterdam* should thus oppose the States Resolution in the business of the Toleration, by refusing to acknowledge it for a lawful resolution, because it was not carried unanimously, but by the majority of voices in the Assembly ; and at the same time laying so great a stress upon that of their own Senate, though passed after the same manner ; in all appearance, said they, as if we did not know, that the want of unanimity was much greater in this City than among the States, and that consequently there was more reason to blame the City than the States in this affair.

But out of *Amsterdam* the speech of *Grotius* made great impressions on some ; though whatever the States did, was misconstrued by others ; as *Vossius*, the Regent of the States Theological College, writ to *Grotius*, to whom the latter, in a certain epistle, bearing

* Baud. Mem. Lib. VIII. p. 22. Trigl. p. 754.

Upon the business of carrying the question by plurality of votes in the States of *Holland*, which some Towns opposed at that time, the Heer *Grotius*, in his *Apology for the States*, discourses after the following manner : ' Not only the usage of all well policed nations, but even natural reason, requires, that the affairs of Government should be transacted by over-voting ; since the difficulty of the subjects under debate, and the diversity of mens humours, do not always allow of unanimous resolutions ; and since the things themselves often require order and discipline, it is manifestly unreasonable that the greater number should submit to the lesser. The Civilians, who treat of this matter, distinguish between that whereof a part belongs to each person (as for instance, a piece of land, a quarter part of which belongs to each of the four Co-heirs) and that which belongs to the whole body inseparably (as the Town-house to the Town.) In the first case, say they, a plurality of votes has no place, excepting in some few circumstances, being so ordered by special laws : but in the latter case, i. e.

in things which belong to the whole body, there a plurality, or majority, of voices must prevail, unless again, in special exempt occurrences. Now as for what concerns Religion, it is most certain that the free choice of it is the unalterable right and property of every man ; but the direction of the publick state of Religion belongs without doubt to the Civil Government, whether it be vested in a single person, or in many, who in this case must be considered as one body. Accordingly, in a republican Government, the direction or disposition belongs to the States, and therefore what is agreed upon by the major part of them, ought to be pursued, it being impossible otherwise to do any business. But this particular affair did not turn upon one or two votes, but as the Assembly of the States is composed of the Nobles, (who in *Holland* have always a great influence) and of eighteen towns, the said Nobles were for the most part seconded by thirteen or fourteen of them ; and to the very last, by never less than two thirds of those eighteen towns. See further, Grot. Apol. Lib. VIII. p. 85.

bearing date the 17th of *July*, answered thus: ' That he was as much troubled at
 ' the second, as pleased at the first; for, *said he*, what can be done with those
 ' Clergymen who assume to themselves too much liberty in preaching, or are
 ' inclinable to divisions, when the publick authority is trampled under foot by
 ' slander and false reports? From all those with whom I am familiarly acquainted,
 ' I expect a great deal of good. As for my self, I am sure that my own or the
 ' publick affairs do not so much affect me, as the distress of the Church, which I
 ' am resolved to assist to the utmost of my power. God knows that I have nothing
 ' else in view, than to procure a moderate freedom in religious controversies: with-
 ' out this, one schism will necessarily spring from another. Besides, I abhor as much
 ' as any man living, those heresies which the Primitive church condemns. If these
 ' my endeavours be not approved by men, it is yet no small matter to enjoy the
 ' testimony of my own conscience. Success is not in our power: but though mat-
 ' ters should take a wrong turn, I am resolved never to desist from so noble an un-
 ' dertaking.—— I do not approve, *said he in the same Epistle*, of the Pa-
 ' trons of *Pelagius*, nor of any others who rashly advance doctrines which have no
 ' foundation in the word of God.' A^N° Do M.
1616.

The End of the Twenty-fourth Book.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN and ABOUT the
LOW-COUNTRIES.

BOOK XXV.

A^NO D^{OM}.
1616



Episcopus
suspected and
charged with
Socinianism.

SOME of the wisest Patrons of the *Reformation*, endeavoured to restrain both the contending parties in these Provinces within their proper bounds, in order to prevent further quarrels, so we find on the other hand, that some zealots for either persuasion, laboured the more earnestly to load their adversaries with the imputation of odious opinions. They greedily entertained and divulged whatever reports might serve to blacken each other: And though such reports found no credit in some places and with some people, yet in other places they past current without interruption, being greedily swallowed by credulous persons; and it required a good deal of time, to stop or suppress them. Of this the *Remonstrants* thought they had but too much reason to complain, in the general course of their affairs, but especially with respect to what *Episcopus* was charged with about *Socinianism*: viz. that in the Theses or Positions which were disputed on in the Academy, under his moderation upon the 7th of May, of the present year 1616, relating to *the harmony and disagreement between the old and new Testament*; expressions were made use of, which had given great occasion to suspect that those who had advanced and maintained them, leaned towards the heresy of *Socinus*, and that in time the University of *Leyden* would be wholly infected with *Socinianism*. It was thus that *Festus Hommius*, a Minister of that town, represented the matter to *John ten Grotenhuis*, one of the Schepens and Senators of *Amsterdam*, who happened to be then at *Leyden*, and thus he talked of *Episcopus* and his disputations; and so the said Schepen related it to the Curators of the University; who, together with the Burgomasters of that town, first sent for *Episcopus*, and afterwards for *Festus*, to inquire more strictly into the matter. They entered into a conference before those Gentlemen, wherein, as some say, *Episcopus* was unable to prove his innocence, or to give them and *Festus* the necessary satisfaction. But possibly it will not seem tedious to give our Readers some account of the most remarkable passages of the said conference, that they themselves may judge of it; in which we shall not so much follow what *Festus* himself relates of it, and *Triglandius* after him, as certain memoirs

* Trigl. p. 668.

memoirs which *Episcopus* writ at that time for the help of his memory, and which I A^{Nº} D^O M.
the rather make use of, because I am pretty sure there are not so many of the *Con-* 1616.
traremonstrants who reject the testimony of the former, as of the *Remonstrants* who
entirely disbelieve the latter.

1 We find then in these memoirs of *Episcopus*, that *Festus* plainly declared, that
though he had made known his doubts to the Heer *Grottenbuis* concerning the said
Theses, yet he told him at the same time, that he was entirely satisfied with the
disputation itself. Among other arguments that were discussed between them, which
are too long to be here related, *Episcopus* said: 2 *That the Theses were drawn up*
by the Student himself, and were chiefly borrowed from those of Arminius. The
other replied, that this was not sufficient to conclude from thence, that there was
nothing heterodox or novel in them; since *Arminius* had written some things which
gave great cause of suspicion. *Episcopus* returned: ' That whatever it was possible
' to scrape together, in order to charge *Arminius* and the *Remonstrants* through him,
' had been collected and printed more than once: That nothing had been left un-
' searched and unenquired after, in order to blemish that learned man since his de-
' cease; and if any thing could have been discovered in the said Theses, his adver-
' saries would not have failed to have taken notes of it.' To this *Festus* answered,
That unless himself had by his advice put a stop to writing and recriminating on
the *Contraremonstrant* side, as judging it fit that one party should give an example of
moderation to the other, there might a great deal more have been extracted and
produced from the books of *Arminius*. Upon which the Professor accosted him with
these words: ' I am amazed, Mr. *Festus*, to hear you talk thus, as if you had been
' against writing even when there was a sufficient handle for it. Was not you the
' occasion of publishing the account of the Conference at *Delft*, in which both the
' christian and sur-names of all those who were believed to entertain any opinions
' beyond the *Five Points*, were printed and published at length? And wherein the
' names of *Arminius*, *Borrius*, and *Corvinus* in particular, and all that could be
' fished out of them, or their books, were inserted? To this *Festus* made no reply;
only mentioned by way of further charging *Arminius*, that he in his oration concern-
ing the object of Theology had advanced: **That God and Christ were the object of**
the Christian Religion, which was likewise so expressed by the *Socinians*; though
I own, continued he, that some of our Divines use the same language. *Episcopus*
thought, ' That no argument for suspecting *Arminius* could be fetched from thence,
' since the * Scripture itself made God and Christ the object of our religion, and since
' many of the *Reformed* Divines did the same, and yet without any imputation or
' suspicion of *Socinianism*.' *Festus* said, that it might indeed bear a good sense, but
that it might likewise afford a handle for jealousies, especially if there were added to
it what *Arminius* says in his oration of the *certainty of Divinity*, where all the texts
that are quoted by our Doctors, in defence of the Divine Nature of Christ and his
Unity with God the Father, are wrested to a different meaning, particularly that text in
the 1st Chapter and 3d Verse of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. This charge was an-
swered by *Episcopus* in the following manner: ' You unjustly affirm that all the
' passages of scripture relating to the Divinity of *Christ* are misconstrued, only be-
' cause *Arminius* has expounded some of them after another way, than is commonly
' practised by some of our Divines. For since that article of our faith is still supported
' by many other texts, what reason is there to suspect a man for explaining some
' texts in a different sense, and to fancy that he extends the same sense to all others
' and even to the article itself? As for *Arminius*, he has plainly and fully declared
' his mind in his Theses, about the person of the Father and the Son, from whence
' men ought to judge of his opinions, and not from the exposition of some obscure
' places in scripture; with respect to which there was always left a latitude in the
' Christian church; which none used more freely than *Calvin* himself, who has ex-
' plained some hundreds of texts in a sense different from that which the Fathers
' assigned them, and even some passages which relate to the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and
' the *Divinity of the Son*; nay, what is more, who has expounded that very text of
' the *Hebrews* (from whence *Festus* argues *Arminius* to be guilty of *Socinianism*)
' in the same manner as *Arminius* himself. If this be endured in the former, why

A Conference
between him
and Festus
Hommius
in presence of
the Curators
of the Univer-
sity of Leyden.

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² From the Memoirs of *Episcopus*.

³ This Student was Peter Geesteranus; though the
said Theses have been since published in the name of *Epif-*

copius, and are to be found in his Works, p. 401. b.

* John xxi, 3.

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‘ not in the latter?’ The Curators allowing *Episcopus* to be in the right here, *Festus* said further : *Mr. Episcopus, you cannot deny but that you explain almost all the texts of scripture, which you treat of in your publick Academical Lectures, after the manner of the Socinians.* *Episcopus* returned him this answer : ‘ I am astonished to hear this accusation from your mouth, since you have never yet done me the honour, all the time I have been in the Professors chair, to be present at one only Lecture of mine. How then do you know what you affirm? Can you maintain it with any certainty? Have you ever seen those Lectures in writing? Or was it only from the information of the Students you learned it? If from them, they must have carefully perused the books of *Socinus*, since they understand his language so well. However, I doubt not but I am able to justify the Lectures I read in the University, and to prove at a proper time that I make few expositions which I cannot confirm by the testimonies of our own Divines; and I wish you would sometimes be an ear-witness of them your self.’ *Festus* rejoined : *I hear you commonly in your disputations.* Then said *Episcopus* : ‘ Did you ever observe that I there advanced any thing inconsistent with the received doctrine of the Church? Nay, have you not heard me several times, maintaining things diametrically opposite to the opinions of *Socinus*? And what is more, did not you your self, coming one time from one of my disputations, say to *Borrius*, that I had bravely and learnedly defended the Divinity of the Son of God, against the contrary opinion?’ No, replied *Festus*, *It was not about the Divinity of the Son, but concerning the Trinity, that I said, I did not expect you would have so openly explained your self, as I heard you then do.* And when *Episcopus* answered : ‘ That the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Godhead of Christ, was the same thing, since the former could not be maintained by those who did not hold the latter.’ *Festus* addressing himself to the Curators said : *See, Gentlemen, how honest and sincere I am; for when people give me satisfaction, I own it readily, and suffer my self to be convinced.*— Afterwards *Festus*, to show what created the most suspicion in him of Socinianism, said, that it had been asserted in the aforesaid Theses, *That the New Testament was confirmed with better promises.* To which the other rejoined : ‘ These are the very words of the scripture; and when I say so, I always place the Old Testament in opposition to the New.’ Ay, but, said *Festus*, *you hold that they differ in the matter and substance.* ‘ By no means, said the Professor, for I hold that they agree in the substance of the promises; but that the substance of the promises of the Old Testament is covered, veiled and cloathed in shadows, and expressed in general terms; among which the promise of eternal life may also be included: but the same substance is expressed in the New Testament very clearly and fully.’ *It is true*, said *Festus*, *you so explained it, and the sense is orthodox, but however what you say about the matter, is obscure.* The other replied : ‘ That what was said about the matter would not seem obscure, if by matter were understood the promises as they are proposed; to wit, in the Old Testament darkly; but in the New, clearly. In the Old Testament the matter was obscure, and covered with a veil; but in the New, clear and open.’ But it looks very suspicious, said *Festus* again, *that in the said Theses it is advanced: That the types and shadows were not understood by all the believers under the Old Testament; but that only some few of the Prophets, knew them to be types of the things which have been since revealed in the New Testament.* Upon which *Episcopus* said no more, but only read the Theses in which *Festus* had fancied those words to stand; whereas it appeared that just the contrary was said, viz. ‘ That all the faithful who were under the Old Testament, had indeed some knowledge of the types and shadows; but that it was obscure and but small; agreeably to the obscurity of that revelation; but that the Prophets and some others had clear and naked perceptions of them.’ He likewise asked *Festus* : ‘ Whether he would venture to say, that all the faithful of the Old Testament, had had clear notions of those types and shadows?’ To which he answered; *Not clear in comparison with ours:* ‘ That is, said the Professor, the very same thing as affirming, that they had a dark, and we a clear knowledge.’ Then the Curators cried, the Disputants are of one mind in this matter. After this, *Festus* made some mention of *Henry Welsing* and *Henry Slatius*, both of whom had been admitted to the Ministry, though suspected of Socinianism. But the Curators waved this matter, as what did not concern *Episcopus*, nor contribute towards peace.

Festus

Festus was of opinion, that, for preventing further divisions there should be a Conference once again, and was in hopes it might still have a good effect, and that they might come to a better understanding with each other: adding, that *Uitenbogart*, in his book, entituled, *An Answer to the further advice*, had affirmed that the *Contraremonstrants* came to the Conference of *Delft* with an ill design; but I declare, said he, that this charge against us is not true, being perswaded, that if the *Remonstrants* would have spoken out at that time, the peace had been as good as made. *Episcopus* answered: *That the Remonstrants were ready to explain upon whatever should be proposed to them, in case the Contraremonstrants would have owned the Five Points to be tolerable; but that their refusal was the cause that the peace did not proceed.* *Festus* thought the *Contraremonstrants* had declared their minds sufficiently about a *Mutual Toleration*. 'But in what manner?' said *Episcopus*, only by tolerating 'the persons of those that differed from them, and of those only that were actually 'in the Ministry, provided they kept their opinions to themselves, and did not 'endeavour to bring others into the service of the Church, who were of the same 'mind; or, as was elsewhere proposed, by making a formal separation: besides, 'the contrary is manifest from the book of *Triglandius*, and the judgment of the 'Amsterdam Ministers, who declared, that, the opinions of the Remonstrants 'were not tolerable. We are not tied, said *Festus*, either to the book of *Triglandius*, 'us, or to the judgment of the Ministers at *Amsterdam*, nor do I consent to that book 'in every point.' At last, the Curators put an end to the Conference, saying: 'That 'they had now heard and understood enough, and were of opinion, that the Minister *Festus* should acquaint the Heer *Grootenbuis*, by word of mouth, if in town, 'or by letter, if he were gone, that the Professor *Episcopus* had given him full content with respect to the jealousies which his late *Theses* had raised in his mind, desiring him to look upon this as the real truth, and not to speak or judge ill of the 'said *Theses*.' *Festus* did not appear much disposed to do so, but said, *I have done it already, Gentlemen, it is unnecessary*: but when the Curators insisted upon it, he promised, he would. *Episcopus* on the other hand was not satisfied with this promise, but desired that they themselves would grant him a written certificate of what had past. This they agreed to; and it was of the following tenor.

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The judgment
of the Curators.

THE Curators of the University, and the Burgomasters of the Town of *Leyden*, having understood that *Festus Hommius*, a Minister of the said Town, had informed the Heer *Grootenbuis*, one of the Schepens of *Amsterdam*, that in the *Theses* of the disputation, *De Convenientiâ & Discrimine veteris & Novi Testamenti*, at which Dr. *Simon Episcopus*, Professor of Divinity in the aforesaid University, presided, upon the 7th of May last, there were some expressions used, which had given cause of suspicion that the authors and defenders of them leaned towards *Socinianism*: and the Curators being of opinion, that it concerned the honour and credit of the said University as well as their own, that a strict enquiry should be made into the truth of the premises, to the end that the University aforesaid might be free from all blame; they therefore thought fit to summon the said *Episcopus*, and the said *Festus Hommius* to appear before them, that so they might learn from them how the matter stood; and after some discourse and debates thereupon, *Festus* declared, that he had indeed conceived some suspicion of the *Theses* aforesaid mentioned, but that the disputation, at which *Episcopus* presided, had given him satisfaction; which he likewise said he had told the Heer *Grootenbuis*, and that he was since become better satisfied. The said Curators and Burgomasters having heard this from his own mouth, desired the said *Festus*, that since he was satisfied with the declaration of *Episcopus*, he would signify the same to the aforesaid Heer *Grootenbuis*, and intreat him also to banish the suspicions he had entertained. This the said *Festus* promised to do; and forasmuch as *Episcopus* has requested a certificate thereof, the Curators and Burgomasters have ordered these presents to be delivered to him, to be made use of as occasion shall require. Signed by the aforesaid Curators and Burgomasters, this 10th day of May 1616.

The Certificate of the Curators of the University and the Burgomasters of the City of Leyden, with respect to what past in the Conference

By order of the Curators and Burgomasters,

NICOLAS VAN ZEYST.

A^N° D^O M.
1616.

A new report to
the disadvan-
tage of Epi-
scopius.

Soon after, it was rumoured to the prejudice of *Episcopus*, that he had been convicted of *Socinianism*, at the Conference with *Festus*, in the presence of the Curators of the University, and notably handled; nay, that he was charged to take care not to seduce the Scholars by such doctrines, or otherwise it should be little to his advantage. The Professor was also informed that these reports proceeded originally from *Festus* himself, that they were believed by many of the Members of the Church, and spread about the country, by *Flemmings* and *Walloon*s as they travelled in boats and waggons, to his great dishonour, and not without great disturbances among the people. The Professor thus charged, was of opinion that this ought not to be passed by in silence. He therefore attended the Curators, on the 8th of *August*, and acquainted them with what had happened to him, desiring a further testimony of the Truth; and adding, that since *Festus* had the confidence to affirm, that he could demonstrate to him, and only desired an opportunity so to do, that in the *Theses* quoted at the late Conference, it is asserted, *That the Patriarchs had no promise of eternal life*; he further prayed, that he might be heard once more against him. They granted his request, and *Festus* being sent for, both of them were called in. The Pensionary opened the occasion of their being summoned, and desired that the Professor might declare his grievances, and the other return an answer.

A second Con-
ference between
them.

Episcopus repeated what he had before complained of to the Curators; and *Festus* answered as follows: 'That it was true, he had said to the *Heer Grootenbuis*, some months ago, that it was now plain, that the *Remonstrants* meant something more than the *Five Points*, as appeared by those *Theses* of *Episcopus*; but that he said it before he had carefully examined the *Theses*, and when he had only cast his eyes on them cursorily; that however, he had since considered of them more attentively, since he was first summoned, and was still more confirmed his opinion: that indeed he had owned he was satisfied with the disputation, and the declaration which *Episcopus* had made before the Curators, but had always said that the *Theses* had a different sense from the Declaration.'

As for the origin of these reports, he laid it at the Professor's door, saying; 'People have come and told me, how they heard I had owned to the Curators that I was in the fault; and when I desired to know the author of such a story, they referred me to the Ministers, *Borrius* and *Dwinglo*, who must both have had it from *Episcopus*; for I never said so my self, nor did the Curators, I dare affirm, and therefore it must be he.' To this he added, how some *Flemmings* came to him; repeating all that passed between them, in order to shew his innocence: Upon which *Episcopus* said, 'That it might be observed from the words of *Festus*, that he had complained to *Grootenbuis*, and affirmed to him positively, *that there was something more at bottom, and that it so appeared from the Theses of Episcopus*; and yet that he had not narrowly, but cursorily, looked into those *Theses*: which seemed to him, *Episcopus*, a great piece of rashness and boldness.' Here *Festus* thought they intended to ensnare him in his words, and therefore declared that he had not made use of just those terms. But the other passing that by, said, he wondered that *Festus* should own that the Professor's Declaration had fully satisfied him, but that he had always retained his scruples about the *Theses*; whereas he did not doubt but the Curators still remembered, that *Festus* had owned himself entirely satisfied; but if it was otherwise, and he said what he did not mean, it was an imposition on those Gentlemen. Upon his speaking thus, they all seemed to agree, that the matter had passed as he related it. As for the origin of this new slander, the Professor said, it was but too visible, that this story was first propagated by *Festus*, and that by the means of one *Cabelyaw*, who, passing through *Flanders* into *Zeland*, to see his brother, had laid a Dollar that it was true; upon which it was spread every where in those parts: and that *Festus* had afterwards talked after the like manner, appeared from what the Professor *Sylvius* had said, to whom *Festus* complained also against the said *Theses*, and asserted that some of *Socinus* his ways of speaking were made use of in them. To this *Festus* replied; 'That as for *Cabelyaw*, he had not spoken to him since the Conference.' Then *Episcopus* answered him in his own words; 'He had it not from me, nor, I dare say, from the Curators; ergo, it must have proceeded from your self. As for the report of your confessing your fault, it never came from me; them that told it me I immediately blamed; and as for the Ministers, *Borrius* and *Dwinglo*, they both deny they ever said it; doubtless it pro-
ceeded

ceeded from the *Flemmings*, who are ready enough to add to a story, as appears by *AN^o D^o M^o*
that little note, in which it is declared, that you had been heard to say, that ac- 1616.
cording to those *Theses*, the Patriarchs had neither promise nor hopes given them
of eternal life; whereas you your self will not own your saying, that according to
the *Theses* they had no hopes, but only that they had no promise. But (*conti-*
nued he) since it would be tedious to cavil about these matters here, I wish we
might go on to the main point.

Festus rejoined: 'That since the point in dispute turned upon this, *viz.* whether
the *Remonstrants* had something behind the curtain, over and above the *Five Points*,
he would take it upon him to prove that they had; and was ready to demonstrate
it by writing, nay, that he had already resolved upon it, if some impediments had
not intervened.' And being told, that he must prove it upon *Episcopus* too, he
answered; 'Yes, I can prove it likewise against him; and, if their *Worships* think
fit, will maintain it by the assistance of two or three of my *Collegues*.' The Pro-
fessor said; 'These were evasions, and it was now high time for him to show what
he pretended to be in the *Theses*.' The Pensionary added; 'That these things
could not be committed to writing, without danger, since it might easily come to
pass, that copies of it falling into other hands, might be printed, as had formerly
happened; and by that means the University would be drawn into the quarrel,
which ought by all means to be avoided.' *Episcopus* said, 'He was not afraid of that,
and wished with all his heart, that it might so happen; but that the business that
lay before them now, was the present dispute, and what the *Flemmings* accused
him of, *viz.* whether this assertion was to be found in the *Theses*, *that the Pa-*
triarchs had no promise of eternal life; and he begged that the Gentlemen would
be pleased to require *Festus* to prove the same, being ready likewise to give him sa-
tisfaction upon any other point.' Then cried *Festus*; 'The *Remonstrants* some-
times talk so strangely, that it looks as if they said one thing, and yet they say
the quite contrary; as for instance, concerning Faith in *Christ*, in the XXI *Thesis*;
That the faith of the Ancients in the times of the Old Testament had respect to
Christ Jesus; seeing that they believed the shadows and types of Christ, which had
their signification according to the intention of God;' against which he exclaimed
pretty warmly.' *Episcopus* then said; 'that *Festus* did not understand that *Thesis*
aright; and that what he had said about that matter, consisted herein; *That the faith*
of the Ancients had a respect to Christ, because the types related to Christ, and that
therefore they considered those shadows, as shadows and types of him.' *Festus* sub-
joined, 'According to the intention of God.' *Episcopus* answered 'That stands not
alone; for it appears by the *Theses*, that they understood the intention of God.'

But waving this, *Festus* returned to the former dispute, in which he had main-
tained, 'That the *Law*, as opposed to the *Gospel*, included the promise of eternal
life, as appeared from the texts in the sixth of *St. Matthew*, in the xvijth of
St. Luke, the xth of *St. Mark*, and by the answer *Christ* returned to the young
man who said to him; *Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?*' *Epi-*
scopus replied; 'This is not to the purpose:' Which *Festus* seemed to own; never-
theless the Professor added, 'that he had considered the *Law* as given by *Moses*:'
But, says *Festus*, 'the moral *Law* was likewise given by *Moses*.' Whereupon *Epi-*
scopus said; 'Law must here be understood in a sense agreeable to that covenant;
' since it was said to have had the shadow of good things to come.' But judging
that all this was of little or no importance, *Episcopus* desired they might come to the
business. Then *Festus* fell upon the XXth *Thesis*, with a preface, mentioning the
opinion of *Socinus*; to wit, 'That in the old Covenant there were other promises than
' in the new; and also, that there were other and more Commandments, both which
' (*said he*) are affirmed by you too.' To this *Episcopus* answered; 'That as for
' what concerned the Commandments, *Festus* knew, that not only *Socinus*, but the
' Fathers, *Erasmus*, and many other Doctors, and all the *Anabaptists* and *Papists* had
' likewise maintained the same; but he denied that there was any such assertion in
' the *Theses* with reference to the Commandments.' 'You assert it, replied *Festus*, by
' affirming that the *Law* and the *Gospel* differ with respect to the particular matter of
' the Commandments.' The Professor answered; 'That he called it a *special, or particu-*
lar matter, because the command concerning the faith, by which they were required
' to believe the types and shadows, had a particular matter or object differing from
' that

AN^o DOM.
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‘ that of the Gospel, which was the life or substance without the shadow.’ Here *Festus* fell upon the Promises, which *Episcopus* had affirmed to differ, on account of the matter. *Episcopus* answered; ‘ In the Theses it stands, *special matter*; and the word *special* must be there, for the emphasis lies in that word. Yes, said *Festus* then, special matter is a different thing from the *modus*, or manner, of the promises. But that is the very thing I mean, said the Professor, and which I prove in the XIXth Thesis, ought to be understood. Ay, but, said the Minister, you mean that they agree in the matter, only so far as in both the one and the other Covenant there are promises and commandments, as you express it in the III^d Thesis.’ This was refuted by the Professor, from the beginning of the XIXth Thesis, where it was said; ‘ That these covenants, besides almost all the things that are mentioned in the III^d Thesis about the agreement of the Old and New Testament, do moreover seem to agree in these things likewise.’ Here *Festus* seemed to be pinched, and said; ‘ Nevertheless, you your self affirm, that they differ in the matter of them.’ ‘ But this I mean, as I have explained, replied *Episcopus*, and it must be so understood, according to the argument that I use;’ and to render it more intelligible he proposed it in form, and then asked *Festus*, whether the argument were not so used by all the Divines, as it was used in the Theses. ‘ Ay, but (said he) *special matter*.’ Upon which the Curators interrupted him and said, ‘ You would understand it otherwise than the man himself does.’ The Heer *Duik*, Burgomaster of *Leyden*, said, ‘ If the words of the *Hereticks* were sifted and turned after this manner, in ancient times, one might be tempted to doubt, whether all that has been said of them be true.’ Then *Festus* cried; ‘ Gentlemen, there is something more lurking under this word, *Matter*. But (said the Curators) the man explains himself so, and is not that sufficient?’ It was all in vain. *Festus* maintained his assertion, and fell again upon the XXIst Thesis, in which it is said; ‘ That the Patriarchs in the Old Testament expected heavenly and eternal good things, and did not believe that nothing but the blessings of this present life belonged to them by virtue of the promises. But (said *Episcopus*) may not this expression, *by virtue of the promises*, be extended to the former clause? That it must be so far extended, appears from their having understood that the good things of this present life are only types of such as are eternal.’ To this *Festus* answered; ‘ That is more than you there say; you dare not determine that. The contrary (said *Episcopus*) is plain enough. Ay, (says *Festus*) it appeared plainly from your * Respondent, when you disputed about repentance, and that text in the xjth to the *Hebrews* was objected; **without faith it is impossible to please God**; for (he replied) that the text did not speak of faith in *Jesus Christ*. Well, Mr. *Festus*, (said the Professor) to what purpose is this said about my Respondent; did not I correct it? The other cried, let me make an end: You said that that text treated about the faith that related to *Jesus Christ*. That is not so, (said the Professor) I said, *in Jesus Christ*; and suppose I had said, *the faith that relates to Jesus Christ*, has not that the same meaning? Besides, why should you quote the expressions of my Respondent? Have you not several times heard things drop from the Respondents of my Colleague *Polyander*, which you would be ashamed to agree to?’ Here the Curators seemed to be much displeased, as well as *Episcopus*, saying; ‘ That these arguments were by no means conclusive, and that they who used such, shewed too plainly, with what dispositions they came thither’. The Minister answered; ‘ It appeared from thence what sort of doctrines were instilled into the minds of the Students.’ At this Burgomaster *Duik* was not a little provoked, and so was *Episcopus* too, denying that he ever instilled such notions, or that he was to make good whatever was advanced by the Respondents; especially after having expressly declared, that it was meant of justifying faith. *Festus* replied; ‘ It is one thing to say, that the discourse was concerning justifying faith; and another, to say it was about faith in *Jesus Christ*;’ which he confirmed by the conference between *Arminius*, him, [*Festus*] and *Egbertus Emilius*. *Episcopus* answered, that this matter sufficiently appeared from the articles sent from *Arminius* to *Hyppolitus à Collibus*, and that he had plainly owned, that the dispute was about faith in *Christ*. Then there passed a great many extravagant expressions about the brother of the aforementioned Respondent, who was stiled a *Socinian*,

* That is, The Student who answered the Arguments at the Disputation.

cinian, and about *Socinian* expositions, whole sentences of which, borrowed from the *A^NO M^o* Divinity-Lectures of *Socinus* himself, were affirmed to have been made use of at the Conference of the *Hague*. To this *Episcopus* replied: 'As for what concerns the first accusation, you say a great many things in the absence of people, which you would not venture to speak before them. In the second place, it does not follow, that he must be a *Socinian*, because his brother is so; for there are many whose parents, brothers and sisters are *Papists*, and yet they themselves are good *Protestants*. As for the other charge, I know nothing of it, nor will it be easy for you to prove it. But if it were never so true, they were part of those points in which we allow that *Socinus* may be followed. And, thirdly, what you charge us with, is not so bad as what you have been guilty of, who finding your selves pinched both at the Conference, and since in print, with the passage in the *ij*d chapter of *St. Peter*, were forced to betake your selves to an explanation that was altogether *socinian*, and which was used by the founder of that sect, to refute the Divinity, or Godhead, of *Christ*.' 1616.

After some parentheses about the *Pelagian* and *Semi-pelagian* errors, they came back again to the opinions of *Socinus*. *Episcopus* shewed: 'That there were eight propositions in his *Theses*, directly opposite to those of *Socinus*.' And when *Festus* said: *That Socinus taught, that the Prophets likewise understood the types that contained a promise of eternal life, though but faintly, and imperfectly*: The Professor replied: 'You do not understand the doctrine of *Socinus*, for the contrary is true; he denies that the Prophets did understand them, nay, he says that they spoke of them just as *Cajaphas* did of our Saviour's death.' Whereupon the Heer *vander Myle* said, *If any one should repeat to me the positions of Socinus, and those of Episcopus, I should say they were contradictory*. 'Yes, Gentlemen, replied *Episcopus*, the *Socinians* say yet more; for they deny that the promises in the Old Testament were typical; so I see that *Festus* knows nothing of the matter.' *Town*, cried *Festus*, *that I do not understand the opinions of Socinus so well as you*. 'And yet you ought to understand them as well as I, answered *Episcopus*, since you accuse me of *Socinianism*: But to convince you that the contrary is true, answer me only to the following argument: **To such who knew that God was pleased to typify promises of eternal blessings under those of temporal ones, the promises of eternal blessings were made under a type or figure: now all the believers of the Old Testament knew this; ergo, all of them received those promises under a type.**

There was little or nothing to be said against this: Then the two speakers were desired to withdraw, and being called in again, they were told, 'That the Curators and Burgomasters having heard their Conference, could have wished that they had first discoursed the matter between themselves in private, before they suffered it to take wind among the *Flemmings*. In the next place, that they were of opinion, *Festus* ought to have been satisfied with what the Professor had said in defence of his *Theses*. And lastly, that they all intreated them to live in mutual charity, friendship and unity with each other; and as much as in them lay, to promote and defend the interest and welfare of the University.'

Afterwards it was said, that *Festus* was sent for the next day by the Curators, and asked, whether, as he had said, he could prove by writing, that *Episcopus* taught or believed *Socinian* tenets, or more than was pretended at the Conference of the *Hague*, and invited to let them know what it was that he had to say upon that point; to the end they might not seem to hinder him, nor give occasion to any to misconstrue their design. He answered, *That he had been prevented by his wife's illness, and other affairs, but that he was prepared to draw it up*. Being further asked whether he could not offer any thing immediately, and desired to mention some of his most important objections; he said no more, *but that first the answer of Episcopus and the other five Remonstrants, about the declaration of Vorstius, had given occasion of suspecting them*. Secondly, *That it appeared from their bringing Slatius into the benefice of Episcopus at Bleiswick*. Thirdly, *From the lectures of Episcopus*. And, Fourthly, *from the Theses upon which he had now disputed*.

At last it came to this, that the Curators forbid him to mix any thing in the controversy, but what had a direct relation to *Episcopus*; as being resolved not to engage in any matters and differences, against which the States had already provided by

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by their orders ; but they allowed him to act in that case as he thought fit, strictly charging him at the same time, to take care that he used no expressions relating to these or other matters, especially among the *Flemmings*, but such as became him, and tended to the peace of the University. But a few days after, new reports were spread to the disadvantage of *Episcopius* ; nay, it was told with great assurance, and as proceeding from the mouth of *Festus* himself, not only that he had convicted the Professor of *Socinianism*, in the presence of the Curators, but that all of them in general had declared the same to him ; nay, that the Pensionary *Zeyst* in particular, should have said, *That he was now satisfied that Festus was in the right, and Episcopius in the wrong ; that Socinianism was at the bottom, and that they had given Festus a testimonial of it.* But the Heer vander Myle and others declared the contrary, wherever there was an occasion.

Different characters of Festus Hommius, extracted from the writings of both parties.

Thus differently did the world judge of *Festus* and his proceedings. Some of the *Contraremonstrants* and their favourers said, that by his prudence, constancy, learning, and the example of his excellent morals and piety, he had made a noble stand and opposition against the terrible attacks of the *Remonstrants* in these difficult and dismal times. But the *Remonstrants* themselves spoke of him in a very different manner. They said, that those among them who had some conversation with him, and who had taken great pains to induce him to embrace counsels tending to peace and forbearance, had frequently experienced that he made use of odd methods against them. That finding himself surrounded as it were with a guard of mad and raging people, by which shield being covered, he could safely attempt every thing, he laboured after nothing more earnestly than to break peace with the *Remonstrants* : and tho' he outwardly affected to aim at peace, yet he continually endeavoured in private, by vile artifices, without regarding the prayers and intreaties of the best Patriots, to procure the Resolutions of the States to be rejected, and to display the banner of a publick schism at *Leyden* ; knowing that most of the churches had their eye upon that City (which by means of the University and the Divinity-College had no small influence in ecclesiastical matters) as the Pole or North-Star of *Holland*. — But he screened himself, as the *Remonstrants* relate it, under a fair outside, and the zeal of the people ; which zeal if he had restrained, say they, he and all his projects would have been defeated. Others say, that at this time he inveighed furiously from the pulpit against the *Remonstrants*, and underhand exhorted and incited some of the *Contraremonstrant* Students, whom he particularly instructed and exercised for the same purpose, to go and preach in the separate meetings at *Gouda* and other places, in contempt of the Government. There were likewise some of the *Remonstrants* that handled him very roughly, by publick, but anonymous, books and papers, which, as some think, stimulated him yet more to go on in his design, to the prejudice of the opposite party, and to the strengthening of the divisions.

About this time there were breaking out in *North-Holland* great discontents of the *Contraremonstrants* against the Magistrates of the town of *Horn*, on account of the proceedings there against *Richard Christianson*, Minister of *Grosthufen* and *Aventhorn*, and some of his adherents ; and it looks as if the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* had this affair in view, when in their answer to *Grotius*, of which we have spoken in the foregoing Book, they complained of the discharging some *Contraremonstrant* Ministers, and hindering their separate meetings. Some pretend that these transactions and events of *North-Holland* were fully and impartially related in the Supplement to the Chronicle of *Horn*, by *Richard Velius*, but that some of the *Remonstrant* party, who after the death of *Velius*, published the last volume, had found means to alter, or suppress some circumstances of this History : but I do not find that it was ever proved upon them. However, I shall relate the whole matter, and supply what is wanting from the accounts of both sides, and with such memoirs as I have been able to procure.

Troubles at Grosthufen and Aventhorn.

The people of *Grosthufen* had discharged their Minister *Richard Christianson* (who likewise officiated alternately at the village of *Aventhorn*) in the month of November, of the past year. In the Register of the town of *Horn*, under the jurisdiction of which the said village lay, it is said : *That for weighty causes, of which they had received sufficient proofs, he was deposed and discharged from his Ministry, by the advice*

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^a Vid. Joh. Cameron. Defens. contr. Episcop. & Epif. op. Part. I. p. 221.

advice and consent of the Burgomasters. And it is supposed that this dismissal was at the desire of these Burgomasters themselves, because of his undutifulness to the States of *Holland* in the business of their Resolution about Church-matters, and of his refusing to join with the Ministers of *Horn*, who were *Remonstrants*, in their Classical meetings. Not long after, the Magistrates, or, as they are there stiled, the Peace-makers, and the chief inhabitants of *Avenborn* discharged him likewise from their service, and forbad the Sexton to open the church doors to him. After this, the people of *Großbusen* requested the Government of *Horn* to supply the vacancy once a fortnight, or every three weeks, with one of their Ministers; to which the Burgomasters and Consistory of the said town agreed, and sent them the Minister *Isaac Welling*, to preach there on Sunday the 14th of *February*, for the first time. This Gentleman, accompanied with Master *Lucas Fopson* an Elder, and *Herman Johnson* a Deacon, coming to the church, and preparing to ascend the pulpit, to preach to the people, who were assembled in great numbers, one *John Cornelison Cocks* of *Hensbrook*, but who dwelt at *Horn*, being present, opposed the Minister with a short Pike in his hand, and gave him such hard words, that he fearing some mischief, durst not mount the pulpit, but returned home without preaching. This action was considered as what might have very ill consequences, and as tending to sedition; and accordingly, the Magistrates having seriously debated and weighed the matter, they resolved by a plurality of votes, on the 18th of the same month, that the aforesaid *John Cornelison* should pay into the hands of the Burgomasters, a fine of three hundred *Carolus* Guilders, for the benefit of the Town's Work house. The Minister, *Richard Christianson*, not submitting to his demission, maintained that it had been done against law, and consequently that he should not look upon himself to be discharged from the service; but the Council of *Horn* declared by most voices, that his discharge by the people of *Großbusen* and *Avenborn*, which had been approved by the Burgomasters, should be supported by them. At *Aventborn*, upon the request of the Peace-makers, as they were called, and the Church-wardens, and by order of the Scout and Burgomasters, there had been a padlock clapt on the church door, the first day of *December*, of the preceding year, and a guard set at it, with an Advertisement in writing to this effect.

‘Whereas, *Richard Christianson*, late Minister of *Aventborn*, has for just causes been discharged from his service, by the Peace-makers and most of the principal inhabitants of the said Town, and with the approbation of the Burgomasters of *Horn*, and prohibited to preach here any more; This is to give notice and warning to all persons, that none presume to open the church door to the said Minister, without leave of the Burgomasters and Peace-makers, on pain of being treated as disobedient.

Notwithstanding which, some persons had the boldness soon after, to assemble in the night, and by force, and in spite of the Watch that were placed there, to beat off the lock, and, contrary to the Burgomasters orders, to open the church door. Wherefore, upon the 4th of the same month, another padlock was fastened, and another writing set up by the command of the Magistrates, but both taken away again by the inhabitants. This was complained of to the Council of *Horn*, where it was resolved by majority of votes, that the Burgomasters should set a fine upon the transgressors. Pursuant to this Resolution, six or seven of the inhabitants of *Avenborn*, that had been concerned in taking off the lock, were summoned to the Stadthouse, and sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred Guilders. Nevertheless, *Richard Christianson*, continued to preach at *Horn* as before, in contempt of those who forbad him,

At *Großbusen*, he was kept out of the pulpit about half a year, to the great displeasure of his followers; who gave out that most of the Magistracy of that place were *Papists*, and hated him for being of a contrary persuasion. Nay one of the Magistrates was reported to have said, *We have as much right to shut the church door, and to clap a padlock on it, as you had in the time of the Gueuxes, to pull down the churches, to take away the images, and to convert the goods of the Clergy to your own use.*

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Now in order to settle a Minister from *Horn* in this church, according to the desire of the people, and to prevent his being disturbed, two of the Magistrates of *Horn*, namely the presiding Burgomaster *William Hawes*, and the late Burgomaster *Peter Lioren*, attended by the Scout, his four Officers, and 12 or 13 armed men, conducted the Minister *Dominicus Sapma* thither, and put him in possession of the pulpit. This was done the 16th of *March*, in the presence of the deprived Minister, who opposed it with great protestations, and who, together with his party, quitted the church before *Sapma* began his sermon. After many contests, the business was brought before the States of *Holland*, who having thoroughly examined into the whole matter, thought fit to mitigate the severity of the Magistrates of *Horn*. They agreed and resolved: *That the Minister should be restored to his office, provided he would submit to the regulations of them the said States.* ¹ He answered: *That he would do in that matter as the rest of the Classis of Horn, without opposing alone, the Resolutions of the States.* But the Committee of the States say in a certain letter, which we shall insert in its proper place, *that he had plainly enough promised to obey.* And so the Burgomasters of *Horn* likewise understood it; who when they found that he, in defiance of the States orders, would hold no communion with their Ministers, caused the church of *Großhusen* to be again shut up: But upon the 1st of *May* (after the church had been riotously forced open that very day by some of the inhabitants of *Avenborn*, *Großhusen* and *Oudendyke*) he preached there again. So little did they value its being shut by their Magistrates. The 8th of the same month, three of those inhabitants, *John Cornelison* of *Großhusen*, and *Peter Johnson*, and *Cornelius Gerritson* of *Avenborn*, with the assistance of some others of the people, presumed to break open the door of the church of *Großhusen* with a great piece of wood, and to put *Richard Cornelison* into the pulpit: appealing to the Resolution of the States, which in their opinion the Burgomasters of *Horn*, and the Magistrates of the villages themselves, had disobeyed.

A few days after this, the Council of *Horn* thought fit to admonish *Christianson* to forbear preaching as yet, and the Peace-makers and Church-wardens not to use violence, but gentleness; and besides, to deliver to the said Minister, a letter from the Lords of the Committee of the States, requiring him to act accordingly. It was further resolved, to empower certain persons to try if they could prevail with all, or any of the Ministers of the Classis to entertain brotherhood and communion with those of the town of *Horn*: for which purpose were appointed the late Burgomasters *Cornelius Cornelison Soop*, and *Albert Francon Sonk*, with the Secretaries *Foreest* and *Carbasius*. Upon this, they put the following question to the said *Christianson*: *Whether he was willing to obey the Resolution of the States, and to hold communion with the Ministers of Horn?* He answered: *That he would obey the aforesaid Resolution, as far as was consistent with his own conscience, and the word of God; and as for an agreement between the Classis and the Ministers of Horn, he would act as the rest of the Clergy under the jurisdiction of that Classis:* That is, he was resolved, with the other *Contraremonstrants*, to continue separated. The same question was afterwards put to him by the Magistrates of the village; and when he referred them to his former answer, he was told, with solemn protestations, that they were free from all the mischief which might befall him. Accordingly, his stipend was stopt for the space of a twelvemonth.

² The Letter of the Committee of the States of *Holland* abovementioned, bears date the 6th of *May*, two days before the breaking open of the church of *Großhusen*; and is of the following tenor:

Reverend, Dear, and Singular:

A Letter of the Committee of the States of Holland, to the Minister of Großhusen and Avenhorn.

BEING informed that some disputes have again risen between you and the Magistrates of the town of *Horn*, on account of your not having conformed to the Resolution of the States, which has been taken both generally and specially about your affair; we have here inclosed a copy of the said Resolution relating to your particular case, to the end, that when you have considered it, you may the better conform your self thereto, as we have thought fit kindly to advise you; and we trust you will make the less difficulty in doing so, because you seemed to promise

¹ Trigl. p. 852.

² Trigl. p. 852.

‘ mise it here in the Assembly of the States ; and the rather, since you are not there- A N^o D O M.
 ‘ by obliged in conscience to preach any other doctrine, but only when you happen 1616.
 ‘ to treat of the controverted points, to do it with prudence, temper and to edifica-
 ‘ tion ; your opinion being left to you entirely free and without constraint. If you
 ‘ therefore will make such a declaration as is expected by the Magistrates of *Horn*,
 ‘ we doubt not but they will, in the Lord’s name, agree to receive you again into your
 ‘ Ministry, especially if you return to the fellowship of the brethren at *Horn*, and
 ‘ those that depend on them, and do not joyn with the Separatists. This we ex-
 ‘ hort you to, and, in so doing, are of opinion, that you will do the Church of
 ‘ God and your self good service ; but in case you neglect to do it, you must blame
 ‘ none but your self. And thus we recommend you to the protection of the Al-
 ‘ mighty.

By order of the Committee,

Signed,

A. DUUR.

Upon this Letter, he declared himself to the Burgomasters of *Horn* in the follow-
 ing manner : ‘ That he had always preached with prudence, modesty, and to edi-
 ‘ fication, on the controverted points, and would do so for the future ; neither did
 ‘ he know that he, by vertue of the resolution of the States, was to be suspended
 ‘ from the exercise of his function, unless he joined with the Ministers of *Horn* in
 ‘ their Classis : moreover, that he would act in that matter as the rest of the bre-
 ‘ thren of the same Classis, or else freely submit to the punishment that should be
 ‘ laid on him for refusing ; being entirely perswaded from the goodness and wisdom
 ‘ of his Sovereigns, that if he offended no more than others, he should not be treated
 ‘ worse than others.

But the Committee of the States, whether they were not informed of this his De-
 claration, or whether they were not satisfied with it, writ to him again about the end
 of *June*, exhorting and requiring him to declare himself to the Magistrates, with
 respect to the aforesaid matter : upon which he sent them a duplicate of his Decla-
 ration.

In the mean while the Scout of *Horn* prosecuted the persons that had forced open
 the church at *Grootbusen* in *May* last ; indicting them as Rioters and disturbers of the
 publick peace. The Judges condemned them at first to imprisonment ; but they re-
 pairing to the *Hague*, desired and obtained a provisional *Superfedeas* ; whereby a stop
 was put to the prosecution of the Scout at *Horn*. The Burgomasters had writ to the
 supreme Court of Justice, desiring them not to interpose in this affair ; but those of
Amsterdam and *Enkbusen*, on the contrary, furnished the people of *Grootbusen* with
 letters of recommendation to the said Court, praying them to take the matter into
 their consideration. But the Committee writ a letter on the 24th of *June* to the
 Court, in which they thus expressed themselves :

‘ —We do not question but you are of the same opinion with those who have
 ‘ had the honour to be your predecessors in this high Court of Justice ; to wit, that
 ‘ there can be no means so effectual to the preservation of peace and unity among the
 ‘ subjects, and the promoting the welfare of our native country, as that every man
 ‘ should discharge his respective duty, and the Ministers of State and Justice, reci-
 ‘ procally assist each other in putting the laws in execution. Now you know, Gen-
 ‘ tlemen, that in all matters relating to the maintenance of Justice, the States of *Hol-*
 ‘ *land* and *West Freeſland*, and their Committee, have always powerfully supported
 ‘ you ; for which reason they, the said States, and we their Committee, are firmly
 ‘ perswaded that you will not only acquiesce in our conduct, but likewise, in case of
 ‘ need, and if we require it, assist us with your counsels in all matters relating to
 ‘ the Government, among which we reckon every thing that may contribute to the
 ‘ preserving the true *Christian Reformed Religion*, under the just authority and obe-
 ‘ dience of the said States, against which, for several years, there have been unduti-
 ‘ ful and unlawful designs carried on, to the disturbance of the publick tranquility,
 ‘ and to the no small hindrance of the progress of the said *Reformed* religion. Now
 ‘ since we are fully satisfied that you are not insensible what pains have been used by
 ‘ the States for many years to promote the welfare both of Church and State, and

AN^O DOM. 1616. how much they still labour to do so, infomuch that at their last meeting, after previous summons, they came to a general resolution about the affairs of the Church; and both they and we to a particular one about the business of the Minister of *Avenborn* and *Groftbusen*; we cannot but be surprized, that upon the application of any private persons, you should proceed to grant a provisional *Supersedeas*, contrary to what had been done by order of the Burgomasters and Council of *Horn*, for preventing the extraordinary troubles and inconveniences that arose by publick riots, and in contempt of them and the sovereign authority. For supposing the Magistrates had ordained any thing that might have deserved to be either repealed or at least qualified, yet it ought by no means to be endured in a country of order and justice, that private men, by their own authority, should pretend to avenge or right themselves by open violence, in contempt of their Rulers, to the scandal and offence of the good subject, and to the great hazard of bloodshed, and other pernicious consequences and mischiefs. We therefore friendly intreat you, that, seriously reflecting on the great importance and consequence of the aforesaid matter, you will not molest or interrupt the Scout, Burgomasters, and Magistrates of the town of *Horn*, in the prosecution of the cause abovementioned; but either wholly discharge the appeal to your Court, or else refer it to the Lords the States, or their Committee, which has been generally and specially impowered for that purpose; to the end, that all inconveniences and misunderstandings, that might probably arise therefrom, may be obviated and prevented.

After this, all those disputes, and the several petitions relating to them, were brought before the States of *Holland* and *West Freeeland*; and what was debated and resolved by the said States, is to be seen in their Journal, in the manner following:

A Resolution of the States of Holland and West Freeeland, concerning the affair of the Minister of *Avenborn* and *Groftbusen*. THE Petitions of *Richard Christianson*, Minister of *Avenborn* and *Groftbusen*, as also of the Peace-makers, Churchwardens, and other publick Officers of *Groftbusen*; and on the other hand, of some of the inhabitants of *Avenborn* and *Groftbusen*, who broke open the church door, were read according to order. As to the first petition, the Deputies of *Enkbusen* are hereby desired to afford the said *Richard Christianson* their assistance, to the end that he may be lawfully called to some vacant benefice, under the jurisdiction of the Classis of the said town, that so his Ministry may be more beneficial, since he has been long at variance not only with the Peace-makers, Churchwardens, and most of the chief inhabitants of *Groftbusen*, but also with the Elders of that place; and since he himself has owned, that after having resided there about fifteen years, he has not been able to bring to the Lord's Supper above six men of the neighbourhood. It is moreover thought proper, that the Members of the Committee be writ to at *Horn*, to oblige the Magistrates and Churchwardens of *Avenborn* and *Groftbusen*, to pay into their hands so much of the stipend of the said *Christianson* as remains due to him, to the end that he may receive the same. But as for the petition of the aforesaid Peace-makers, Churchwardens, and principal people of *Groftbusen*, the States think fit to postpone the consideration thereof till the next Assembly. And lastly, in relation to the petition of those persons who broke open the church door, it is the pleasure of the States, that they shall apply themselves to the Scout, Burgomasters, and Schepens (or Aldermen) of *Horn*, who are hereby exhorted to dispatch that business with prudence and temper, referring to the Deputies of the said town, for the further intentions of the said States, to whom they shall be communicated by word of mouth and writing.

This Order of the States had so good effect, that the Magistrates of *Horn* gave no trouble to the said *Christianson*. But the prosecution against the Church-breakers going on, matters ran so high, that the Magistrates of the town found themselves obliged at last, for the support of their authority, to send the Scout, with a number of armed men, to *Avenborn*, to the houses of *Peter Janson* and *Cornelius Gerritson*, and to levy upon each of them the sum of 100 Guilders, in which they were fined for forcing open the church, and 96 Guilders more between them for costs. I do not find that their associates were punished on the same account. Perhaps it was thought that the situation of affairs would not allow of further severities.

¹ The Burgomasters of *Horn* had also used their utmost endeavours before this, AN^o DOM. 1616. to induce the Minister of *Berkhout*, *Albert Janſon Kort*, who had likewise separated from the *Classis*, to reunite with their Ministers; or at least to remain neuter, and neither join with the one nor the other party. But he pleaded his conscience, and rejected all their proposals, and so the thing remained.

² The dissensions among the Ministers of the *Hague*, produced a great deal of trouble to the Government at this time; and several petitions were presented to the States on that account. The *Contraremonstrants* who ran out of the *Hague* to the meetings at *Ryswick*, complained of the silencing *Rosæus*: ‘ By this means, *said they*, the people were deprived of the pure word of God; for as to the rest of the Ministers of the town, some of them were not orthodox, and others, did not oppose the heterodox opinions which were taught in the churches, and consequently were to be suspected of favouring the notions of the contrary party, more than became the faithful dispensers of the Gospel of Christ; for which reason they could not repair to their sermons with a safe conscience. Besides, by the suspension of *Rosæus*, they were deprived of that liberty which the other *Contraremonstrants* enjoyed in all the towns of *Holland*, jointly with the *Remonstrants*, and in some places alone. There was as yet no decision past, with respect to the differences between the *Remonstrants* and *Contraremonstrants*: for which reason they flattered themselves, that the ancient free exercise of the Christian Reformed Religion might have been allowed to them as well as to other good subjects of their persuasion, at least they could not have imagined that less liberty would have been granted to them than to those of the *Ausburg* confession, as well in the *Hague* as in the other towns of these Provinces. And since it had been found by experience in all States, that an impartial uniform care for all the Members both of the Church and State, whether in the maintenance of their privileges, or in laying equal burdens on them, was the best method to preserve love, peace and union, and to add strength to the Commonwealth; and that the contrary methods occasioned divisions, quarrels, schisms and other inconveniences; and since they, the petitioners, were likewise a part of this State, at least of the commonalty: They therefore addressed themselves to their Lordships, praying and beseeching them, that they would be pleased to grant them the exercise of the Reformed religion, as formerly taught in the Reformed churches, according to the opinions of the *Contraremonstrants*; further requesting, that for the said purpose, they would restore *Rosæus* to his office.’ *Rosæus* likewise petitioned the States, that they would be pleased to grant him a hearing upon the subject of his suspension from the Ministry, and so to order matters in his case as they should find to be most consistent with the honour of God, and good of the State.

On the other hand, *Uitenbogat* represented to the States of *Holland*, that he had been slandered in the petition of the *Contraremonstrants* (though without being named) as if he did not preach the truth of the Christian religion in its purity, and that *Rosæus* had accused him, without his being able to obtain a proper opportunity of justifying himself to the Consistory; further desiring, that he might be heard in their assembly against the accusations which *Rosæus* or any of those who had signed the petition, were able to bring against him; and that afterwards their Lordships would proceed therein as they thought fit.

To these three petitions, the following answers were returned on the 28th of April; and first to that of the *Contraremonstrants* of the *Hague*; to wit: ‘ The States of *Holland* and *West Freeſland*, do expect that the petitioners shall behave themselves as good and dutiful Servants, and sincere and godly Professors of the Christian Reformed religion; and in the mean time their Sovereigns, and the Magistrates of the *Hague* in particular, will take care that the word of God be preached purely and to edification, as has always been, and still is the intention of the States.’

Secondly, To the Petition of *Rosæus*, they answered thus: ‘ The States of *Holland* and *West Freeſland*, expect that the Petitioner shall testify his sorrow, and make just satisfaction for his misbehaviour, from whence has proceeded the present schism in

AN^O DOM. 1616. in the church of the *Hague*, in such manner as the States or their Committee, and the ordinary Magistrate, and the Ministers of the *Hague*, his brethren, shall approve: for the doing which, no longer time is allowed him than till the next Assembly of the States. And in the mean while, he, the said Petitioner, is required to forbear all exercise of his Ministry.

To Uitenbogat.

Thirdly, To the Petition of *Uitenbogat*, the States answered: 'The States of *Holland* and *West Freeeland* do hereby declare, that it is very agreeable to them, that the petitioner has Preached the word of God to the good Christian community, and purely to edification; and whilst he so continues in promoting the honour of God, and edifying the Church of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, they are resolved to protect him from calumny and censure, in the most proper manner.'

In the mean time, *Rosæus* left nothing undone that could contribute to the strengthening his party. He met with the more credit from many, because they looked upon him as a half Martyr or Confessor, and one who suffered for a good cause, namely, the purity of the *Reformation*. This excited compassion and favour. But others were of opinion that his suspension was so far from doing him any prejudice, that it rather turned to his advantage, as well in relation to his domestick concerns, as his other designs: since he enjoyed his whole salary, and by not preaching, had the more opportunity to get money by Physick, which he likewise practised, and by going from one house to another, to bring over the people to his notions, and to cement their union with him: he was also much encouraged under-hand by some of the great ones; insomuch that some of his friends, who expressed their concern for his being fallen under the displeasure of the States, and lest any ill should happen to him on that account, were answered: *That he knew how he was supported*. However, some of the *Contraremonstrants* themselves did not approve his management. *Uitenbogat* tells us in his Journal, that *Lydius* (I suppose he means the famous *Contraremonstrant* Preacher at *Dort*, of that name) came to him one day and said: *That he did not like the schism, and had endeavoured to dissuade Rosæus from it*. And then desiring *Uitenbogat* to do what he could, to bring him again into the pulpit, the latter replied: *It is not in my power. If he returns thither upon the foot of his petition, I must resign; for I will not serve in a schism*. It was further proposed by *Lydius*, that some essay might be made to bring the contending parties nearer together. *Uitenbogat* desiring he would prepare some scheme for that purpose; which the other took upon him to do, but never did.

Consultations on a proposal for calling a Synod.

In July after, a certain great man, judging that the stand and opposition made by the City of *Amsterdam* to the Resolution of the States in the affairs of the Church was of very great importance, discoursed with *Uitenbogat* about a Synod, and how and when it should be called, and also about a particular meeting of Clergymen and Statesmen, in order to compose the differences; *Uitenbogat* told him, that he was for doing it by a Synod, and that it ought to be desired at the next Assembly of the States, on the foot that had been formerly approved, and that he would endeavour to incline the *Remonstrants* to agree to it. But afterwards, consulting with some of the Ministers of that persuasion, two of them, namely *Nicolas Grevinkbovius* and *Edward Poppius*, the one a Minister of *Rotterdam*, and the other of *Gouda*, thought it not proper that a Synod should be called in the present situation of affairs.

However, at another meeting of the *Remonstrants* some days after; though they all agreed to consent to a Synod, in case the States should think fit to appoint it themselves, yet they scrupled to petition for one: but *Uitenbogat* was then of the mind, that they ought to ask it of the States after what manner soever, hoping that by the authority and management of the Civil Powers, the evil would be there better remedied than some seemed to apprehend.

About the same time, or a little later, some considerable persons, who were supposed privately to foment the schism, endeavoured to move *Uitenbogat* and, by him, the Advocate of *Holland* and the Committee of the States, to put a stop to the Conventicle or private Meeting of the *Contraremonstrants* of the *Hague* at *Ryswick*, as an unseasonable and scandalous practice; but he declined meddling with it. He believed that those advisers had something else in view than what they pretended, and that they meant nothing else but to expose the Government, to which they were disaffected

* Uitenb. p. 665.

* Uitenb. p. 688, and 1002.

disaffected: neither would he give the least encouragement in the world to the AN^D DOM. forcing of conscience. 1616.

In the mean while, the session of the States of *Holland* approached, from which some people expected, at that time, a remedy for the divisions. ¹ *Grotius* tells his friend *Vossius*, the Regent of the College of Divinity, *I believe we shall know, at the approaching session, what hope there is of peace; or if there be none, that we shall come to an open schism.* To this assembly, holden in the month of September, the Contraremonstrants of the *Hague*, followers of *Rosæus*, being weary of meeting out of town, presented a new petition, in which they stiled themselves the *Complaining Reformed Church*, and prayed that they, who were above 1200 strong, might be suffered to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and service of their Minister, *Rosæus*, in some publick church in the *Hague*. At the same time *Rosæus* acquainted the States, by a petition which he presented, *That he could not obey the late order they had made, for his owning and amending his fault; since he knew himself to be entirely innocent; and prayed, that they would revoke the sentence passed upon him, and re-establish him in his Ministry, without obliging him to hold communion with Uitenbogart, at the Lord's Table, whilst matters stood as they did between the differing parties, or compelling him to receive their resolution; hoping, in the mean time, that they would make use of their authority in convening an ordinary synodical meeting, or that some other method might be found out for putting an end to the deplorable troubles of the Church, restoring peace, and perpetuating their own sovereignty.*

² In the petition of the Contraremonstrants of the *Hague*, there were some expressions which appeared very bold and strange; as for instance: 'That *Rosæus* had done nothing in separating, but what he was advised to by other churches of the Province adhering to the orthodox faith and doctrine: and that the Ministers who had received the States resolution for promoting the peace of the churches, had, contrary to the express command of God, obliged themselves not to speak against Wolves and Blasphemers.' They also talked of holding a *National Synod*, even with the assistance of foreigners, to which, they said, the churches of these Provinces would be obliged to submit; since the business of religion was peculiar to no one Province.

³ When *Uitenbogart* was informed of the subject of this petition, he perceived that he should be no longer able to serve the church of the *Hague* in tranquility, but in continual trouble and dissention, unless he approved of the doctrine and behaviour of the Contraremonstrants, and of *Rosæus*, and brought an intolerable yoke on his own neck. He therefore petitioned the States for a discharge from his Ministry in the Dutch and French churches of the *Hague*, with proper testimonials of his former services; and since he thought he should not readily be called to any Living here in the Reformed churches of these Provinces, because of the hatred they bore him, as he believed, for his defending the Truth; ⁴ (his Call to the Ministry at *Utrecht* having been frequently hindered, even during these differences, by their interest with them, the said States, with his Excellency Prince *Maurice*, and with the Consistory of the *Hague*) he therefore submitted it to the consideration and wisdom of their Lordships, whether they would please to allow him a handsome pension for life, on account of his long, faithful, painful, and even dangerous services in the army and elsewhere. The three petitions abovementioned were all read in the Assembly of the States, on the 22d of September, but nothing was done about them. We are told by *Uitenbogart* himself, that all the Members were pretty well agreed not to abandon him, but could not come to an understanding with each other about the rest; so that the debate upon those matters was delayed for some days. *Grotius* related, to a certain person, from whose memoirs I learned it, what happened one day in the Assembly, viz. That the Deputies of Amsterdam, and the rest of those who patronized the Contraremonstrants, were grown very bold; and that the Advocate, and those of the other towns, were as much dejected; and in a word, that the resolution of the States, and everything besides, was at stake. But not long after, two of the Deputies of *Harlem* came to *Uitenbogart*, intreating him to stay, and comforting him with the assurance that most of the towns stood firm to the Resolution, and that *Rosæus* should not be admitted into the pulpit again, unless he altered his measures.

The Contraremonstrants of the Hague petition for a publick church.

A new Petition of Rosæus.

Uitenbogart petitions for a discharge.

¹ Ex Epist. H. Grot. ad G. J. Vol. 19. Aug. 1616. script.

² Trigl. p. 888. Uitenb. p. 689.

³ Ibid. p. 691.

⁴ Uitenbogart's Life, p. 64, &c.

There

A^N° D^O M.
1616.

There were several complaints laid before the States of *Holland*, at this session, in the months of *September* and *October*, from several Ministers of the districts of *Forne* and *Putten*; and we find recorded in the Books of the States, that which follows concerning this affair:

A Resolution of
the States of
Holland and
West Free-
land, occasioned
by the com-
plaints of cer-
tain Ministers
in the districts
of *Forne* and
Putten.

THE Remonstrances of the Ministers in the countries of *Forne* and *Putten* having been read, in which they complain of the lives and doctrines of divers of their brethren; to which was subjoined a particular remonstrance of *William Krynson*, Minister of the *Bril*, which the said *Krynson* had presented to the Burgomasters and Magistrates of that town; and the same being also read, it was agreed, that the complaining Ministers should be heard in the Assembly, and that being done, and the business maturely debated, it was resolved, that they, the said Ministers, should be exhorted to mutual christian love and unity, and required to meet classically, in order to use such censures against all irregularities of life and doctrine, as shall be thought convenient; but without touching upon the doctrine of *Predestination*, and the things relating to it, which are included and treated of in the *Five Points*. And in order to bring this to pass, it was ordained, they should be directed to cause all the Clergy, belonging to the *Classis*, to meet together, upon a certain day in the said town of the *Bril*, and that some of the Deputies of *Dort* and *Delft* should be sent from the Assembly of the States, to meet them there, in order to assist, together with the chief Magistrates of *Forne* and *Putten* aforesaid, and such other persons as the Magistrates of the *Bril* should likewise depute thither, by their good offices, in healing the breaches, and uniting the Clergy of the aforesaid *Classis*; and particularly in adjusting the affair of *William Krynson*, and in taking information touching the exorbitances of mens lives and doctrines, complained of in the said Remonstrances; to the end that not only the said ecclesiastical censures, but also temporal punishments, might be executed against them, as should be thought proper, and as the case should require. Pursuant to which, a commission and directions were dispatched to the Heers *Hugo Muis van Holy*, and *Richard Gerritson Meer-* *man*, who were appointed by the aforesaid towns for the said purpose. Thus the States endeavoured to bring matters to an accommodation and unity.

During this session of the States, several other troublesome businesses were brought upon the stage, as well on account of these church differences, as of the discontents of the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, upon printing an account of what had passed in the month of *April* last, between the States Deputies and the Gentlemen of that city. Concerning this, we find the following entry in the Journal of the States.

Debates at the
meeting of the
States of Hol-
land, upon the
affair of the
Ecclesiastical
Differences.

As for the fourth head of matters to be considered at this meeting, wherein is set forth, that great labour and pains were justly taken by the late Prince of *Orange*, of glorious memory, from the very beginning of the war to the time of his lamented decease, agreeably to his great wisdom, prudence, and experience; to the end, that, according to the examples of the Kings, Electors, Princes, Counts, and Lords, as well as those of several great and small Republicks, who in the last century shook off the yoke of Popery, with all its idolatry, tyranny, and errors, and embraced the Christian Evangelical Doctrine, as reformed according to the word of God, good and wholesome regulations, with reference to the Clergy and Church matters, might be made by the authority of the Civil Magistrate, and obedience thereto required; his Excellency, the said Prince, having been of opinion, that for want thereof, the Provinces, and the true Christian religion, would be brought into great danger; and the said opinion of the aforementioned Prince having been also found, both before and since his deplorable death, but too true, in several of our neighbouring provinces and towns, to the great sorrow and concern of the sincere professors of religion: and that therefore it was judged to be the more necessary, for the countries of *Holland* and *West Free-land*, on account of the present transactions, that a final resolution, with regard to the Ecclesiastical Constitution drawn up in the year 1591, by eight Laymen and as many of the Clergy, thereto impowered by the States of the said countries, and afterwards approved and confirmed by the high provincial Courts, and by the majority of the Nobles and Towns, should at length be established and observed in all its points:

It was found that, after several questions and debates, during which, though the minds and inclinations of the Members appeared to tend all of them to this point,

point, namely, that the true Reformed Christian Religion ought to be preserved and maintained, through God's grace, in these Provinces, by the publick authority of the States; yet the votes could not be brought to such a conformity as is necessary to attain to this good end, some being of opinion, that the Ecclesiastical Constitution, abovementioned, ought to be established simply, and in all its articles, as it now stands, by way of provision; forasmuch as mens minds were not so distempered when the said constitution was framed, as they are now at this juncture. Others, on the contrary, were of opinion, that whereas several things have happened since the framing the said constitution, which absolutely want to be looked into, for the service of Church and State, before it be finally established, it therefore ought to be recommitted either by the general Assembly of the States themselves, or their Committee, to an equal number of civil and ecclesiastical persons, who might consider of this Constitution, and of any other differences regarding the Church, in order to the restoring of peace and unity. Others again, that a Synod should be called; at least for assisting the States with their Counsel, in all church-matters, and that the progress of the Resolution, as having not passed uniformly, should be suspended: Others were for appointing eight of the Clergy, and the like number of the Laity, who should first endeavour to heal the schism among the divided Classes: Others advised, that the Resolution should be strictly adhered to, and put in execution: And some were for leaving the Synod to do as they should think best. Now since the diversity of opinions was so great, that there was no appearance of bringing this affair to a good end, without a further adjournment, and a new deliberation at another meeting, and seeing that some of the Nobles and Deputies of the towns were obliged to leave the Hague, for the dispatch of the Excises and other businesses referred to them, it was thought fit to adjourn for some days, and to keep the matter in suspense, till the return of the Nobles and Deputies of the towns, at such time as should be appointed.

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Different Opinions and Advices with reference to the methods of composing the Divisions.

The Advices taken into consideration during a Recess.

The matter having been resumed, and debated a-new, there could be still no unanimous resolution formed, each Member of the States judging their own opinion best, and most for the service of the land, and the peace and tranquility of the churches and communities; all of them however agreeing entirely in this one point; viz. That the true Reformed Christian Religion ought to be preserved in purity and order, under the supreme moderation and government of the States; but some of them excused themselves from proceeding any further, as not being sufficiently instructed thereto. Therefore the business was again put off, in order to be considered at the next meeting of the States; and the Nobles and Deputies of the towns were, in the mean time, intreated to consider of, and to dispose themselves to take such measures as might most directly tend to the good of their country, and preservation of the true religion, to the uniting mens minds, and obviating all further occasion of animosities and divisions.

Further Deliberations without coming to a Resolution.

And as for what was alledged by the Deputies of Amsterdam, that their city had been wronged by the printing the Report, or Account of the Transactions of the Commissioners of the States, who were sent thither on occasion of the religious differences: the said States declared, that they did indeed resolve that the said Report, together with the Orders made thereupon, should be transmitted, as part of the business done that Sessions, to all the parties concerned; but that the Committee finding, after they had received the said Report, that it was too voluminous to be copied before their next meeting, which was then designed to be in the beginning of July, in order to be communicated in manuscript to the Nobles and the Towns; they therefore thought it expedient to print a certain number of copies, and put them into the hands of the Secretary, who was directed to deliver none of them to any person, but by order of the said Committee; and that accordingly none were disposed of, but among the Members of the States, or among some of their principal Justiciaries and other sworn Officers, without the least intention to affront or injure those of Amsterdam, but only with a view of promoting the common welfare, peace, and tranquility of the land; and the rather, because nothing was inserted in the said Report, that could be understood to give any man just cause of offence, for which reason the Magistrates of Amsterdam were intreated to put the best interpretation upon it. And to prevent other sects, and particularly those of the Romish faction and superstition, from making any advantage to themselves,

A Declaration of the States, with reference to the complaint of the Magistrates of Amsterdam.

AN^o D^o M.
1616.

‘ selves, or doing any prejudice to the Government, by reason of the aforesaid discord, and diversity of opinions, whilst these matters were under deliberation; it was agreed, that a renewal of the Placard, lately made against the Jesuits, and the exercise of the Popish religion, should be promoted at the meeting of the States General; and that the Provinces and Towns should be desired to cause the same to be more rigorously executed, and to provide against the remissness of their Officers.

The Ecclesiastical Constitution that was debated in the abovementioned Assembly of the States of *Holland*, especially that part of it relating to the Call of Ministers, was in time received in some of the towns of *Holland*, and pursued according to the circumstances of things, though not without much opposition from the Clergy. The Heer *Peter Cornelison Hooft*, Droffart of *Muden*, and Bailiff of *Goyland*, one of the noblest Genius's that ever put pen to paper in our language, and who is very famous for his History and Poems, (son of the Heer Burgomaster *Cornelius Peterfon Hooft*, frequently mentioned in this book) acquaints the Committee of the States of *Holland* and *West Freefland*, in a Letter dated in *October* of this year, with what had happened to him on this occasion, as follows:

Honourable and Mighty Lords,

A Letter of the
Heer P. C.
Hooft, to the
Lords of the
Committee of
the States of
Holland and
West Freefland.

‘ **H**AVING been lately informed, that by the calling of the Minister of *Hussen* in *Goyland*, to the town of *Bolswart* in *Freefland*, the Benefice of the said Village, which lies within my jurisdiction, was become vacant; I gave notice to the Scout and Officers of that place, on the 25th of the last month, that when they proceeded to the election of a new Minister of the holy Gospel, they should conform themselves to the second Article of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of the year 1591, communicated to me by your Lordships letter of the 22d of *December* 1615, written for that purpose, an extract from which I likewise transmitted to them; and the same day an answer was returned me, in the name of the Scout and Officers, that by reason of the absence of some of their brethren, they could not for that time appoint a day for election, as I had desired, but would do it in due time, and exhort their community to comply with the Order of the States. Since when, arriving at *Amsterdam*, yesterday the 27th, about my own affairs, there came to me two of the Ministers of that city, *Hallius* and *Plancius*, together with him who was till now the Incumbent of *Hussen* aforesaid, and they endeavoured to dissuade me from the abovementioned design, by several reasons which they thought very cogent. But I replied, that I could by no means prevail with my self to bring any one into that benefice, that should disquiet the plain honest people with deep questions, which, by the confession of both parties, may continue unknown without any danger of salvation, but yet cannot be curiously inquired into without danger of it, by reason of the weakness of human understanding; but that I thought my self obliged to pursue the directions of my Lords and Masters. And since the manner of electing by four Deputies of the Magistracy, with three or four of the Classis, carried more authority with it, than the Call made formerly by the church of the village only; I advised them to consider, whether it were not better to merit the favour of the Government, by a free cession of what would be for their own credit to yield, than to provoke them without getting any ground. I undertook likewise so to order matters, that there should be no enemies of the Reformed religion, as they seemed to apprehend, appointed for Commissioners in this affair. But *Hallius* finally said, that the Classis would not take this matter again into their consideration, and intreated me therefore to leave this business upon the ancient foot, and to suffer the church of *Hussen* to go on with the Call of the Minister of *Waveren* under the jurisdiction of the same Classis, which had been agreed upon, but was not as yet effected. This I expressly forbid them to do; but in taking my leave of them, I said I would consider further of the matter, and signify my mind to them in due time. Now so it is, that, among other objections, the contents of the two Resolutions, marked *Number* 3. included in the letter of the 22d of *December* 1615, relating to the Ecclesiastical Establishment of the year 1598, and

and importing, that the same should be observed in all the towns, lordships, and villages, where it was approved, are offered on their behalf; from which they pretend to prove, that the Scout and the rest of the Magistrates of the village ought to be at their liberty, not to put in practice the said Ecclesiastical Establishment any further than they think convenient. Which construction appearing to be calculated for exposing me alone to the odium with which the alteration is attended, I make it my humble and submissive request to your Lordships, that you would please, by virtue of your authority, to prescribe how I shall act upon this occasion, to the end that, without offence to your Lordships, I may either acquiesce in the desires of the people of *Husen*, or else may be armed against the spreading slanders and defamation that will attend me. In expectation of your speedy answer, after the tender of my most obedient respects, I herewith recommend you, *Honourable and Potent Lords*, to the protection and defence of the Almighty, whom I beseech always to bless your administration more and more. I am,

Amsterdam, Oct. 28.
1616.

Your Lordships

most Humble Servant,

P. C. HOOFT.

To this Letter the following Answer was returned:

Worthy, Discreet, and Good Friend,

YOUR Letter of the 28th instant having been seen by us, we have thought fit to reply, that in case peace may be preserved, and matters ordered to every ones satisfaction, by admitting the Minister of *Waveren*, to the Cure of *Husen*, you yourself are authorized to facilitate the same, and to use your endeavours to dispose the minds of the people accordingly; forasmuch as it appears to us to be conducive to the preservation of the publick tranquillity. And so, *Worthy, Discreet, and Good Friend*, We recommend you to God. Dated at the Hague, Octob. 31.
1616.

By order of the Committee of the States.

A. DUİK.

From this answer, it appears how much the Government endeavoured to avoid or prevent the troubles in the Church. In the mean time they went on their way in other parts. ¹ Some of the warmest *Contraremonstrants* joined all their force to promote the schism, especially about *Rotterdam*, where the *Remonstrants* had most patrons and followers. And accordingly it was found, when about this time, there began to be formed separate meetings at *Sevenbusen* in *Schieland*, that the chief sticklers for them were not the people of the village, excepting fifteen or sixteen persons, but strangers from other towns, especially *Flemmings* from *Leyden*, and others from *Schiedam*, and even some from *Amsterdam*. ² The States of *Holland*, upon a further consideration and confirmation of their resolutions about church matters, had agreed on the 28th of *April*, that **No town or place should interpose or concern themselves directly or indirectly, with the affairs of any other town or place, so as to cause or foment any quarrels or disturbances in the community.** This Order was broken in *Schieland*. But the Burgomasters of *Rotterdam*, under whose jurisdiction that District was, inasmuch that they governed it by a Bailiff of their own appointing, endeavoured to prevent this mischief by an Ordinance of their city. They ordered the Heer *Hugo Grotius*, their Pensionary, to insert a clause, to enable the said Bailiff and Officers of *Schieland* to search for, and apprehend the encouragers of these disturbances, though he delayed it as long as possible, as being always inclined to the most gentle and inoffensive methods; but he was so often and so strictly urged to do it, that at last he yielded to their commands. ³ By the said Ordinance, which was published in his absence, and without his consent, on the 21st of *June*, it was forbidden:

A Schism and Separation in Schieland.

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 183.

² Baud. Mem. Lib. VIII. p. 10.

³ Ib. p. 28. Trigl. p. 765.

AN^O D^O M.

1616.

An Ordinance
forbidding the
separate meet-
ings in Schie-
land.

To hold any assembly or meeting for the exercise of the Reformed religion, otherwise than in churches and places allotted thereto by publick authority; on pain of actual confiscation of the house, barn, ship, barge, or boat, field, or other place, where such meeting should be holden, to the relief of the poor of the respective parishes; ² saving to the owner, if not himself the occupier of the house, or place, where such meetings might be kept, his action and remedy against the tenant, and all other persons frequenting the aforesaid meetings. And it further ordained, that any such person as should preach, administer the holy sacraments, read, or perform any other ecclesiastical office in these meetings, or cause the same to be performed; or should suffer such meetings in any house or place belonging to him, or where he resided, should pay a mulct or fine of 300 Guilders, for which he was made liable to be arrested, or apprehended, without being discharged, till the said fine should be levied upon him. And in case the person so fined should conceal himself, or being discovered and seized, should delay to pay the same, distress should be made upon his goods, and he be proceeded against by a summary tryal upon examination, and obliged to submit to the penalty on his confession; but if he refused to own his fault, then evidence should be heard, and he being so convicted, sentence should pass against him without any other form of process: and lastly, if the accused person did not attend, when summoned, he should be proceeded against for non-appearance.

A second Ordinance with
reference to
the Divisions
in Schieland.

³ At the same time the Magistrates caused, *in terrorem*, a barn at Sevenhusen, where the Dissenters met, to be nailed up. But some of the *Contraremonstrants* broke it open again, and used very insolent language to the other inhabitants that peaceably frequented the publick worship, telling them that their Minister was sent them by the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, who would bear them out in all they did; and in case they were fined, they, the said Magistrates, would indemnify them, and deduct the fines out of their publick taxes: wherefore they were resolved to proceed in their undertakings, in spite of all opposition from friends or foes, and should not scruple the sacrificing some of their opposers. From such expressions as these no small trouble was to be feared. ⁴ It was therefore thought proper to publish a second Ordinance, on the 26th of the same month: **forbidding all the inhabitants of the village of Sevenhusen, and all others frequenting that place, to slander or abuse one another on account of religious differences; and even to act by way of force against the very transgressors of the Ordinance lately published, although they should offend as formerly, by word or deed; but requiring them to suffer the Officers of Justice to proceed against them in a regular manner.**

Grotius ad-
vises the Ma-
gistrates of
Rotterdam
to Moderation.

The former Ordinance was imputed to some of the *Remonstrants* as an arrow from their quiver, and was looked upon as a severe Placard contrived to oppress the consciences of their adversaries. But the others declared that they had not the least hand in the matter. Nay, *Uitenbogart* says of the Ordinances published against the *Contraremonstrants* in several places, that they were not only displeasing to them the *Remonstrants*, but that they censured them where they were made, and hindered the making of them wherever their interest could prevail. It likewise appears by the Works of *Grotius*, that the Burgomasters of *Rotterdam* designed nothing more by the Ordinances abovementioned, than to prevent confusion and bloodshed in the aforesaid Bailiwick of *Schieland*, by simple threats only; just as *Sozomenus* relates in his Ecclesiastical history of the pious Emperor *Theodosius*, that he made severe Edicts against causeless separations and schisms, but never suffered them to be put in execution. For, says he, *that Prince did not seek to oppress his subjects, but to bring them to a reverence of himself and his laws.* And *Grotius* likewise adds, that notwithstanding the promulgation of these Ordinances, himself used his utmost endeavours that none should be punished on account of those unnecessary and dangerous meetings,

2

¹ The Heer Hugo Grotius speaking of the Fine appointed in the Ordinance of Schieland, proves that the same was conformable to the Laws, quoting, upon that occasion, the Law of Arcadius and Honorius, and afterwards of Justinian,—and then adds these words: 'I confess that these Lawsought not to be practised against persons whose consciences will not allow them to come to church. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 187.

² This is to be understood, in such cases when the owner had any knowledge of the forbidden meeting; and accord-

ingly the Magistrates of Schieland explained themselves by a subsequent Ordinance, in which they declared: That it was never their intention that those who were ignorant of such forbidden meetings, should be burdened with the penalties. Vid. Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 188. and Uitenb. p. 679.

³ Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 184. Baud. Mem. Lib. VII. p. 31.

⁴ Ibid. and Uitenb. p. 678, 679, 680.

meetings, nor even for breaking open the barn, though shut by publick authority: AN^O D O M.
1616. but that, on the contrary, in order to prevent all bloodshed and other inconveniences, both parties should be taken under the protection of the Government; as was actually done at the publication of the second Ordinance. And afterwards too, when some of the Burgomasters of *Rotterdam* pressed, that the Ordinances should be published in the Lordship of *Bleiswick* belonging to their town, but divided from the Bailiwick of *Schieland*, *Grotius* dissuaded them from doing it. Besides, he brought to pass, yet not without much trouble, that the *Separatists* (though, as he writes, they could alledge but small reason for their schism, and had rejected several reasonable proposals for a union) should be allowed to preach within the town, by connivance. He was of opinion: 'That good laws might prevent a causeless schism at the beginning; but that when it was once formed, it was best to abstain from rigour and severity.' The Dissenters and their followers in *Schieland* were afterwards suffered to go on without much interruption. Those people pleaded their consciences; saying, they could not safely hold communion with those *Remonstrants* that had departed from the received opinions. But others, on the contrary, thought that some violent zealots too much covered their love of discord with the cloak of conscience. 'For if, said some, there had been nothing else in the matter, conscience might have been satisfied in other adjacent places, it being certain, that conscience takes no offence at places. Therefore the *Contraremonstrants* had no occasion to set up separate meetings in *Schieland*, or elsewhere. For they knew there were Ministers of their own persuasion, exercising their functions in several places. At *Rotterdam*, they had *Henry Niellius*, who was recommended to the Government of that town by the *French Synod*, and who had not concerned himself in the controversy. *Festus*, added they, and other *Contraremonstrants*, when they appeared the year before at the Stadthouse in favour of the dissenting Burghers, declared they had nothing to say against *Niellius*: neither do we know that they have any thing to object against *Christopher Hellerius*, another of the town Ministers; no more than against both the *Langbergens*, nor has the Minister at *Kappelle* meddled or made with these disputes. At *Newkirk*, within the Bailiwick of *Schieland*, not far from *Sevenbusen*, there was at the same time a Minister entirely of the opinion of the *Contraremonstrants*, whom all that were of the same opinion might have heard without trouble or scandal. At *Schiedam* and *Overschie* (both which are in the *Dykegraveschap*, though not in the Bailiwick of *Schieland*) as likewise at *Delfshaven*, all which places are in the neighbourhood of the villages of *Schieland*, the Clergy was wholly *Contraremonstrant*, (as likewise in some of the adjacent villages of *Rhinland*) with whose publick preaching the people might have been easily contented, till a general agreement could have been made (which was earnestly endeavoured by the States) without holding separate meetings. Let every impartial person, said they, consider whether it be lawful for those to set up private Conventicles, who can with a safe conscience frequent the publick Church; especially knowing that when once a schism is made, it is not easily healed again. But the thronging of people from *Schiedam*, *Leyden*, *Amsterdam* and other places, who having opportunities enough at or near home, to hear sermons from Ministers of their own opinion, yet ran in shoals to other towns and villages to hear the *Separatists*, made many believe, that either they or their leaders, aimed at something else besides liberty of conscience.'

Whether the Contraremonstrants could so otherwise satisfy their consciences than by setting up separate meetings.

Upon the same day that the second Ordinance of *Schieland* was published, being the 26th of the month, there met at *Amsterdam* a private Assembly or little Synod of the *Contraremonstrant* Clergy, brought together from all the United Provinces by the management of some who thought a separation necessary, and continually pushed it on. And we find it observed by some writers: That they met here against the Laws of the land, without the knowledge of the States, and exclusive of the superintendency of their Commissioners. But others maintain that this Assembly was called by the church of *Amsterdam*, by virtue of an old Synodical Decree of the year 1586, in order to bring on a National Synod: and that they here discoursed about drawing up a strong Representation, containing the grievances of the Church at that time, with the reasons why they thought themselves ill used; in order

An Assembly of Contraremonstrant Ministers called at Amsterdam.

A^NO D^OM.

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order to their communicating it to the rest of the Clergy of these Provinces, who, after having perused and weighed it seriously, might concur, as occasion offered, in assisting the Church, promoting its interests, and in preserving truth. — But whether the said Representation was drawn up then, and afterwards dispersed, does not appear.

There were present at this meeting from *Gelderland*, the Ministers *William Baudart* and *Ellardus Mebenius*: from *Holland*, *Peter Plancius*, *John Hallius* and *John Ursinus* (*Festus* was invited, but the sickness of his wife detained him at home:) from *Zeland*, *Hermannus*, *Faukelius* and *Godfrey Udemans*: from *Freezland*, *John Bogermannus*, and *Florentius Johannes*: from *Overysse*, *John Langius*, and *Peter Plancius Junior*: from *Groningen* and the *Ommelands*, *Cornelius Hillenius*, and *George Placius*. *Plancius* the Father was President, and *Hillenius* Secretary or Scribe: ¹ and it is said, that this mock Synod resolved to present several petitions suddenly, and all at once to the States, in the name of divers complaining or separating *Contraremonstrant* congregations, in order to make the greater impression on them by such kind of petitioning, and the more to authorise the schism already begun. They also debated at this meeting about a certain Resolution of the States of *Gelderland*, relating to the Ecclesiastical dissensions, of the following tenor: *That their Classes, under the moderation of the Court, and some Deputies of the Province, should find out, if possible, some proper means of accommodating matters, or that otherwise they the States would consider of some proper* ² *Interim*. This Resolution did by no means please the Clergy. They agreed therefore to reject such private transactions, and to leave all to a National Synod; and in case they saw no hopes of a Synod after the expiration of some months, then to endeavour to obtain of the Government a National Synod, of the well constituted or orthodox churches, whereby they might secure themselves against the growing evil.

² About the same time, some of the Members of the Senate of *Amsterdam* proposed to summon a Synod thither by their own authority, though it were to cost the City some thousands of *Gilders*; endeavouring by specious reasons to make the rest of the Gentlemen enter into their views. There were also some people of figure in this City, who did not stick to say, that the States feared neither God nor Devil; and that they aimed at introducing tyranny. Nay, it was even said in the Senate, that they designed to drive away the old *Gueuxes*. To which the quondam Burgo-master *Hoofst* thus replied: ‘It is true, the old *Gueuxes* are to be driven away; but it is in a sense very different from that of those Gentlemen, who concealed themselves in the shade, during the heat of the day; whilst many (most of whom are dead, though some few are still living) were obliged to wander about, and seek a refuge in foreign countries: Of such as survive, are the Heers *John Jacobson Huidekoper*, *John de Bischoep*, *John Peterson Real*, and others, among whom I also am one, who from the twenty-second year of my age, till past thirty, was forced to absent myself from this City, as did the parents of several others, who cannot pass now for old *Gueuxes*. But in the time of those good old *Gueuxes*, people durst not attempt such things as we see now on the anvil, for they would have been far from suffering them. Yet as soon as the eyes of most of them were closed, then was this work set on foot; and they who were either known, or suspected only of being against it, were, as much as possible, kept out of the Government. And I remember the time when some of the Magistrates who are now at the helm, had different ideas of the points that are promoted here in *Amsterdam*. Ought then those who have departed not only from the opinions of their parents, but even from their own, to accuse others of innovations, because they adhere to the old moderate ways? Besides, that the things which some people call *new*, may be in reality *old*. But supposing that some points might be called *new*, in regard to our knowledge of them, yet every thing that has been formerly concealed from us, and is but lately discovered, ought not to be accounted a novelty or innovation; neither ought the diligence of our Progenitors, as ⁴ somebody has well ob-

served,

Observations
of the Heer
C. P. Hoofst,
upon that spi-
rit of a party
which prevail-
ed among some
in the Govern-
ment at Am-
sterdam.

¹ Uitenb. p. 694.

² An Interim, is a kind of Provisional or Pro tempore order, which is to hold good, and be observed only during the treaty of peace; such as was endeavoured to be introduced in Germany, in the time of Luther.

³ From the Memoirs of an eminent Magistrate.

⁴ F. Petrarcha in Præf. in Lib. de remed. utriusque fortunæ. Neque, ait, Studium antiquitatis obesse debet posteritatis industriæ, cui excitandæ atque adjuvandæ nascitur institutum.

‘ served, to prejudice or hinder the happy genius’s of their posterity, whom they
‘ by their labours had excited and encouraged.’ *The Heer Hooft added further:*
‘ That our destruction was probably nearer than we suspected, through our intole-
‘ rance and opposition to the will of our Sovereigns the States.’

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On the 28th of *November*, he spoke his mind very plainly in the Senate, when they were debating upon the business of the approaching Session, telling them: ‘ That the
‘ City of *Amsterdam* was, as he thought, the principal cause of these great innovati-
‘ ons and misunderstandings.’

This was ill taken by some, who, on the contrary, imagined, that unless they could carry their point for the high opinion in the business of *Predestination*, their whole religion would be in danger; but the Heer Hooft viewed the matter in a different light, and said: ‘ That the behaviour of some Gentlemen in that City,
‘ from whence the main mischief sprang, tended not only to exclude the *Remon-*
‘ *strants* from any share in the Government, but absolutely to trample them under
‘ foot; whereas, nevertheless, the Ministers of *Amsterdam* (whom the said Gentlemen
‘ mostly consulted) knew very well, that the points in dispute were not only born
‘ with in *Melancthon*, *Bullinger*, *Hemmingius* and others, by *Calvin* and *Beza*, and
‘ their persons held in great esteem, but that likewise the successors of the latter, for
‘ many years after, connived at these differences. That if afterwards the *Remon-*
‘ *strants* had been endeavouring to strengthen their party, he believed it was not
‘ done with any design of oppressing others, but to secure themselves against the
‘ danger they apprehended of being devoured by the *Contraremonstrants*. But we
‘ find plainly now, *said he*, that if we proceed as we have begun, we as well as the
‘ *Remonstrants* shall run the risque of being smothered in the pit which we have dig-
‘ ged for them. For which reason, I think, it is more than time, that all of us lay-
‘ ing aside our mutual prejudices and animosities, should attend to our common pre-
‘ servation, by the means of such laws as it is in our power to enact and maintain.
‘ If then, for the settling their affairs, the Government in *France* have established
‘ certain, *Chambres mipartes*, (or Courts of Justice, in which each party has its
‘ Judges and Council) one would hope that something of the same nature might be
‘ done here among us. But then the Clergy on either side must be debarred from
‘ meddling with civil affairs, though some of them think that all ought to pass
‘ through their hands. I was indeed apprehensive, that the new plan of government,
‘ which for these last six or seven years, has been pursued here, was built upon a
‘ bad foundation; but the evil, alas! seems to have manifested, and diffused itself
‘ further than I imagined. If we, who through the wonderful favour of God,
‘ have arrived at such a pitch of liberty, that none oppresses us in point of conscience,
‘ should proceed to accuse, condemn, molest or supplant other worthy persons, be-
‘ cause they cannot come up to our sentiments in all things, the tyranny will be the
‘ same, though the Tyrant be changed. We seem methinks, in the choice of
‘ our parties, with respect to the depending differences, not to act with prudence, nor
‘ with sufficient regard to the publick good. In case we should allow both sides of
‘ the question in debate to be alike dubious and uncertain, yet I should think that
‘ the party which inclined most to moderation, unity, and to the avoiding of schism,
‘ would seem to come the nearest to a true christian temper; and consequently, that
‘ by the preservation of unity, we might hope for greater blessings from the Lord
‘ for the support of our Government, than by discord, which is the ruin of all States:
‘ this deserves our utmost attention.’

His judgment
concerning the
cause and con-
sequences of
divisions.

His further
Remarks and
Counsel.

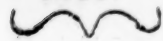
‘ In the ensuing Assembly of the States of *Holland*, holden in the months of *No-*
vember and *December*, endeavours were again used to bring the Members to a con-
formity of suffrages, and the Ecclesiastical troubles to tranquility, which cannot
be better represented than in their own expressions, as they stand upon the books of
the said States.

‘ As to the sixth Article, or Head of matters notified in the summons; after the
‘ Nobles and Deputies of the Towns had been exhorted and intreated to dispose and
‘ accommodate themselves to unity, to the end that our dear Country and the true
‘ Christian religion reformed according to the purity of God’s holy word, might be
‘ preserved and secured: that all diffidencies and jealousies might cease, or be
‘ suspended

The debates in
the Assembly
of the States
of Holland
and West
Freeland in
order to the
composing of
the differences.

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suspended, agreeably to the protestations and promises which have been often made by the Nobles and Deputies of the towns in this Assembly, both jointly and separately, and which are again to be repeated, whereby they sincerely and faithfully declare, that none of them design or intend to consent to any alteration in the true Reformed Religion: and that the differing opinions about the *Five Points*, discussed in the Conference at the *Hague*, in the year 1611, might be permitted, by a sincere and faithful Provisional Toleration, in love and unity to the common edification; and all excesses or transgressions of the said Toleration, actually opposed, as well by Ecclesiastical censures, as by the authority of the Civil Magistrate, after the best and most efficacious manner: this being accordingly resolved and decreed, it was proposed; *whether in case of a disagreement of opinions* (which it was hoped, however, might be prevented by the strength of good arguments) *the point to be debated might not be determined by a plurality of votes, for the preventing all further inconveniences and mischiefs.* And although the Nobles and most of the Towns declared, that they wished the business might be determined with a *nemine dissentiente*, yet to the end, that a case in which the peace and welfare of these Provinces, and the good Subjects thereof are so highly concerned, might not be any longer kept in uncertainty, they the said States resolved: That if the matter could not be decided by an entire conformity of votes, then the most voices should carry it, as has ever been the practice in all the Colleges or Societies of this country, and all the Councils of the towns; and as still is in matters of religion. But the Deputies of some towns declared, that they were not impowered to conform themselves to the majority of voices in this affair; alleging among other reasons, those which were formerly urged by others upon the establishing the Ecclesiastical Constitution in the year 91.

Most of the Members declare their Resolution to maintain the Reformed religion in its purity; to which end they can think of no fitter means than a Toleration, with respect to the Five Points.

They are of opinion that the best method for preventing all new disputes, is to execute their former Resolutions.

* Some of the Cities are of opinion that other means should be employed to that end.

After this, it was agreed to consider how to proceed in the aforesaid business, so as might be most for the service and benefit of the subject, and for the preservation of the authority of the States, and the true Christian Reformed religion in these Provinces. And it was resolved, to read in the first place, certain ¹ Petitions presented in the name of the aggrieved and distressed communities of the towns of Gouda, Rotterdam, Schoonhoven, the Bril and the Hague; as likewise of Haerwoude, Benthufen, Sootermeer, Sevenhufen and Moordrecht, and a district of Maseland, importing in substance, that their consciences could not be satisfied with the doctrines preached in the aforesaid towns and places, and praying respectively that they might be allowed other Ministers. All which having been considered, the Nobles and most of the Towns declared, that they resolved to maintain the true Christian Reformed religion, agreeably to the holy scriptures, in all purity, under the publick authority of the States; and to keep out all errors and heterodox opinions from the Church; for which purpose they knew no better way than a sincere Toleration, as well of the one as of the other party, in the Five Points as they were debated at the Conference here in the Hague, in the year 1611; and the rather, because after the said Conference, the same was unanimously agreed to by the Nobles and all the Towns, received by the Managers of the Conference themselves, and confirmed again the same year by the repeated Resolution of the States. And in order to obviate all excesses and opinions contrary to the aforesaid Toleration and Resolutions which have been agreed upon and taken in the years 14, 15, and the current year, it was further agreed: that by the maintaining and putting in execution the aforesaid Orders and Resolutions with discretion and moderation, all excesses and new disputes may be easily prevented, as well as all schisms and divisions which are so highly prejudicial to our country, and the true religion, and consequently, not to be endured. * But the Deputies of some towns were of opinion, that for the cure of the evils lately arisen, other means ought to be made use of; some of whom do still desire, that eight or more laymen, and as many of the Clergy (such as are true lovers of their country, and sincerely and heartily addicted to the true Christian Reformed religion) should be chosen either by the States themselves, or by the Nobles and some of the Towns, and impowered to consider seriously, how the aforesaid provisional

* These were the Petitions of certain Contraremonstrants, who separated from the established Church, and met together privately by their own authority.

‘visional Toleration may be justly and impartially exercised, for the preventing all ^{A N^o D O M.} abuses ; and likewise to see what more is fitting to be done, for the benefit and ¹⁶¹⁶ advantage of the Church and State.

‘Others again being of opinion, that it was necessary to adjust all these matters by a Synod, the endeavours of bringing all the Members to an unanimous resolution were resumed ; but each party adhered to their own opinion, inasmuch that they were intreated to think of some means of coming nearer to each other. The aforesaid business having been taken again into consideration, ^{The execution of the former Resolutions is carried by a majority of votes.} it was agreed by most voices, that for the preventing pernicious schisms, which afforded so much pleasure to the Papists and all other sectaries, but produced nothing but sorrow and mischief to the Professors of the true religion, they ought to persist in the former Resolution, namely, for a just and sincere Toleration, which had been determined once unanimously, and afterwards by a plurality of votes ; that they ought to maintain the same with discretion and moderation, and heartily to oppose all exorbitancies in life and doctrine ; it was however agreed at the same time, that the Burgomasters, Magistrates and Councils of such towns as might not think it necessary to embrace this Resolution, nor to allow a Toleration in their respective jurisdictions, should not be under any obligation of doing so, provided they would not suffer the Officers of those towns and villages that were inclined to conform and submit to the said Resolution, to be molested or troubled on that account. But in hope that the humours of some of the towns might be better disposed towards unity and an accommodation of these differences against the next Assembly, for the service of the country, and security of the true Christian Reformed religion, it was thought fit that an article should be inserted in the notification of the next meeting, to consult whether it might not be of use, and adviseable to commission and impower a certain number of civil and as many ecclesiastical persons, about eight, or more or less, such as are all of them sincerely affected to the interest of the country, and to the true Christian Reformed religion, in order to consider how the aforementioned provisional Toleration may be justly and impartially put in execution, all divisions obviated, and all kind of extravagances hindered ; and further, how matters may be ordered in Holland and West Freeland, so as to hold a Provincial Synod with success, as well by uniting the divided Classical meetings as otherwise, to the end that the so much desired and necessary unity among persons of the same religion, may be promoted in all Christian charity, and all jealousies and distrusts laid aside ; which Commissioners should give an account of all matters to his Excellency, and learn his pleasure, and thereupon make a report of all to the Assembly, for the service and welfare of the land. It was moreover agreed, that this should serve for a resolution and answer to the aforesaid petitions, which (contrary to the good intentions of the States) tend to produce schisms and dissensions among people of the same religion ; and therefore they, the States, did not think fit to return any other Apostill or Answer to the said petitions. And the Nobles and Deputies of the towns, were again intreated to apply themselves to accommodate matters in order to peace and unity, upon which the welfare of the country and of religion so much depends.

‘¹ Philip de Mornay, Lord of Pleffis Marley, was of opinion, that all endeavours ought to be used for preventing the schism, as appears by a Letter which he writ to Johannes Polyander, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, dated the 31st of May, as follows :

S I R,

‘I beg you to excuse my silence. Yours of the 9th of October, did not come to hand till the beginning of this year, being delivered me by the Heer ^{A Letter of the Lord Du Pleffis to the Professor J. Polyander.} van Matthenes, to whom I tendered all respect and services, but delayed returning you an answer, during our civil dissensions, being in a constant expectation, that God would be graciously pleased to free us from them ; to the end that

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¹ See the Memoirs of Monf. du Pleffis. p. 965. Epist. Eccles. p. 475. Baud. Mem. Lib. VIII. p. 11. Vitenb. p. 702.

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we might be the better enabled to contribute our endeavours for pacifying your ecclesiastical differences. Now, since God has blessed us with peace, and thereby delivered our churches from apparent and threatening dangers, I lay your letter before me, that I may give you all the satisfaction I can. I am heartily grieved for your discords, even much more than for our own domestick quarrels; since yours inflame the mind and soul, whereas ours onely heat the blood. Would to God I could buy them off with some years of my life! I am by no means of the opinion of those who promote an open separation and division of the contending parties; because, how wide soever the breach is of the whole, there are still means of repairing it, as long as the parts hold together; but after amputation, there is no balsam, neither natural nor artificial, that can make them cohere again. I should think therefore that both parties ought to be obliged, when they speak of the controverted points, to confine themselves to the terms and phrases made use of in scripture, and accordingly to agree not to swerve from those expressions, which the Holy Ghost has made use of, either by magnifying the differences, or by inveighing against one another; waiting with patience till a Synod shall have taken the matter under their consideration: and that in expectation of it, both sides should forbear writing any more upon these disputes, to the end, that they may avoid the heats and animosities, which are increased rather than lessened by writing. And since both parties are already but too much inflamed, and seem to be fallen into a formal state of war with each other, that there should be called and invited from the churches of your neighbouring countries of the same confession, some wise, learned, moderate, zealous, and eminent persons, proper to qualify the disputes, to restrain curious and unnecessary questions, and to confine every one within the bounds of what he ought to believe and teach for salvation. Some things may have happened since writing of your letter, which it were fit I should be informed of, to the end that I might go upon sure grounds in giving you my advice. I beg you therefore to communicate them to me, and even to transmit the pieces themselves, if there be any. But above all, as much as in you lies, *avoid a formal schism*: for it will be difficult enough to make the breach up again; and you see to what pass things are come in *Germany*.

I send you this letter, through the hands of our Ambassador, and you may do the same. So recommending myself to your favour, with a tender of my sincere friendship and services, I beseech God to have you, Sir, in his holy protection.

Dated from Saumur, 31st of May, 1616.

And signed,

Your affectionate Friend,

DU PLESSIS.

Soon after, the Heer *Grotius* received a letter from that famous Divine, Dr. *Overall*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, which having translated from the original Latin, we shall communicate to the Reader, as expressing the thoughts and reflections of both those Great men, upon the State of religion in these parts. It is as follows:

S I R,

*A Letter of
the English
Bishop Over-
all to Groti-
us.*

YOUR most agreeable Letter (which you sent me by a Disciple of *Drusius*, of happy memory, and therefore the more acceptable) is come safe to hand, by which I perceive that my last being an answer to yours, which (together with the Resolution of the States) was sent to me whilst out of town, is miscarried; but the subject of it was little more than condolences, occasioned by the death of my excellent friend * *Casaubon*; for the violence of that grief made me lay aside all other affairs at that time. You say, you fear that your application to me may be a hindrance or trouble to me, or else that our friendly correspondence in these perilous times, may

* He died 1 July, 1614.

may give an occasion to slander ; but believe me, who solemnly assure you, most worthy *Grotius*, that nothing can be more welcome to me than your Letters ; and that I fear no slander of any mortal man, with respect to this your affair of *Predestination* and *Divine Grace*, a cause so just, so holy and so reasonable : for in this matter, * *it is a very small thing with me, that I should be judged of mens judgment.* Wherefore I rejoice to learn from your Letter, that the State of your church grows by degrees more calm, and that the moderate, nay I might say the better and truer, opinion concerning *Predestination*, gets ground among you daily. God grant it may do so, yet more and more ! But such books are published every day by those who, despising the doctrines of the *Fathers*, follow none but their own private spirit in matters of faith, that we can scarce hope to see an end of this phrensy so soon. Some learned *Papists*, though they openly adhere to the notions of *Austin*, show nevertheless that they lean very much towards yours. See Cardinal *Toletus*'s 31st Exposition on the 8th Chapter to the *Romans*, and the 28th verse, about the end of it, and the 4th and 5th upon the 11th Chap. and 5th and 6th verses. and his 20th upon the 3d Chap. and 24th verse. You will be convinced that he speaks very well upon this subject, and this opinion. So that it seems to be entirely the same thing, whether we follow the last opinion of *Austin*, as explained by *Prosper* and *Fulgentius*, or embrace his first notions, against *Pelagius* and the *Semi-pelagians*, as improved from the last.

As for what concerns the Treatise of our *Thompson*, which you say is printing, I am afraid there are a great many faults in your copy, through the negligence of the Transcriber. I have now another copy, which I think is more correct, and should have sent it over to you, were it only to collate with the other, could I have met with a good opportunity. It is a great happiness, and the effect of a good providence, that your people, who are such contempters of antiquity, have Governors that are so well affected, and watch so diligently for the welfare of the Church and Commonwealth at the same time ; not suffering themselves to be hurried away by the mad zeal of Fanatics and factious persons, nor fearing to oppose innovations, especially such as are to the prejudice of peace and piety. May our Lord *Christ* grant you and us together his peace, which, dying, he left to the Apostles ; to the end that according to the † expression of *St. Paul*, you may all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you ; but that you be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment. Or at least that, || *whereto we have already attained, we may walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing.*

London, July 27.
1616.

Farewell,

JOHN OVERALL, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*.

From this letter we may in some measure conclude what was the subject of *Grotius*'s letter to the Bishop, and the hopes he conceived of still bringing matters to some accommodation. But hardly were there three months more elapsed, when affairs took so different a turn, that the same *Grotius* in great trouble and anxiety, writ to his friend *Vossius* in the following expressions ; in which, amidst his apprehensions, some hopes as well as his wishes and designs appear. —

Though I am very sensible of many frailties in my self, which, through God's grace I hope to amend, yet with respect to that undertaking, in which I have weathered so much contempt and reproach, I cannot be convinced that I have any reason to blush or repent. And yet the consciousness of my good intentions promises me no certainty of success. That was perhaps a promise of the Old Covenant : for in these times the most laudable endeavours are frequently baffled by misfortunes, as we have learnt both from scripture and experience. The Princes who first attempted the *Reformation*, were obliged to spend a great part of their lives in dungeons. One of them was robbed of his Electorate by a near kinsman ; so that men reap bitter fruits sometimes of their best endeavours. We ought not however

A remarkable
Letter of *Grotius*
to *Vossius*.

K k 2

* Cor. iv. 3.
† Cor. j. 10.
|| Philip. iij. 16.

* Ex. Ep. *Grot.* ad *Voss.* Lib. XVII. Nov. 1616.
Script.

AN^O DOM. 1616. *to doubt, but the good cause will by such labours be advanced in the next generation, if it should not in this. The seeds of great plants spring up but slowly; neither is it a small thing in which we are engaged, viz. to shew that in so great a contrast of disagreeing opinions, we still believe a Catholick Church, and to testify the same by our actions; whereas it has been long given out, that the Christian religion consists in nothing but in running from one sect to another. As for me, I am resolved to hold on my course, and commit the event to divine providence.— The omniscient God knows that I do not seek my self in this affair. — ¹ The fire which has happened in that University, in whose bosom I was educated, afflicts me very much; but it is a more raging conflagration that has been kindled in the Church by so many incendiaries. May the great Shepherd of the universal Church restrain the madness of those people! For it is perfect madness to destroy the members of ones own body.——*

This Letter bore date the 17th of November. * In another, of a somewhat later date, directed to *Vossius*, he says: 'O could I but, some time or other, return thanks to God, with ² *Timoleon*, for taking pity of our country, and for having made me an instrument in saving it! or might we, though without our concurrence, but once see that day, in which the peace of the Church shall be restored, without the oppression of Truth!'

A Resolution of the States of Overijssel, for the maintaining of Peace in the churches of that Province.

In the same year (to say something of what happened in our neighbouring provinces) *Overijssel* was plagued with the disputes about *Predestination*, and the points relating to it: The churches in those parts rung with nothing else but that controversy, which was defended on one hand, and opposed on the other with great violence and bitterness from the pulpit, to the scandalizing of many. But the States of the province, to put a stop at the very beginning to the fatal consequences of this quarrel, trod in the path of those of *Holland*; only they went a little further, making the following Order for preserving Peace and Christian Unity in Church and State:

Inasmuch as the Nobles and Towns of the Province of Overijssel, have more and more found by experience, that several Ministers and Preachers of God's holy word, do presume, and take upon them, to speak and dispute of the points of God's Eternal Predestination or Election of Men, and other mysterious and problematical points, and even to make mention of them in their sermons before the people, and to treat about them there, and to dispute upon them further and deeper than Christ, our Master and Teacher, has thought fit to reveal them to us; from whence there not only arise, among the said Ministers, all kinds of violent and bitter contrasts, by quoting texts and passages out of the holy scriptures on either side, but also an occasion is given to great scandals and divisions among the people, tending to the dishonour and reproach of the name of God, to the confounding the good polity and government of the Country, and endangering the State it self, (at which our enemies cannot but rejoice) and to the bringing shame and reproach upon the Reformation. In order therefore, on the other hand, to promote the Honour and Glory of God, the Good of our Country, and seasonably to secure the Peace and Unity of the Church and Members thereof, and for the preventing all inconveniences that may result from thence; the said Nobles and Towns of this Province, having maturely and in the fear of God considered of all these things, do think fit to declare, That none of the Preachers or Teachers of God's holy word, as well on the one side as the other, ought to propagate, or even to make mention of the deep controversies about God's Eternal Predestination, or Election of Men, and other disputable points, whereby they presume to scrutinize into the secrets of the Divine Will, either in the pulpit or otherwise among the common people, to the great offence and disturbance of their congregations. They therefore, the said Nobles and Towns, require and command, by these Presents, all Ministers, and Preachers of God's word, whether they be of the one opinion or the other, to forbear from henceforwards to discourse of the aforesaid controversies about Predestination, or God's Eternal Election of Men, and all other deep and mysterious points relating to the secret will of God, and not

* On the 11th of November, being St. Martin's day, 1616, between the Hours of One and Three in the afternoon, the University of Leyden was well nigh consumed by Fire.

* January 12, 1617.

² The General of the Corinthians, whose Life is writ by Plutarch.

to make any mention thereof in the pulpit or in any other manner publickly, much less to write or print any thing concerning them, on pain of being immediately dismissed from the exercise of their function, in case they be found to contravene this Order and Resolution. All which is provisionally enacted, and until we shall think fit otherwise to direct. Done at the General Assembly, in the Town of *Kampen*, the 11th of March, 1616.

A^N° D^O M.
1616.

Lower,

By order of the Nobles and Towns.

ROOLINK.

This Resolution was laid before all the Clergy in general, to be subscribed. Some of both sides, viz. *Contraremonstrants* as well as *Remonstrants*, submitted to the pleasure of the States, promising to conform themselves to it; but some of the former would not subscribe simply, but only with some limitations, exceptions, or declarations, which soon after they recanted in a classical meeting; and promised that for the future they would sign nothing that related to matters of religion, till they had the leave and approbation of a Synod or Classis. Seven Ministers signed in the following words: *We the underwritten do hereby promise, that we will treat with discretion and caution about the business of Predestination in our sermons and discourses.* Neither did the said Resolution seem to aim at more than to forbid such deep disputes whereby people endeavoured to fathom the secrets of divine Providence. Yet the Ministers of the Classis of *Vollenhoven* declared: *That they could not with a safe conscience, either subscribe or submit to the Resolution of the States, as being contrary to the word of God in several points, and tending to the hindrance of the edification of the church, as also to the prejudging and condemning the proceedings of all other churches in the neighbour provinces.*

Several occurrences relating to the subscribing of this Resolution.

They drew up several reasons of their refusal in writing, and delivered them to the Droft of *Vollenhoven*, that they might be laid before the States. But *Henry Alutarius*, without waiting for the pleasure of the States, went to *Amsterdam*, and communicated a copy of those Reasons to the Ministers of that city, leaving it in the hands of one of them, by whom it was afterwards printed. This was taken so ill by the States, that they discharged *Alutarius* from his Ministry, and obliged him to leave the country.

The Magistrates of *Deventer* made a particular Order, by which they forbade all preaching upon any points relating to Predestination which had not been determined by the Church; yet granting liberty at the same time to confer and treat in the University as usual, about those things which both parties allowed to be true; with respect to which, they said, some difference in opinions might consist with a proper forbearance. — This Order was communicated on the 12th of April to the four Ministers of that town.

An Ordinance of the Magistrates of Deventer.

In *Freeſland* the States exerted themselves after a different manner: they writ a certain Letter, which I take to have been directed to the Ministers of their Province, and which was of the following tenor:

Reverend, Dear, and Trusty,

HAVING of late years seen and observed, with great concern and sorrow of heart, that the Church of God, in the midst of these happy and long wished for times is very sadly assaulted and combated on all sides, even by those who having been bred up in her bosom, and having received no small advantage from thence, do not only endeavour to expose her by all kinds of slanders and reproaches both publick and private, to the enemies of truth; but which is worse, as far as in them lies, utterly to oppress and destroy her; and in her stead to plant and raise another church abounding with nothing but dangerous and pernicious novelties, contrary to the word of God, and the established truths contained in the *Netherland Confession* and *Heidelberg Catechism*, (which have been hitherto taught with great success and edification in the Churches and Universities of this land) and tending to the total

A Letter of the States of Freeſland, ordaining the Exclusion of all Ministers who should refuse to subscribe to the *Netherland Confession* and *Heidelberg Confession*.

A^N D^O M.
1616.

tal subversion of this laudable Government; and finding our selves obliged by virtue both of our oath and office to take care before all things, that all such innovations be kept out of the churches of this Province. We therefore, in order to provide against these evils by all proper ways and means, do hereby expressly charge and require your Reverences, not to admit from henceforward any persons to the Ministry, but such as are willing and ready to subscribe the aforesaid Confession and Catechism, and to promise upon oath, that they will not either publickly or privately teach any other doctrines, than such as have been hitherto taught in this Province, according to the word of God and the aforesaid Confession and Catechism: and in case any may have already crept in clandestinely, (tho' we hope not) who are infected with such novelties, or decline subscribing the aforesaid Formularies, or do not adhere to the received doctrine, we charge you to let us know it, to the end, that taking due notice thereof, we may proceed against them by deprivation, or such other methods, as we shall find most conducive to the honour of God, the edification of the Church, and the tranquillity of the Publick. Whereof fail not. And so, Reverend, Dear, and Trusty, we commend you to the Grace of God. Dated from Leeuwarden, Sept. 12, 1616.

Signed,

E. REYNALDA.

Thus were the *Remonstrant* Ministers shut out of *Freeiland*; for most of the Clergy judged them to be such people as this letter described.

The Origin of
the Ecclesiasti-
cal Dissentions
at Buren.

About this time, or rather a little earlier, there arose an ecclesiastical difference at *Buren*, which hearkening to no moderate counsels, excluded all means of accommodation. The origin of it I shall endeavour briefly to disclose from some memoirs and accounts worthy of credit. Upon the departure of *Gerard Verstegen*, their Minister, the church of *Buren* wanted a Pastor, and *Albert-Arnold Huttenus* of *Nimeguen*, a learned Divine, and formerly one of the principal Disciples of the learned linguist *Drusius*, afterwards Professor of the *Hebrew* tongue at *Sedan*, and now Minister of *Nederbosch* near *Nimeguen*, was proposed and recommended from the Court of *Amelia*, Princess of *Portugal*, (who resided in this district) to the Lady *Mary* of *Nassaw* and *Orange*, Countess Dowager of *Hobenlo*, who governed the county of *Buren*, in the name of her brother *Philip-William*, Prince of *Orange* and Count of *Buren*. This Lady, a Princess of singular piety and moderation in matters of religion, made an immediate inquiry into all that related to that affair; and having had a proof of his abilities from the pulpit, granted a commission for his Call under her hand and seal, by the advice and approbation of the Council of his princely Excellence her Brother, as likewise of the Magistrates, the Burghers, and of much the larger part of the Members of the Community. The University of *Sedan* had, upon his being recalled to his own country by the Government of *Nimeguen* (to whom he was obliged on account of the expences for his studies) where his service was wanted by reason of the decease of several Ministers; that University, I say, had given him, before his departure, very ample testimonials of his piety, learning, and qualifications for the Ministry, signed by those famous men, *Tilenus*, *Melvinus*, and *Capellus*, Professors of Divinity, *Donaldsonus*, Professor of Philosophy and of the *Greek* tongue, and *Arthur Johnstonus*, Professor of Philosophy. And he was afterwards invited by letters from the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Prince of *Sedan*, to the service of the University, in case he should be at liberty to follow his inclinations. All this acquired him the greater favour with the said Countess of *Hobenlo*; but some Elders and Deacons, six in number, who had the name of the Consistory, but whose authority was called in question, were not satisfied. They had been often intreated, either to agree to the Call unanimously, or to alledge a reason for their refusal. They thought the Countess took too much upon her in church matters. He was also suspected by them of inclining too much to the party of the *Remonstrants*: but he being arrived at *Buren*, asked those discontented people, Whether they would live in friendship with him, who was called to that Benefice by her Excellency the Countess? Declaring that he was ready not only to approve the Confession and Catechism as to fundamentals, but also to explain and confirm them from scripture to the best of his power; hoping at the same time so to behave himself with respect to his life and conversation, as to give them full content: But no answer was returned to this offer.

In the mean while the Countess, going on with the Call, desired and procured the approbation of the Magistracy of *Nimeguen*; upon which the malecontents delivered in a request in writing, whereby they prayed that the Call might be annulled. But the favourers of *Huttenus* having, on the other hand, desired the opinion of some eminent ancient Pastors of the *Reformed* churches of the United Provinces; they obtained it, and presented it to the Princess, which disapproved the aforesaid Request, and was as follows:

‘ — Her Excellency ought to persist in her Call, as legal and conformable to the word of God, which commits to the Civil Magistrates, not simply as eminent members of the Church (as the Consistory of *Buren* in their request seem to maintain in prejudice of her Excellencies authority) but also as Rulers and Governors, the chief care of providing their subjects with good, wise, and well-qualified Ministers; without making the consent or authorisation of the Consistory, or of the common Members, necessary to that end; otherwise than by allowing to the Consistory (which nobody denies them) the examination of the Testimonials of the Minister who is called to see whether any exceptions may be made against the same; and to the common Members the liberty of objecting in due place and manner, if after the notification of the Minister so called, they have any thing to say against his life or doctrine; in which cases her Excellency may give all just attention to them; this being the method practised, not only by all the Civil powers among the *Reformed*, but even in *Holland*, and elsewhere by the Nobles and Gentlemen who have the right of patronage (which right can not be impeached by any Decrees or Canons made by the Clergy among themselves, and without the authority of the Government;) insomuch that her Excellency cannot depart from the Call she has made, without a diminution of her just privilege: besides, that it would be a visible wrong to the Minister so called, who would not a little suffer in his honour and good name to the great prejudice of his Ministry. Add likewise, that they of the Consistory have not been able to support their request or petition with one single argument, capable of inducing her Excellency to alter her measures; for as for what concerns the differences among the Clergy in *Holland*, she need not take any notice of it, but only to see that such Minister or Ministers be called in her jurisdiction, as shall instruct her subjects according to the word of God, and maintain the unity of the *Reformed* churches agreeably to the *Netherland Confession*; of which her Excellency has not the least cause to doubt, with respect to the Minister she has called, as firmly believing that he will acquit himself well and faithfully, on the credit of the testimonials he has procured not only from the University of *Sedan*, but likewise from the Classis of *Nimeguen* it self.’

Advice of some of the most eminent Ministers relating to the Call of a Minister to the church of Buren.

This advice, which some think had been breath’d upon by the *Remonstrants*, was pursued. The Countess therefore declared that the Call should go on; and it being put to the question in the Classis of *Buren*, it was carried in the affirmative. He was then discharged by those of *Nimeguen*, with an honourable Certificate. He was next proposed three Sundays following to the whole Community of *Buren*; and when no body was found to appear, or to object any thing against him (and after the delay of a fortnight yet longer, in order to give sufficient time to every one to inform himself concerning him) he was confirmed in his office by *Cornelius Leoninus*, Minister of *Asperen*. The Classis had laid that duty upon *Peter Fligerus*, Minister of *Schonerwoordt*, but he begged to be excused, alledging, that if he did it, he should lose all his credit and influence among the Malecontents, whom he was still in hopes of bringing to reason.

Soon after, *Huttenus* made a solemn declaration, in the presence of the Heer van *Steeland*, Droffart of *Buren*, as also of *Peter Fligerus* and *Peter Nyenrode*, Ministers of *Schonerwoordt* and *Sydervelt*, and other persons assembled for that purpose at the Stadthouse of *Buren*: ‘ That he persevered in that religion and doctrine which, through the grace of God, had been introduced into these Provinces by the conduct and management of the late Prince of *Orange*, of glorious memory, and professed in the Articles or Confessions of the *Reformed* churches of *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *France*, *England*, *Scotland* and the *Netherlands*; adhering to all the fundamentals of it, and consequently, that even those who opposed his admission, had in him such a Minister as they desired of the Countess in their petition. To this Declaration he added the following Questions.’ ‘ First, Whether the disagreement

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Certain Questions
proposed
by the newly
elected Minister
at his Confir-
mation.

in those points, that are controverted with relation to the famous *Five Articles*, may be said to cause a change of religion? *Secondly*, Whether both opinions may not be tolerated? And consequently, whether notwithstanding the diversity of sentiments about the said articles, as represented in the Conference of the *Hague*, there may not, yea, ought not to be maintained a christian and brotherly communion with each other? On which occasion, *Fligerus* and *Nyenrode*, though both of them *Contraremonstrants*, answered in the negative to the first question, and to the second, in the affirmative. He further desired to be resolved upon the following questions: *First*, Whether a church were not obliged to accept of such a Pastor, who had been proposed and desired by a Christian Government, in case there was no objection against his life and doctrine? And, *Secondly*, Whether the church could without ingratitude to God and the Government, reject such a one, against whom no just cause of impediment could be alledged, and who was ready to give satisfaction to what any man might have to say against him? To the first, they answered *yea*; to the second *no*.

After this, in order to pacify the Malecontents, it was proposed in the Classica! meeting, by some of the Counsellors of the Prince of *Orange*, that the Classis should inquire after a godly and peaceable Minister, who might be joined with *Huttenus*; and that it should be agreed to hear them both without any discrimination. For which purpose, one *Smithius*, a person much extolled for his piety and learning, was offered, but could not be accepted.

At another time, there was a talk of calling *Nyenrode* together with *Huttenus*, to the end that they might officiate jointly in the churches of *Buren* and *Erichum*, a village in the neighbourhood. But the Drossart put it off (possibly because the person proposed was not agreeable to him) under pretence of staying for the Prince's regulation with respect to Church matters, which was expected. But the said Prince approving of the Call of *Huttenus*, left him to enjoy it alone. Most of the inhabitants likewise were very well pleased with the sermons and other services of that Minister; for he always urged such reformation of manners, and such piety, as shone out through his whole behaviour; carefully avoiding disputes, and all words and things that might give offence to any body; insomuch that his hearers could not perceive but that his doctrine was strictly conformable to the once received religion publicly professed in these Provinces. However, his adversaries, who suspected him in point of doctrine, used their utmost endeavours to draw the people from him, and in time, spirited up a party of about fifteen persons, that raved against him from day to day, till upon a change of the times, getting more and more strength and support, they were able to form a little meeting among themselves, and at last to drive him both out of the pulpit and church; of which probably we may make some mention in the sequel of this History.

Jacobus Triglandius
writes a book
entituled, the
truly moderate Christi-
an.

I shall now say something concerning the books that were published at this time by the contending parties: *Jacobus Triglandius*, a Minister of *Amsterdam*, flaming with zeal against the *Remonstrants*, endeavoured to prove by a certain book, which he published the year before, under the title of *The truly Moderate Christian*, that the *Five Points*, as taught by the said *Remonstrants*, ought not to be tolerated in the Church. He likewise accused the *Remonstrant* Ministers of endeavouring to promote their Cause by tricks and frauds. *If, said he*, they aimed at peace, they should have kept their opinions to themselves, without disturbing other people with them: they should have helpt forward a Synod, and according to the practice of the Christian church, have suffered their scruples and objections to be examined into, and judged. But now that they have disturbed the Church, they cry, let us exercise moderation till the meeting of a Synod. A very artificial proposal indeed! Do they desire a Synod in good earnest? They say so; but they do not intend it as yet. When will they have one then? Why, not till there be one called to their mind. Not till those, who daily buz it in the ears of our Governours, that they scruple to submit to a Synod, because they should be condemned, and because they do not care to be judged by their adversaries, having once settled matters to their mind, and filled the churches for the most part with Ministers of their own opinion, shall be no more afraid of being condemned; but shall, on the contrary, be sure of carrying every thing by a plurality of voices. And may not we then, *continued he*, as justly refuse to be condemned by our adversaries? We shall then have the same cause

‘ cause of refusal, as they now pretend. And what will this *Mutual Toleration* in AN^o D^o M.
 ‘ the mean time signifie? Does not the judicious Reader yet observe the cheat? The 1616.
 ‘ design is, that during the silence of good and orthodox men, their party may be
 ‘ supported, and their cause and doctrine entirely justified and approved by the Go-
 ‘ vernment. It is therefore neither *Toleration* nor Synod that these people aim at
 ‘ in reality, but only the approbation and establishment of their doctrine, which they
 ‘ endeavour to compass by these means. Since then we see, that they seriously em-
 ‘ brace all opportunities of introducing their false doctrines, ought we to be blamed
 ‘ for zealously defending the holy truth of the Lord, which we once received? And
 ‘ since we see that their moderation tends to obscure the Truth, is it strange that
 ‘ we refuse to come into their measures?

Thus were the *Remonstrants* pictured by their adversaries. But *Jacobus Taurinus*, He is answered
 a Minister at *Utrecht*, and a zealous promoter of the interest of the *Remonstrant* party, by Jacobus
 answered *The truly moderate Christian*, with another treatise about *Mutual Tolerance*, in
tion, which, in his opinion, ought to be observed as well by the Clergy as the Laity, his book of
 notwithstanding their different sentiments with respect to some doctrines; proving Mutual To-
 by several texts of scripture, by examples and arguments, as also by the constant leration.
 practice of the Church, that Christians are bound to tolerate one another in points
 that are not fundamental; and particularly, that the *Remonstrants* ought to be born
 with in the *Five Points*. This book, consisting of two Tomes, was published by the
 approbation of the Deputies of the States of *Utrecht*. It treated indeed of the busi-
 ness of *Toleration* very impartially; but some who looked upon it otherwise as a ju-
 dicious piece, were of opinion, that the Author was too often transported by the
 flanders of his adversaries. And accordingly, in the Preface of the first Part, some-
 thing was mentioned to the prejudice of those of *Amsterdam*, where, as he thought,
 they seemed to be too favourable to the tongues and pens of the Zealots, and thereby
 to lay a foundation for the schism.

This so provoked the Magistrates, that they forbid the sale of the book in their city, This book is
 and caused the Scout to seize the copies; which gave *Taurinus* occasion to complain prohibited at
 in publick print, and to give a more particular account of their proceedings at *Amster-*
dam, and how they connived there both at printing and preaching against the *Re-*
monstrants, and the Resolution of the States of *Holland* with reference to the eccle-
 siastical differences; earnestly begging their Worships that they would please to put
 a stop to the unedifying and violent railing of some of their Clergy, as well as
 the extravagant publishing and selling of Pasquils; and above all to attend to the
 preservation of the publick authority.— Afterwards they prohibited the second Part
 the same treatise.

This year there also appeared, in the month of *August*, the book of *Edward Pop-* Poppius pub-
pius, intituled, *The Strait Gate*; containing certain sermons calculated for promoting lishes a Trea-
 the piety and salvation of all Christians. That Minister, the Author, addressed him- tise, called
 self in his Preface to the Reader, in the following words among others: ‘ After hav- The Strait
 ‘ ing read these sermons, observe, how against all manner of truth, many of the Gate.
 ‘ Ministers of this country, who cannot come up to the high speculations of an *Ab-*
 ‘ *solute Predestination* (among whom I freely acknowledge my self to be one) are
 ‘ accused by some, that they are defenders of an irregular and disorderly way of liv-
 ‘ ing, that they deny the Resurrection of the Dead, and endeavour to introduce *Popery*
 ‘ again. But I trust you will find the quite contrary by this book. We preach up
 ‘ true Holiness; we hope for a Resurrection, and Life everlasting; we contend
 ‘ against *Popery*, blessing God for having freed us from that kingdom of darkness, be-
 ‘ seeching his Divine Majesty not to suffer us for our sins to fall back again into it.
 ‘ We are most hearty promoters and defenders of the true *Reformed Religion*. Be-
 ‘ lieve and be assured of this; and reflect at the same time, whether it be not highly
 ‘ reasonable not to wound the fame and reputation of such men, but to live with
 ‘ them in love, peace, and unity.’ * The Professor *Episcopus* said since of this book,
No body can read the Strait Gate of Poppius, without feeling how powerfully he is ex-
cited to a holy life. But the greater applause it met with from the *Remonstrants*, the
 more pains did some *Contraremonstrants* take to refute it. It became a butt or mark
 against which many shot out their arrows, and sharpened their tongues and pens;
 L I particularly

* *Episcop. in a Preface against Triglandius, Printed 1632.*

AN^O D^O M.
1616.

Barlaeus
writes a Latin
Oration a-
gainst some of
the most vio-
lent Divines.

Its Contents.

particularly *Triglandius*, upon whose book the Heer *Grotius* passed this judgment in a certain letter to *Uitenbogart*; *Since the book of Poppus is exceeding good, that of Triglandius, on the other hand, cannot fail of being exceeding bad.*

¹ It was likewise at this time, or a little earlier, that *Gasper Barlaeus*, Vice-Regent of the Divinity-College of *Leyden*, exposed in a *Latin Oration* some of the most violent Divines and Ministers, whom he esteemed the greatest fomenters of our dissensions. He shewed that nothing was more laboured than to render the *Remonstrants* odious, and that some never cared after what manner they did it; that they found nothing more serviceable to them than lies and flanders, and that therefore it was no time to be silent; that those who said whatever they pleased, must be content sometimes to hear things that did not please them; that people ought not to betray the good cause of truth, by an unseasonable silence, or a faint defence. In the aforesaid Oration he reprov'd four sorts of men; *First*, Such as had the boldness to oppose the Government and the authority of the Civil Magistrate. *Secondly*, Some noisy people who pelted the champions of the Government with little *Lampoons* or *Satyr*s. On which occasion he defended the Heer *Hugo Grotius* (whose equal he thought was not to be found in the world) against *Sibrandus*, *Bogermannus*, *Sladus*, and others; as also *Uitenbogart* against *Triglandius* and the rest of his adversaries, by whom he was furiously attacked.

‘ Perhaps, said he, nothing may be more easy than to fall upon this Gentleman with railing and reviling, with insipid Stories and Pasquils. But the honour you acquire by it cannot be great, when you that are so many Heroes happen by your joint forces to oppress one single man. But the fortress of Truth is impregnable, being protected by *Christ*, its defender, and it will be hard for you to kick against those pricks. You are apt to say, we will cry out against him all at once, and bear him down with blustering and railing. The *Contraremonstrants* are by far the most numerous in the *United Netherlands*: These shall oppose him in publick, and rail at him in private, and when they want a story, shall strain their wits to invent one; for whatever is done for the good of the Church, is well done. If he pretend to answer us, we will overwhelm him, we will ply him with answer upon answer, and blows upon blows. If he writes any thing, we will take care that few shall read it. We, who are the most in number, will soon oppress the small handful of his friends and supporters. But I wish with all my heart that you would but consider, that there will not be wanting people who, by the favour of *Christ*, may be enabled to expose these artifices, if not to the vulgar, yet at least to wise and understanding men, who begin to find them out more and more.——

Thirdly, He reprov'd those people who did not spare even the Dead themselves, those who fell upon *Erasmus* and *Melancthon*, with imaginary crimes, such as *Sladus* and *Smoutius*, and another *Contraremonstrant*, whom he does not name, but who had vented his hatred upon the image of *Erasmus* after a beastly manner. *Fourthly*, He reprov'd those who in great numbers fell upon the *Remonstrants* without mercy; who exclaimed against them in all places, in their meetings, in journeys, in Barbers shops, in scholastick disputes, in sermons, in the shops of the Booksellers, before the ignorant vulgar, and foolish women; as also such who, as he said, made use of people who would suffer themselves to be bribed to abuse the *Remonstrants* for a morsel of bread; such as maintained spies for disturbing their peaceful meetings, thrusting themselves into all companies, and sparing no lies to render the most esteemed Pastors odious to their flocks; those who designedly preached whole sermons against the *Remonstrants*, branding them unjustly with the nick-names of *Socinians* and *Pelagians*.——And who finding, that with all their calumnies and false reports, they could not do them so much mischief as they desired, bethought themselves of a new stratagem to make them odious to the *Hollanders*, accusing them of joining with the *Spaniards*, the Pope, and the Jesuits, to betray, and deliver up their country to them. Our Author earnestly declaim against this wicked charge; shewing further, how peoples words were wrested and misinterpreted. ‘ And they who do this, said he, are the Heads of our Classes, the Managers of Church affairs, at whose pleasure we are or are not to be accounted Hereticks; who, as if they were second Apostles, take upon them to prescribe new Creeds to us; who deliver out their Oracles as if they were become Gods, and will not once vouchsafe to render us poor mortals

² Barl. Epist. p. 2, 3.

'tals a reason of their opinions. It is enough for them to cry, such a doctrine is *Pelagian*, or *Semi-pelagian*, or almost *Semi-pelagian*, it is an error, it is suspicious, it is heresie, it is novel, it was never heard of before. — Next he proved, That those who really erred ought not to be alienated by too great rigour, nor taught to have an aversion for them that would undeceive them. That the controversy should not be made greater by new disputes. — That if there was any thing to be objected against the *Remonstrants*, they should be admonished, but regularly and properly, in order to convince the world that it was not the design of the *Contraremonstrants* to drive their adversaries out of the Church, but to reclaim them in it, from their mistakes. —

AN^O DOM.
1616.

The most judicious friends of the *Remonstrant* cause were well enough pleased with such an harangue, as this of *Barleus*; but some thought that his manner of writing was a little tarter than the state of affairs could bear. So hard is it for a man to moderate his zeal, when he thinks himself obliged to reprove the intemperate warmth of others.

But among all the books and papers that were published at this time, there appeared none better adapted to the cure of the disease of litigiousness, and lust of schism and division, than a certain Preface of that peaceful Divine *Martin Bucer*, formerly addressed to the University of *Marpurg*, and placed before his Exposition on the four Gospels, but at this time translated from the Latin by *Uitenbogart*, and published in *Low-Dutch*, with the title of the *Golden Epistle of Bucer*. It was an *Irenicum* or pacifick discourse, in which it was maintained by many arguments, that the unity of the Church ought to be preserved, and divisions avoided. The meek and gentle Author showed here, that Christians are bound to bear with great mistakes in their brethren. That we must not reject a brother for the sake of every truth. That we ought not to refuse owning for Brethren all such as fear God, and that are received by him among the number of his children.

The Golden Epistle of Bucer is translated by Uitenbogart and published in Low-Dutch.

'Do we fancy, said he, that they are mistaken: Why do not we believe that we our selves may be mistaken, even in those matters wherein we imagine them to err? For no body errs wilfully, nor is any man, how holy soever, entirely free from error. And if it should be allowed that we could be assured of our being free from error, yet ought we to bear with those who are weak in the faith. — The Apostle did not esteem those to be *Hereticks*, who were a little tenacious of some erroneous doctrines, for this was sometimes the case of the best of men. —

Heresy, continued he, is, according to St. Paul's description of it, the lust of forming Sects, and of rending in pieces the Church of Christ. And a *Heretick* is one that is sick of that disease: but he who falling into error, embraces his own, or other men's fancies for divine doctrines, and maintains them as such, is no *Heretick*, provided he takes care not to separate from them who seek Christ as well as he, and is neither a leader nor follower of faction. So that there is this difference between one that is infected with *heresy*, and him that is guilty of error; the *Heretick*, is one who separates from the brethren, and renounces all christian communion with them; but the erring person is he who, though he has some controversy with the brethren, yet keeps up the right of communion with them inviolably. Besides, though both the *Heretick* and he that is guilty of error, do promote and defend their mistakes, yet the latter does it much more mildly and gently than the former, as the one has a greater stock of charity than the other. From hence then follows the third distinction; to wit, That we are obliged to forbear christian communion, for a while at least, with a *Heretick*, because he separates from us; but we ought never to do it with an *erring brother*. For we should not entirely break off communion with all kinds of *Hereticks* neither, but only with such as have been found to be enemies to the known truth, and to blaspheme the Holy Ghost; for which sin there is no forgiveness.

A description of Heresy.

The difference between a Heretick and an erring person.

He further shewed, how great disagreement in doctrine ought to be tolerated in charity, and how much sufficed to make a man a christian, and to secure him from being excluded from christian communion; for which he quoted the words of St. Paul, in the first Epistle to *Timothy*, the first Chapter and the fifth Verse. — and in the third, fourth and fifth Verse of the sixth Chapter; and then he proceeded to assert, 'That there was no reason why the *Reformed* and *Lutherans* should refuse communion with each other, on account of the difference about the Lord's

How great disagreement in doctrine ought to be tolerated.

A^N° D^OM.
1616.

Supper ; and that though the doctrine of the *Lutherans* was not founded upon the holy scripture, and the consequences of it were very dangerous, yet, the *Reformed* (as he said) believed themselves to be obliged, not to consider what followed from the opinion of the *Lutherans* in reality, but what followed from thence in their own consciences. If, *continued he*, people will not allow any to be brethren who differ from them in some point of religion, they must not own any man among themselves to be a brother ; or in case they receive any man to the brotherhood, they ought likewise to receive us. — There are hardly more than one or two texts of scripture, whereby we are required to avoid wicked men, and there it is only meant of those who are known to be such, and who will take no warning or admonition ; but we are every where, and always taught and exhorted to lift up those that fall, and to instruct them with all affection, nay, even those who are great sinners, and who resist the truth, though without blaspheming the Holy Ghost : and yet are we so zealous for the former, namely, *the avoiding wicked men*, that we hardly take any care for the latter ; to wit, *the tolerating such as err* ; nay we seem to think that it does not concern us at all.* He then commended the moderation of the *Marpurg Divines*, who would by no means admit of the position of those who maintained that *Christian communion was to be renounced with such as would not immediately subscribe to all their opinions*. You have owned, *said he*, as it is indeed the truth, that in case people do not mutually allow a diversity of opinions (yet always in consistence with this sum of religion : *That justification and salvation is only to be obtained by faith in Christ, and that none can be accepted of God, but through charity to his neighbour*) there can never be any solid peace enjoyed in the Church ; nay, what is more, since it usually happens to us, through the influence of our carnal blindness, that, *so many men, so many minds* ; there will be likewise, in such a state of intolerance, I do not say *so many churches*, but *so many disturbers of the Church*, who will follow their own humour.

An Extract
from Uiten-
bogart's De-
dication pre-
fixed to the
Golden E-
pistle and ad-
dressed to the
Magistrates of
the Hague.

By this sketch of a few paragraphs, our Reader may judge of the whole Epistle. *Uitenbogart*, who inscribed it to the Magistrates of the *Hague*, says in his Dedication : ' That many of the inhabitants of that place were likewise infected with this *schismatical distemper* ; that he would very willingly be their Physician, but they would not hear him ; wherefore he had chosen to address himself to them, and others that were infected with the same disease, in the words of *Bucer*, one of the most ancient and most eminent Doctors of the Christian Reformed religion — and that as he was not averse to their own opinions in the present controversy, they ought the more readily to hearken to him. — The disputes in his time, *continues he*, were very different from ours ; and yet his reasons were general, and as applicable to our age as to his. Our *Reformed* churches thought so, I am sure, when they offered to come into an accommodation with the *Lutherans*. It was not, *he said*, for his own sake that he insisted upon unity, as if he wanted to be tolerated in his office by those that were of another opinion, but merely for the good of the Church in general, and for the love he bore to the Members of his own church in particular. For if it was to the advantage of his Flock for him to retire, or cease from his Ministry, he had long before offered to do so, and hoped they would agree to it upon his late repeated desires.'

A certain
Scheme reflect-
ing on the
Contraremon-
strants.

The rest of the books or polemical writings (too many to be here particularized) published on both sides, either by way of accusation, or defence, were like so much gunpowder cast into the fire of dissention, causing the flames to break out with greater violence, by reviving the old, and kindling new disputes : because even when they said no more than the truth, they expressed it in odious or very obnoxious terms, Among this kind of writings may likewise be reckoned a certain Scheme, which appeared at the end of this year, without the name of the Author, and was publickly sold in many towns of *Holland*, but forbidden and suppressed at *Amsterdam*. It gave great offence to the *Contraremonstrants* ; for it was said, to contain the difference there was between the doctrine of the holy scripture, and of the *Reformed* Church on the one hand, and that of the *Contraremonstrants* on the other, with respect

* Baud. Mem. Lib. VIII. p. 20. — IX. 3. Uitenb. p. 775.

spect to the three points which the States of *Holland* by their famous Resolution had forbidden to be taught. AN^o DOM^o
1616.

The first was : *Whether God had created any man to damn him.* The second, *Whether God compels any man to sin.* The third, *Whether God has called any man to salvation, to whom he absolutely decreed not to grant it.* Neither did its Author scruple to compare that doctrine which he ascribed to the *Contraremonstrants* (proving it to be theirs by several quotations from the books of *Zwinglius*, *Calvin* and other Authors in high esteem among them) to the *Turkish* opinion about *Predestination*. This was the same Scheme or Table which was afterwards condemned to be burnt by the supreme Court of Justice of the province of *Gelderland*, at *Arnheim*, with the approbation of the Deputies of the *Classes*, as false, scandalous, and blasphemous, and tending to destroy the publick peace and tranquility both in Church and State.

Allardus de Frees, a *Remonstrant* Minister at *Tiel*, who having received some copies of this scheme from *Leyden*, had distributed and dispersed them, was obliged to call them all in again, and ordered to send them, within the space of a month, up to the Court, to the end that they might undergo the same fate; and himself would have been in danger of being suspended for a year from his Ministry, if some of the Great men, who had a different notion of that scheme, had not hindered it. Yet even some of those who did not like the scheme, were concerned at the burning of it, fearing lest the zeal which kindled that fire, might in time burst out into more raging flames; as having observed, that the fires of persecution, had, in former ages, soon passed from books to men, and from the guilty to the innocent.

The End of the Twenty-fifth Book.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N
I N and A B O U T the
L O W - C O U N T R I E S.

B O O K XXVI.

AN^O D O M.
1617.



CHISMS and Separations, the fruits of dissention, and the sources of further alienations of mens minds, with all their pernicious consequences, advanced now with large steps. The paths that were singled out for that purpose were very different, according to the circumstances of times, persons, and things, as was shown in part above, and as others have more fully described. But of that which is chiefly remarkable, as well with respect to the causes, as manner of separation, I shall mention something here from the writings, and in the very words of the Heer *Hugo Grotius*, leaving it to the judgment of the Reader.

Reasons al-
leged for the
Separation.

When about this time there appeared a certain book, intituled, *Lucius Verus*, in which it was asserted, that the doctrine of the *Remonstrants*, as contained in the *Five Articles*, was not to be tolerated in the Church, *Grotius*, in a certain letter to his friend *Vossius*, dated the 12th of *January*, made the following remarks upon it: ' That the principal Champions of the *Contraremonstrants* never said any thing like this before ; nay, that they promised they would live in peace with their adversaries ; and that those who endeavoured to make a separation, were wont to seek for pretexts from matters that happened since the Conference of the *Hague*, or from some of those treatises which the *Remonstrants* published after that Conference, in which mention was made of extirpating the doctrine of the *Contraremonstrants*, or from their refusing to declare their mind in the Conference at *Delft* ; or, lastly, from their having encouraged or connived at the licentiousness of some of their party.'

However, at this time, many of the *Contraremonstrants* spoke out plainly, and cried, that the doctrine of the *Remonstrants* was false, and founded their separation upon this bottom. But it was objected by some, that they had the same cause of disagreement with others, though they did not lay so great a stress on it.

The Reflections
of *Grotius*
upon the pre-
tended causes
and the pro-
gress of the Se-
paration.

' It will, without doubt, appear very strange to all impartial men (*says Grotius, speaking of this matter*) that though the *Lutherans* differ from the *Contraremonstrants*, upon the very same points, and do not only charge their doctrine with

the same absurdities, but also have other disputes with them, yet many of the *Contraremonstrants* cannot, as they say, maintain unity with a safe conscience with the *Remonstrants*; and yet joyn with the *Lutherans*, as they likewise say, with a good conscience. Which makes many people doubt whether this was ever a matter of conscience at all, at least in regard to the chief sticklers for the party, or whether it was not rather a factious design calculated for a revolution or change in the Government: to judge of which, one needs only observe what has past from time to time about this matter. Nay, so strange is it, that whereas the *Protestants* in *England* and *Germany* allow the Civil Magistrate the full and free choice of persons to Ecclesiastical offices, and their Clergy publicly maintain and defend the same, the *Reformed* of these Provinces make a schism, only because their Governours claim but half the right to the like choice. In truth, whoever will seriously reflect upon what has been writ by *Junius*, *Paræus*, and many others, will find, that according to the doctrine of the *Reformed* churches, much greater and more weighty reasons are requisite for separating from any church with a good conscience. He adds afterwards, we are taught by experience, that in places where there were few foreigners, as at *Rotterdam*, fewer persons were likewise found to incline to separation; and that those too were of such a condition, that they could not aspire to offices, because there were many others, better qualified than themselves: On the other hand, that at *Harlem* and *Leyden*, towns which formerly received a great number of the Refugees from *Flanders* and other quarters, the scruples were most abounding, and the multitude of those who separated was great, though the Burghers were by far the fewest among them. The schism, continues he, did not come of itself in some places; but it appears by good information, that some strange Ministers coming from other parts, exasperated the people, and as soon as they could gather a small number, immediately, but privately, formed a new Consistory, in order to establish and perpetuate the schism; as among others has been done by *Samuel van den Borre* at *Schoonhoven*; they likewise engaged several Classes, that had long been at unity among themselves, (as for instance, those of *Forn* and *Putten*) in the like schism. And because such schisms did not spread fast enough, according to the mind of those *Jebu's*, they composed and published a great many books, in order to seduce the people: they held Meetings or sham Synods in the years 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615; and there made Canons both for excluding all Civil Magistrates from the superintendency of the churches, and against Toleration; writing also letters to such as were disposed to an accommodation, in order to divert them from it; and publicly opposing the Resolutions of the States in favour of Toleration. After this, they held a secret Assembly in the month of *January*, of this present year 1617, at *Amsterdam*, where several Ministers and schismatical Elders, the chief promoters of this affair, in order to animate and incite others to separate by their example, past the following Decree:

AN^O DOM. 1617.

Foreigners: the chief Authors of the schism.

An account of the methods used by the opposers of the Toleration.

A secret Assembly at Amsterdam.

INASMUCH² as our Lord God has by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, required and charged those watchmen whom he has set over his House, to keep a faithful watch, and to warn men of the approach of the enemy, and declared that he will otherwise require the blood at their hands: And forasmuch as we the underwritten, being thus set over his house, have observed with sorrow, how that some, who ought to preach the Gospel in conformity with us, have nevertheless deviated from the true Gospel of Christ and his Apostles, and those formularies of unity, the Catechism and Confession, which were subscribed by us, when admitted to the Ministry, and from which we have not yet seen the least reason to depart; and finding moreover, that certain persons, calling themselves *Remonstrants*, have vilified the doctrine of our God, and extenuated the true merits of Jesus Christ, and rendered those who adhere to Orthodoxy, suspected to the Government, charging them with disobedience to the authority of the States, and calling the assemblies of those who oppose their innovations, factious and seditious, and endeavouring to interrupt them in the exercise of their religion, by penalties from the Civil Government; whilst they, in the mean while, scatter their poison both publicly

A Decree past in favour of separation.

¹ See Triglandius's History, p. 921, concerning the behaviour of these meetings. ² Baud. Mem. Lib. IX, p. 1.

A^N D^O M.

1617.

lickly and privately, under the countenance of powerful patrons : We think ourselves therefore obliged hereby to declare, that we esteem those brethren who separate from such afflictors and disturbers of the Church, to act a faithful part, according to the words of St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, chap. xvj. ver. 17. I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned ; and avoid them. And of St. John in his second Epistle, ver. 10, 11 : If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds. Therefore, since Truth can have no fellowship with lies, we look upon ourselves as equally obliged with them to esteem those Remonstrants (as long as they oppose the sound doctrine and discipline of the Church, endeavouring to maintain the pernicious Five Points, and the pretended Ecclesiastical Constitution) for such with whom it is not lawful for us to hold our Assemblies, nor to own them for our fellow-members ; seeing they have another doctrine, and different ends from what Christ, his Apostles, and the Reformed churches have had hitherto ; and finally to separate from them as persons seeking to lay another foundation, until they renounce their new doctrines. Moreover, our consciences will not suffer us to be prevailed upon by any, how great soever they be, to recede from this our Resolution, nor to join again with such Remonstrants, till such time as a lawful National Synod, determining matters according to the word of God, shall otherwise provide. We therefore hereby beseech our dear and worthy Brethren to join with us in declaring the same under their hands, to the end that being unanimously and christianly engaged together in so good a work, we may all be enabled faithfully to govern and feed the Church of God, (according to that laudable discipline hitherto received by the Reformed churches) with the unsophisticated food of God's Holy Word ; and that these others may likewise be known to be such by the people : We further recommend our cause to the good God, whom we pray that he would graciously preserve us therein to the end of our lives. In testimony of the truth, we have jointly subscribed this Declaration, in the fear of the Lord, this 25th of January, 1617, in the city of Amsterdam.

ADRIANUS JACOBI, Minister of the Holy Gospel in *Harlem*.

JACOBUS ALBERTI, Minister at *Koodijk* and *Pancras*.

JURIAN HERMANZ, Elder of the afflicted Church at *Alkmaer*.

JOHANNES GEORGII, Minister of the Divine Word in the afflicted churches of *Sootermeer*, *Haserwoude*, *Sevenbusen*, and *Bentbusen*.

SAMUEL VAN DEN BORRE, Minister at *Grootammers*, Scribe.

CORNELIUS MATTHIISZ, Overseer of the afflicted Church at *Haserwoude*.

PETRUS PLANCIUS, President.

JOHANNES HALLIUS, Minister of the Holy Gospel at *Amsterdam*.

HANS BOWENS, an Elder from the *Hague*.

The Mark of RICHARD VERDULDIG, Deacon of the afflicted Church of *Gouda*.

PETER JACOBSZ, Elder of the afflicted Church of the *Bril*.

JOHANNES LYDIUS, Minister of *Jesus Christ*, at *Oudewater*.

ROGER HUGENS, Elder of the afflicted Church in *Schoonhoven*.

By order, and in the name, of the whole Consistory of the afflicted Church of *Rotterdam*. Signed by

ARIEN ARIENSZ HAVELAR.

And

‘ And since many worthy persons in several Classes, though agreeing in opinion with these subscribers, yet scrupled to sign this Act of Separation, (for so they stiled it themselves) there were some deputed by the subscribers to induce others to sign the same; as also to make collections of monies for the afflicted (that is, the separated) churches. The Deputies were armed with Credentials of the following tenor:

AN^o DOM.
1617.
Certain Contraremonstrants scruple to sign the De-ree.

‘ **T**H E Brethren of the Churches of South and North Holland, that appeared at the Assembly at Amsterdam, upon the business of the afflicted churches, have thought fit to depute some of the Brethren, to the Brethren of the Classes, who scruple or have scrupled to join with their Brethren in subscribing the Act of Separation of the Contraremonstrants from the Remonstrants; to the end that they the said Deputies, may endeavour in the name of this Assembly, to induce by proper reasons, the Brethren to sign the said Act: They are also to endeavour to incline the Brethren to promote a collection among their friends, for the afflicted and complaining churches, and to commission some persons from among them to appear at the Assembly, which is to be holden at Amsterdam on the 10th of April, 1712. Upon this occasion they have deputed to the Brethren of the Classis of N. the Ministers of the holy Gospel, N. N. N. dwelling at N. N. N. intreating the Brethren to receive the said Deputies in the name of the whole Assembly, and to give credit to what they shall say; which we shall acknowledge as a favour.

The Credentials of the Deputies, who were sent to persuade such as refused to subscribe.

Done the 8th of March,
1617.

Signed,

PETRUS PLANCIUS, *President.*

JOHANNES LYDIUS, *Scribe.*

Now whether that Assembly, which, according to this Instrument, was agreed to be holden at Amsterdam, on the 10th of April, ever met at the time prefixed, does not appear to me. But I find, in the Journal of the States of Holland, and of their Committee, this Minute of the 8th of April: ‘ The Committee of the Lords the States of Holland and West Freeſland, have written to the Burgomasters and Magistrates of the City of Amsterdam, that they are informed, that upon the 10th of this present month, there is to be a meeting of Ecclesiastical persons, probably to act in opposition to the Resolutions of the said Lords the States: Wherefore the said Magistrates of Amsterdam are desired, either to put a stop to such meeting, or in case they allow the same, to appoint some of their body to be present, that they may observe what passes there, and render the States an account.

Some account of a Letter written by the Committee of the States to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam.

‘ After this, on the 24th of July, there was an Assembly of correspondence (so the Contraremonstrants stiled such meetings) holden at the Hague, in which the Ministers and Elders that were present, entered into mutual engagements, by subscribing a certain Instrument drawn up there, which they called an Act of Union, and which ran thus:

An Assembly of correspondence held at the Hague.

‘ **W**HEREAS some of the Clergy (or Ecclesiastical persons) presumed to enter into secret combinations with each other, without the knowledge and communication, much less consent, of the Church or their Brethren, to draw up a certain Remonstrance, containing their private opinions concerning God’s Election to Salvation, the Efficacy of Christ’s Death, the Operation of Divine Grace, and the Perseverance of true Believers; and to present the same to the States of Holland and West Freeſland, in the year 1610: praying therein, that their Lordships would support them in the said opinions with their publick authority, against the judgment and censure of the Church. And whereas they plainly insinuate, that they have some scruples and objections against our Formularies of Unity, to wit, the Confession and Catechism of these Provinces: And whereas they declare in the books

An Act of Union.

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AN^O DOM.
1617.

they published, that they have likewise departed from other articles of found doctrine, which they charge in the said books with odious consequences, basely misrepresenting the most eminent Pastors of the Church, insomuch that it has been hitherto impossible to learn distinctly what their faith or doctrine is : And whereas they refuse to submit to the Ecclesiastical discipline, which has been repeatedly agreed upon in *National Synods*, and hitherto practised in this country, to the great advantage and edification of our churches ; so that the flourishing condition of the Church has been disturbed by them, and factions and schisms excited : And finally, whereas they do not cease to propagate their opinions by their sermons and books, and to increase and strengthen their party : **Therefore to avoid all this for the future, as far as possible, and to prevent all further infractions, we, the Churches and Pastors, (as Ministers of God's holy word) with the Elders and Deacons, both new and old, belonging to the Classes of ———, have thought fit, together with others, to enter into a closer union with one another, for the defence and maintenance of the orthodox doctrine, and true discipline of the church ; and we have solemnly promised, and do by these Presents promise, each for himself, that through the Grace of God, and with due submission to the Lords the States of these Provinces, our Sovereigns, we will firmly and immovably adhere not only to the forementioned good discipline, but chiefly to the pure doctrine of the christian Reformed Church, as they have been understood in their plain proper sense, according to the word of God and the aforesaid Formulates of Unity, and generally professed and taught in these countries from the beginning of the Reformation to this time : that we will promote and defend them to the utmost of our power : that whatever inconveniences or troubles may befall any of us, for asserting the said doctrine or discipline, we will all share in the danger, and strenuously and faithfully stand by each other : that likewise when any troubles happen with respect to the said doctrine and discipline, none of us shall act without the advice and approbation of the rest conformably to the rules of the projected correspondence, which for that purpose shall be diligently pursued : and, lastly, that in case there should not be a National Synod speedily called, we will, in due time, consider and consult with each other upon what ought to be done, with the utmost vigour, in all our names, against the said ecclesiastical persons, (commonly called Remonstrants) and against the doctrines they profess, as some of our brethren have already been necessitated to do. In testimony of the truth, we the underwritten have cheerfully signed this Instrument with our Names or usual Marks. ——— July 1617.**

An Explanation
of the Act
of Union.

In the same Assembly there was likewise a further Declaration of the aforesaid *Act of Union*, composed of the following tenor :

For the better fixing the correspondence, and in order to know which of the Brethren may be depended on, and treated with, it is proposed, whether we may not safely trust those of them who declare, **That we ought to separate from false Brethren, and that they hold the Remonstrants and their favourers for false Teachers ;** and that they only stay till a separation from the *Remonstrants* may be regularly made and justified by a previous ecclesiastical decision of the *National Synod*, of which there now seems to be great hopes ; and who likewise promise, that in case the said *National Synod* do not speedily take effect, *They will join their counsels with the rest of the Brethren, who have already separated, (which they agree to have been done for good and weighty reasons) in order to bring about a total separation after the best and most expeditious manner ;* and that they accept this as a fuller declaration or explanation of the late *Act* drawn up, and subscribed by some of the Brethren of *South Holland*. And this Assembly declares, that the projected correspondence may be maintained with such as agree to this, as with faithful brethren.

An Assembly
of certain
Contrare-
monstrants
for promoting
the Separation

From hence, says *Grotius*, we plainly see what was the scope and end of the so much desired *National Synod*; namely ; to give the greater authority and credit to the separation which was already firmly resolved upon. Subservient to the same purpose was another Meeting holden at *Schiedam* in *January* the following year, as well as other meetings of the same sort. There is mention likewise made of a private assembly holden the 26th and 27th of *July* at *Amsterdam* by certain *Contraremonstrants* of *South* and *North Holland*, where the *Act of Separation* drawn up in *January*, by sixteen persons at the same

same place, was revised, and again agreed to; and we find that *Baudart*, that known champion of the said party, in the relation he gives of this matter, has the following words in the margin of his Memoirs. **The separation of the churches was formed in South and North Holland.** That Gentleman tells us further, that the following question was put in that meeting: 'Whether all the Brethren, who were there met in the name of the Lord, agreed uniformly, and were unanimous herein: to wit, that the doctrine every where professed and taught by the *Reformed* Clergy in the publick churches, and which was contained in the Formularies of Unity, the *Confession* and *Catechism*, was a doctrine conformable to scripture, and the only doctrine of salvation? And on the contrary, whether they rejected the doctrine of the *Remonstrants*, as false and not conducive to salvation? And further, whether the aforesaid *Remonstrants*, had not by their doctrine and actions occasioned the pernicious troubles and violations of the common peace of the churches of these Provinces?' Upon which, all the Ministers and Elders then present, not one excepted, cried *yea*. It was likewise asked in the same Assembly; whether those who had separated from the *Remonstrants* on account of their aforesaid doctrine, had not acted like good men and christians? To which it was also answered with the same unanimity, *yea*.

'There were likewise, (*says* Grotius) covenants and engagement drawn up, importing, that they would hold no communion with those who submitted to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the year 1591.' And concerning the *Remonstrant* party, he adds, 'It is true, as some alledge, that they also have had meetings, and drawn up instruments of agreement, but it was never said that it was done in order to separate from those who were willing to maintain unity with them, much less could it be proved.' True it is indeed, that they, or some of the chief of them, met sometimes together to regulate their common concerns, and to defend themselves against the slanders of their adversaries. Upon that account it was, that the six Colloquents, or persons that were appointed to speak and plead for them the said *Remonstrants*, at the Conference of the *Hague*, presented a Memorial to the States of *Holland*, on the 26th of *January*, containing a short account of the rise of the ecclesiastical troubles of this country; in which they most humbly prayed: 'That their Lordships would vouchsafe to support all the *Remonstrants*, and those who held communion with them, against all human devices and innovations, in the exercise of their ministry every where, causing their own resolutions, about church matters, to be observed by all such who enjoyed the protection of the Government, and who desired to be owned for publick Pastors of the *Reformed* Church; and opposing all separations, as most highly injurious and destructive to both Church and State. Otherwise, *they said*, their Lordships might easily comprehend, according to their great wisdom, that it would be impossible for the said *Remonstrants* to continue within the bounds of their former moderation, by remaining fettered with the aforesaid resolution, whilst their adversaries were free; but that they should be obliged, for the discharge of their consciences, and in defence of the truth, to warn their congregations both publickly and privately (yet after a proper manner) against the *new*, and of late prevailing spiritual or ecclesiastical tyranny; and further, to proceed, as the duty of their office obliged them, though always with a just deference to the authority of the States.'

A Memorial
presented by
the Remonstrants
to the States of
Holland.

By these expressions, they endeavoured to get leave to justify their cause from the pulpit before the people, without being staked down by the aforesaid Resolution of the States, which, they said, their adversaries never scrupled transgressing, and to prove that the blame and wrong which the others imputed to them, lay in reality at their own door. To this Remonstrance and Petition no answer was returned, only some of the Members of the States are reported to have said: *That there was no occasion to discharge the Obedient from their duty, because of the undutifulness of the Disobedient.* But those who were persuaded that they ought not to comply with the Resolution of the States in church matters, thought themselves obliged to promote the Separation on all sides as fast as possible, to the end that by cutting off all hopes of accommodation, they might the sooner attain to a Synod, and to such regulations as best suited their minds. The *Remonstrants* on the other hand, did all that lay in their power to preserve unity in such places, where as yet there was no formal schism begun, foreseeing the grievous prejudices that might result from fur-

AN^o DOM. 1617 ther breaches, and hoping, that if they could put some stop to the general desertion, the Government would meet with some lucky Crisis at last, for restoring the peace and tranquility of the Church.

It was about the same time likewise, that it was proposed in the Assembly of the States, to make some provisional orders relating to the business of the disputes among the Clergy; upon which occasion some endeavoured to turn every thing to the advantage of one side only; but they were opposed by others, who were of opinion, that one party ought not to be more countenanced than the other. This was particularly the sense of the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*, where the following Resolution, bearing date the 16th of *January*, was agreed upon.

A Resolution
of the Senate
of Rotterdam.

‘ WHEREAS the Senate of *Rotterdam* have been informed by their Deputies, that at the present Assembly of the States of *Holland* and *West Freeland*, it was proposed, and thought adviseable, in order to pacify the troubles arisen in the Church on account of the late disputes, that certain provisional Regulations should be framed for the exercise of religion, till matters could be finally determined; the said proposal has been accordingly considered by the said Senate, and it is unanimously resolved and agreed, That there shall be no other provisional regulation consented to on behalf of this City, but such as may equally and indifferently relieve both the *Remonstrants* and *Contraremonstrants* in whatever concerns the exercise of their religious worship or other grievances, without allowing any advantage to the *Contraremonstrants* over the *Remonstrants*, and so *vice versa*. This our Resolution the Deputies of this City are required punctually to observe, and to persist in without departing from it in any wise.

About the same time, the aforesaid Magistrates of *Rotterdam* endeavoured a-new to bring the *separated Contraremonstrants* to a better temper, and to heal the schism; upon which account the following notification was published in that town upon the 11th of *February*.

Proposals of
the Ma-
gistrates of
Rotterdam
to the separa-
ted *Contrare-*
monstrants.

‘ THE Baily, Burgomasters, Schepens and Council of *Rotterdam*, observing that the private meetings for the exercise of the *Reformed* religion, do occasion great scandal and uneasiness among the good Burghers, and no less pleasure to the enemies of the same religion, have laboured to promote an accommodation by all imaginable means, and to obviate those and many more inconveniences which are likely to ensue; and accordingly they have several times exhorted and required those Burghers, who by reason of the modern divisions, have separated from the publick worship, to prepare a list of Ministers, to the end that some one of them, who is agreeable to the said Baily, Burgomasters, Schepens and Council, may be appointed to teach the word of God in the publick Church; and they the said Magistrates do further offer to accommodate and settle, with the advice of such Minister and consent of the Community, all matters relating to Ecclesiastical discipline and the exercise of Divine worship, in such manner as may be most satisfactory to every man’s conscience, and conducive to peace and good government.

A Resolution
taken by the
Senate.

It was moreover resolved in the Senate or Council the same day: ‘ That the *Separatists*, or dissenting Burghers, should be acquainted, that it was the sincere intention of the Magistrates, to do every thing in their power for bringing matters to an accommodation, and that they were therefore disposed to grant the complaining Community a Minister of their own persuasion, who might preach in one of the publick churches at *Rotterdam*, in case those complaining persons would oblige themselves not to assemble with a distinct Consistory, and that they the said Council intreated and exhorted them to propose none but moderate and discreet Ministers.’

This Resolution and Order was publickly notified, and then printed. Many were of opinion, that the offer of the Magistrates ought to be embraced; even his Excellency the Prince, seemed to be of the same mind at that time; and accordingly he took their part against the Orders of the supreme Court of Justice. And we find the following

following Minute among the Resolutions of the Committee of the States, relating to A^N D^O M.
this whole affair, bearing date the 17th of February. 1617.

‘ There appeared before us this day the Deputies of the town of *Rotterdam*, giving
‘ a summary account of what had been done by those of the *complaining Church* in
‘ their said town, and what Orders, Declarations and Prohibitions on the part of the
‘ Magistracy ensued thereupon ; and likewise of what had been done by the su-
‘ preme Court of Justice, in opposition to them the said Magistrates. Being there-
‘ fore come hither to represent their grievances to this Court, they had (they said)
‘ applied themselves also to his Excellency, who in order to adjust matters, had
‘ likewise appeared at the Committee, and by his interposition, had procured the Order
‘ of the Court to be reversed ; and his said Excellency had further undertaken, to
‘ persuade those of the complaining Church to be contented with what the Ma-
‘ gistrates of *Rotterdam* had proposed for accommodating the depending differences,
‘ and offered, if they made any scruple, to concur in obliging them to accept it.
‘ This account being given, they were thanked for the Information, and so they
‘ took their leave.’

Prince Mau-
rice favours
the Magistrates
of Rotterdam,
and is of opi-
nion that the
Separatists
ought to ac-
cept their pro-
posals.

It was also, I think, about the same time that the Pensionary *Grotius* prevailed
with the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* (after having made many overtures for pro-
moting unity, and satisfying all parties) to propose for the further satisfaction of the
discontented Burghers, that the Minister *Nicolas Grevinkhovius* (against whom it
seemed the greatest offence had been taken, he being looked upon by them as their
chief adversary) should freely resign his Cure, on condition they would not proceed
with the separation. ¹ It is likewise certain, that the towns which did not ap-
prove of a separation in the places of their jurisdiction, yet always offered to tolerate the
Separatists, provided some general and uniform plan might be agreed upon ; though
they declared at the same time, that they desired nothing more earnestly, than that
the inhabitants of both denominations might continue in the same church com-
munion.

In the following Assembly of the States, holden in *March*, the church matters
were again considered, his Excellency Prince *Maurice* being present. The Advocate
of *Holland* related at length in a set speech, what had been done by all the Kings,
Electors, Princes and States that had left the Church of *Rome*, and embraced the *Pro-*
testant religion, and what had happened on that account from the beginning of the
Reformation till that time in these Provinces ; and how it had been agreed by the
Government to regulate the affairs of the Church ; and lastly, he reported the opini-
on of the Nobles concerning the present differences, which agreed with that of
most of the towns. After this, his Excellency proposed his thoughts to them, and
declared, ‘ That in his opinion, peoples minds ought to be softened ; and that in order
‘ to do it, the *Reformed* (that is, the *Contraremonstrants*) ought to be suffered pro-
‘ visionally to preach in safety and without any molestation ; and also, that in those
‘ places where any of the Clergy had been discharged on account of their doctrines
‘ only, endeavours should be used to accommodate matters, and to cause them to be
‘ received again, or others of the same principles to be introduced in their stead by
‘ loan or otherwise, till some means could be found for putting an end to all these
‘ disputes.’

Consultations
in the Assm-
bly of the
States concern-
ing Ecclesiasti-
cal affairs in
the presence of
the Prince.

Upon which some of the towns declared their opinions : but the day being far
spent, all of them could not be heard ; so that this matter was put off to another
time. But some of the *Contraremonstrants* perceiving that the favourable inclina-
tions of the Prince towards them, did not sufficiently influence the States, sought
and found opportunities to help themselves, taking possession of the publick churches
in several places.

² The Heer *Grotius* relates their proceedings in the following manner : ‘ They
‘ who had thus separated themselves, *says he*, were not contented, after the exam-
‘ ple of the *primitive Christians*, with the exercise of their religion in private houses,
‘ but presumed of their own heads to render themselves masters of the publick
‘ churches, partly by making an open schism in the Church, where all the Mem-
‘ bers were at unity before, establishing a distinct Consistory, and administering the
‘ Lord’s Supper by themselves, and not even permitting a *Remonstrant* Minister to
‘ sit

An account of
the seizing of
several of the
publick
churches by
the Contrare-
monstrants.

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. VI. p. 74. XIX. p. 184. | p. 713 and 739. his Life. 158, — 180. Baud. Mem.
² Grot. Apol. Lib. IX. p. 91. Uitenb. Hist. | Lib. IX. p. 44, and 85. Trigl. p. 902.

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fit in the * *Parquett*, when a *Contraremonstrant* was to preach, as it happened at *Oudewater*; partly by irregularly introducing Ministers, as was done at *Heusden*; partly by extorting churches from the Magistrates by threats, as at the *Bril*, where some had the confidence to give out, that they were resolved to seize upon a church whatever came of it; and partly also by actually taking away of churches, as in the case of those of the separate meeting at the *Hague*, who after they had obtained the Hospital-church, upon promise of not setting up a distinct Consistory, immediately broke their word, and took possession of the Cloyster-church, carrying thither a pulpit and forms, or seats, and causing persons to preach there, not so much as asking leave of the States themselves, to whom the ground and the edifice belonged, or of the Magistrates of the *Hague*, much less obtaining such leave. Nay afterwards, which seemed to be done yet more in contempt of the orders of the States, *Henry Rosæus*, who had been suspended by the States from his Ministry, was made use of by them as Preacher. Some indeed seek to excuse this action, by saying, that the church belongs to the community; which if it be so construed, is a fit foundation for sedition and all manner of confusion; for among the community, that is to say, all the Burghers in general, there are various sects, such as the *Papists*, *Lutherans*, *Menmonites*, and others: now if every one of them should pretend to seize upon a publick church, nothing but bloodshed would be the consequence; wherefore none but the Government ought to determine to whom the use of publick churches belongs: and accordingly the *Roman*, or Civil, Law reckons the right of ordering the publick Divine worship, among the prerogatives of the Sovereign power. Whatever is done otherwise, cannot but be esteemed irregular and unlawful by all wise Civilians and Statesmen.

A Conference
between the
Prince and
Triglandius.

Nevertheless, about a year before this, the Minister *Triglandius* waiting upon his Excellency Prince *Maurice*, on account of a certain book which he dedicated to that Prince, complained to him, that some of the Magistrates were too much infected with *Arminianism*, and too much prejudiced against the *Reformed*; and begged of his Excellency that he would make use of his authority, to the end they might allow the *Reformed* the free exercise of their religion, at least in private houses, barns, or the like places; hoping that then matters would take a better turn. Upon this the Prince asked; *Whether the Reformed would perform their religious worship in houses and barns?* And when *Triglandius* replied, that he owned indeed they ought not; but since, in the present case, it could not be otherwise, if his Excellency would but procure them so much liberty as what was asked, they, the *Reformed* Ministers, had still courage enough to preach the *Arminians* to death. At which words the Prince burst out into the following expression; *How! must we go to houses and barns? The churches are ours, and we will have them too.* Then *Triglandius* wished that God would give a blessing to his endeavours. There were likewise great instances made, even by his Excellency himself, before the seizing upon the Cloyster-church, for bringing the Separatists into the great church, by setting up one of their persuasion (who should come from some neighbouring church) to preach in the turn of *Rosæus*. But neither could the States Committee, nor the Magistrates, nor Consistory of the *Hague* be brought to consent to it; forasmuch as in their opinion it tended to establish a formal schism in one and the same church, with visible danger of riots and seditions, by the peoples affronting one another, during the present alienation of minds, and mutual animosities of parties. They were well enough inclined to call another *Contraremonstrant* Minister, provided that he would comply with the States resolutions of *Mutual Forbearance*, and would hold communion with *Uitenbogart* and his two Collegues. But the Prince was of a different opinion, and thought that both parties might celebrate the Lord's Supper apart, and yet that this would be no schism. The Minister *Lamotius*, who, though he was of the *Contraremonstrant* opinion in the business of *Predestination*, had hitherto held communion with *Uitenbogart*, thought it now a proper season to join more closely with the discontented party. Accordingly the very same day that the *Separatists* had possessed themselves of the Cloyster-church, he abstained from the Sacrament for the first time, which was then administered in the Great church; and soon after he even received it with the said *Separatists*, continuing however to preach in his turn with *Uitenbogart* and *la Faille* in the publick

* A Place raised in before the Pulpit, for the use of the Ministers and Elders.

* Trigl. p. 907.

* Uitenb. p. 712.

publick church ; which was then connived at, for preventing further trouble. By this seizing upon one of the publick churches in the *Hague*, the separation of the *Contraremonstrants* was sufficiently established and strengthened in contempt of the States, who gave them no trouble on that account, But ^{1617.} *Triglandius* thinks, that the Advocate of *Holland* laboured with all his might to treat the matter otherwise, and that he endeavoured privately to move the States, or most of the Members and the Courts of Justice, to make examples of some of the ringleaders and warmest opposers of the Resolutions and Orders solemnly taken in an assembly of the States, and by that means to restore the publick authority as much as it was possible : Nay, *Triglandius* pretends, that there was a design to take out of their beds by night *Giles de Glargis*, a Lawyer ; *Henry Hondius*, a Graver ; *Abraham le Fevre*, an Apothecary ; together with *Enoch Much*, his Excellency's Accomptant, (who had been a great friend of *Rosæus*, and had promoted the separation very zealously) and to behead them publicly on a scaffold ; after which the people were to be called together early in the morning by the ringing of the great bell ; and proclamation was to be made, that those persons abovementioned had been punished for an example to others, on account of mutiny and rebellion against the Government ; and that all those who refused to obey the higher powers, should be treated in like manner.

What truth there is in this story, I have not been able to learn ; but it is certain that matters seem to have run too high at that time to make use of such severity.

The *Contraremonstrants* knew how to improve the advantage they had gained. For (says Grotius) not being contented to have one way or other gotten half the churches into their hands, they did all that lay in their power to turn out the *Remonstrants* by force ; as it happened at *Oudewater*, whither a Minister, having been sent, was hindered from ascending the pulpit by some private persons, who told him ; *They had nothing to do with the Magistrates.* Whereupon *Poppius* himself, being desired to preach by the Magistrates, was likewise stopped by several armed persons, notwithstanding that the Bailiff, Burgomasters, and Schepens attended him to the church ; and when the Burgomasters told those persons, who opposed him, that he was sent by the States, as the truth was, they replied scornfully, *By your States indeed* — And where matters were so ordered, (continues Grotius) that the *Contraremonstrants* had the sole possession of the churches, as was the case at *Amsterdam*, after the turning out of *Simon Goulart*, they would not practise the golden rule of *doing as they would be done by* ; but when it was only suspected that there was to be a meeting of *Remonstrants* in the house of *Rem Bishop*, an honest, worthy and creditable Burgher, the Mob (God knows, and some people know too, by whose contrivance) fell upon the house with an incredible fury, in the day time, and plundered it after such a manner as was never seen before in *Holland*, without any attempt of hindering them by those whose duty it was to have prevented such violences ; but who, on the contrary, delayed their coming, till the barbarous execution was over. Neither was there ever any justice done upon the actors of so vile an enterprize, which tended so much to the dishonour of the said city, and of the whole land ; but a few of so many hundreds concerned in this crime being imprisoned, and even those released again.

This is what is most remarkable concerning some attempts of the *Contraremonstrants* against the *Toleration*, and the favourers of it, in divers places about this time, though interwoven with events, some of which fell out later, some earlier : But none, it is hoped, will be offended at this want of method ; for the conformity, connexion, and order of things, gave sometimes occasion to depart from the series and order of time ; and it is well known that the writers of Histories and Annals have not always confined themselves to the exact period when things happened. But perhaps the Reader will desire a more particular account of some of these events ; if he do, his curiosity may be abundantly gratified by others : I shall only trace what happened at *Amsterdam*, in the month of *February* this year, a little higher, and observe some circumstances in this tumultuous plundering, which have hitherto remained unknown, or else are of too great moment in my opinion, to be passed over altogether in silence.

¹ Trigl. p. 908.

² Grot. Apol. Lib. IX. p. 92.

A. N. D. O. M.

1617.

An Account of
the Original
of the Re-
monstrant
Meeting at
Amsterdam,
and the Tu-
mult which
ensued.

There were among the Burghers and Inhabitants of *Amsterdam*, and even among some of the Magistrates themselves, from the beginning of the *Reformation*, many that were dissatisfied with the doctrine of *Calvin* concerning *Predestination*, and other points, and who with their families and relations had adhered to the opinions of the *Remonstrants*, ever since the rise and progress of the controversy about the *Five Points*. Their numbers were likewise increased by some favourers of *Arminius*. That Gentleman, during the 15 years of his Ministry in *Amsterdam* had gained the friendship of several Members of the Church, who partly out of love to him, and partly upon enquiring into, and weighing his doctrine concerning *Predestination*, afterwards approved and embraced it. Among the last were some of the most considerable Citizens, to whom by his marriage with the daughter of the Heer *Laurence Jacobson Real* he was allied, and with whom he had daily conversed. To these there joined themselves the brothers and most of the kindred of the Professor *Episcopius*, who had long esteemed the friendship of *Arminius*, applauded his views and were now become favourers of the cause of the *Remonstrants*. *Episcopius* himself had likewise brought over divers of his relations, friends, and others, by instructing them in the *Remonstrant* principles. Several of the citizens beforementioned, did indeed, for some time, adhere to the Communion of the publick church, but with little satisfaction, having observed how great an aversion the Clergy of *Amsterdam* always shewed to the *Remonstrants*. Therefore the more indiscreet zeal exerted itself, and the louder it cried from the pulpit, the more it cooled the favour of those people towards them; till at last the aversion of one party produced a like aversion in the minds of the other, which was the more increased by the schisms and separations of the *Contraremonstrants* in other towns where the Ministers of the latter were thought to have lent a helping hand, and powerfully contributed to those disorders. They now considered, that they had much more reason to withdraw themselves from the assemblies of the *Contraremonstrants*, who had rejected the *Toleration*, than the *Contraremonstrants* had to separate from the *Remonstrants*, who, as they declared, were for tolerating their adversaries in their opinions, as they themselves desired to be tolerated. To these discontented persons were joined some of the Members of the *Walloon* church, who being disoblged at the treatment of *Goulart*, in the month of *September* the last year, had recourse to the Synod of the *Walloon* churches then met at *Amsterdam*, complaining against the Consistory, who as they thought had wronged him, and giving an account by a Memorial which they laid before them, of what had happened on that occasion; viz. that many troubles, disputes, dissensions and great alienation of mens minds had thereby been produced in the church; adding further, that they apprehended greater inconveniences might ensue, in case the Synod did not interpose. For which reasons they humbly besought them, not only in their own name, but likewise in behalf of great numbers of others, that they would be pleased to think of some means for removing these grievances, and exert their authority for reconciling their worthy Pastor *Goulart* and the Consistory, to the end that they might reap the benefit of his Ministry as formerly, with the approbation and consent of the Magistracy; and that by these means the alienated minds being united, and the murmurs and quarrels ceasing, the peace of the Church might be restored; a work that would be well pleasing to God, and afford them matter to praise his holy name, and to pray that he would pour out his spirit, and prosper their labours more and more to his glory, and the good of the church. This Memorial was signed by five and forty persons, among whom were *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab* and *Daniel Hiole*, *Martin Powlet*, *Arnold Noiret*, and *Arnold Rosseau*. But nothing was done about it. Then *Goulart* himself desired leave to justify his doctrine and behaviour before the Synod, but they put it off. Whereupon the complaining Members addressed themselves by a written Memorial to the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, representing to them what had been done in relation to the person of *Goulart*, and the dissatisfaction that had been given on that account; the substance of which was as follows: 'That the Clergy of that City, especially since the arrival of the new Minister *Bassécourt*, had, by their discourses and sermons, more and more estranged the minds of some of their hearers, by trumping up doctrines which they the petitioners looked upon as innovations, and which they could not receive as pro-

A Memorial
and Petition of
certain Mem-
bers of the
Walloon
church, pre-
sented to the
Magistrates of
Amsterdam.

per

proper food for their souls. Add to this, their violent raving against the persons ^{A^N D^O M.} of the petitioners, whom they represented as blasphemers of the Church, com- ^{1617.} paring them to bastards that could not look against the sun, to murderers and assassins, that put a dagger to the throat of the Church, against whom even dumb persons were forced to cry out, like the son of *Cræsus*, when he saw his Father about to be stabbed: their exasperating the Magistracy against them, telling them, that they were obliged to exert their authority; that as there were of old times false Prophets, so now there had sprung up even among our selves heterodox Teachers, and that for want of punishment, all kinds of opinions had overspread the land. *They likewise subjoined*, that they were publickly attacked from the press, by Satires and Invectives, which were sold with the knowledge and consent of the Consistory itself, and in which they were falsely accused of impudence, impiety and heresy; charged with attempting, as it were, to dethrone the Almighty; compared with *Judas* and *Simon* the Magician, and declared unworthy of the Lord's Supper, and the name of Communicants. Whatever answers were published against these calumnies and reproaches, though with the greatest temper and moderation, were forbidden to be sold. All these things had given them sufficient cause to separate, like scattered sheep, deprived of their shepherd, though they would much rather have taken milder counsels, and entered into measures of peace and reconciliation. For this purpose, they had first applied themselves to the Ministers, afterwards to the Consistory, and finally to the Synod, but without success. The troubles and confusions of the Church increased daily: There was no longer that comfort and edification as formerly to be met with at sermons, which were perpetually filled with controversies: Neither could they with a safe and quiet conscience receive the consecrated Bread at the Lord's Table, from the hands of those who refused to participate of the same with their Brother and Teacher *Goulart*. They were therefore necessitated to seek for the spiritual bread of their souls elsewhere, as well as they could, since it did not become them to live without any external exercise of religion. For these reasons, they conjured their Worships, that they would please to take compassion of their deplorable State, and to shew the same wisdom and goodness they were wont to use towards those who lived under their protection, allowing such liberty of Divine worship as the quiet of the Petitioners consciences required in these dismal times. If this was granted them, they promised to live in the most peaceable manner, and behave themselves like dutiful Subjects, who on account of so great a favour, would have the greater reason to pray for the prosperity of their Rulers.

The time of the presenting this Memorial, and the answer to it, are unknown to me: but this is certain, that in *January* this year, the *Walloon* Members at *Amsterdam* held some separate meetings. They had a Student of the *Walloon* College of Divinity at *Leyden*, to preach to them in the *French* tongue, his name was *Batelier*; he was soon after Minister of *Kralingen*, and in our days Pastor of the *Remonstrant* congregation at the *Hague*. *They begin to hold separate meetings.*

I find in a certain Account published at that time, that he preached three Sundays following, in the house of a certain Carpenter and Woodmonger, without any prohibition or hindrance from the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*; but the number of hearers was very small; they being the first time, according to the testimony of some of the *Contraremonstrants* themselves, not above six and thirty, the second time sixty, and the third, seventy or eighty persons. The *Dutch Remonstrants*, encouraged by the good success of the *Walloons*, endeavoured likewise to get a Preacher of their own persuasion. But it is related by some, that it was proposed about this time in the Assembly of the States, by certain of the friends of the other party, that in all the towns of *Holland* where these had separated from the *Remonstrants*, and were a competent number, or held separate meetings, they might enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and be allowed the use of publick places or churches; to which others made answer, that then the like favour ought to be granted to the *Remonstrants* in those towns where the *Contraremonstrants* had all the churches, and particularly at *Amsterdam*; but a certain Burgomaster of that City cried out; *there were no Remonstrants at Amsterdam*. This, they say, induced some of the Members who endeavoured to put all matters on the same reasonable foot in every place,

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privately to advise the *Remonstrants* to exert and shew themselves at this present juncture, to the end that they might in time obtain the same liberty, which was sought for in favour of the separate *Contraremonstrants* at Rotterdam, Gouda and other places where they were the fewest. This, they think, was what induced the *Remonstrants* at Amsterdam, together with those of the *Walloon* church, that were of their opinion, to begin their separate meetings; though others affirm that their own zeal was a sufficient spur to them. They writ a certain Letter to some of the *Remonstrant* Ministers of Leyden, in which they expressed, and endeavoured to promote their design as follows:

Reverend and our beloved Brethren in Christ,

A Letter of
certain Ne-
therland Re-
monstrants
at Amster-
dam, to some
Ministers at
Leyden, de-
siring they
might be sup-
plied with a
Pastor.

WE the underwritten Professors and Friends of the true *Reformed* religion, inhabitants of the City of Amsterdam, do in the name of our selves, as well as in that of others, who have desired the favour of us, make known to you, that after having diligently perused the holy scriptures, and seriously pondered the arguments of many learned men who have written upon the controversy of the *Five Points*, we find our selves perswaded and convinced in our consciences, that the opinion of our Brethren the *Remonstrants* concerning the said *Points*, is much more conformable to the word of God, and the doctrine of truth, which is according to godliness, (at least, as far as the knowledge he has given us, extends) than what is so warmly inculcated by our Brethren of the *Contraremonstrant* party; though they (at least the greater number of them) do by no means speak out so plainly, as others of the same opinion have formerly both spoken and written, whose positions are rather approved and maintained by them than rejected. This has for a long time occasioned us great uneasiness; being reduced to the unhappy dilemma, either to hear the violent sermons in this City, tending rather to embitter mens minds than to reform their manners, or else entirely to absent our selves from church: which we could not as yet prevail upon our selves to do, always hoping that things would mend, considering what pains had been taken by the States in forming their Resolution for mutual forbearance. But our hopes were vain. Calumny and slander have frustrated our expectations. The wicked appellations that are daily bestowed upon the *Remonstrants* cut us to the heart. In the very pulpit they are charged with being the vilest Hereticks that ever trod upon the earth. They are called ravenous Wolves that devour the Sheep; Foxes crept into the vineyard, to undermine and destroy it; seditious persons and Betrayers of their country. Nay, what is more, the Formulary concerning Baptism seems now to be almost always framed with design to insnare those who have any scruples about absolute *Predestination*. And some of our Ministers declare, that they will not partake of, or break the bread of the holy Communion with the *Remonstrants*. For which cause we find our selves obliged to apply to you, earnestly intreating you, that you would be pleased to assist us sometimes with your most instructive sermons, to the end that we may be thereby the more improved and confirmed in charity, and that at our own cost and charges, till time shall bring our affairs into a better condition; hoping in the mean while, that the States will take such measures as may be proper to bridle a little their licentious tongues, and give us an opportunity to hear the word of God after the manner of our first Reformers, as it is likewise directed by the Resolution of the States. We trust that by this our proceeding, our condition will not be worse than that of the Burghers in other towns; the rather, because we do not desire your service out of a spirit of schism, but for fear lest by daily hearing such things as we have mentioned, we should be depraved by custom. Nevertheless, we shall always continue disposed to concur in preventing all kind of separation and division, and in maintaining christian communion, as soon as the Brethren will agree to a Mutual Toleration, and we may have the opportunity of hearing from the pulpit such doctrines as we believe in our hearts to be consistent with the pure and sound words of the Gospel. We will likewise freely consent that the other Brethren may enjoy the liberty of their opinions in the same christian communion, and in the mean time, will live with them christianly and brotherly. In thus doing, we flatter our selves that no body will esteem us schismatical. We only shun those that seek to make schisms among us, as we think the *Contraremonstrant* brethren do, seeing they endeavour to impose upon all people as necessary to be

believed and taught, this their ill founded and offensive opinion concerning *Predesti-* AN^O D^O M.
nation; and have treated with so much indignity the *Remonstrant* brethren, with 1617.
 whom we agree in the aforesaid point. We therefore entreat you, not to refuse
 us your assistance according to this our request. We do not think our Governours
 will oppose our undertaking, since they seem to favour what has been done for the
Contraremonstrants in other towns upon the like account; where some, who were
 not satisfied with the established Ministers, have set up separate meetings, though
 those very people at a mile or two's distance from their own towns, might fre-
 quently have heard sermons suited to their opinions; which we cannot do any
 nearer than *Abkoude*, nine or ten miles of: We therefore hope that our Magistrates
 will suffer us to enjoy liberty of conscience, for which so much blood has been
 spilt; and the rather, because it more plainly appears in our case, than in any
 others, that we hide no other designs under the cloak of conscience, being al-
 ways ready to comply with the Resolution of the States. It is true indeed, our
 Numbers are not very great, neither are we inclined to make use of tricks and arti-
 fices to magnify them, as some do, by inviting all the people of the adjacent towns
 and villages. If we can but obtain our own liberty, and the cordial pleasure of
 hearing the word of God, we are satisfied. Such as can understand us, and are
 capable of enjoying with us what we our selves enjoy, shall be welcome, whether
 they be few, or many. The glorying of Christians consists more in their virtue than
 numbers. Are our numbers small, our Lord and Master may soon increase them
 by his blessing. Be pleased then to provide us for every Sunday, with Ministers
 from other places, Men of learning and virtue, who above all things, will excite
 us to a life of piety, not obliging us too strictly to any doctrines, for fear of falling
 into divisions, but exhorting us against licentiousness, and in all things aiming at
 our eternal welfare: For we assure you that we are most heartily inclined to fear
 and serve the Lord with a good conscience. Be pleased therefore to consider of our
 request; and so we recommend you to God, whom we beseech to endue you more
 and more with his holy spirit, with the knowledge of his truth, and with constan-
 cy, for his own glory, and the edification of his Church. Dated from Amsterdam,
 30th of January, 1617.

You will find it signed on the other side by as many hands as we could pro-
 cure in haste, and which we hope will be sufficient. The names of the Subscri-
 bers were as follows:

SAMUEL OFFERTSON.	RICHARD VAN ENDICH.
PETER JOSTSON.	HENRY HENRYSON.
REINIER TELLE,	PETER PETERSON.
REM EGBERTSON BISHOP.	ABRAHAM ANTONISON.
ABRAHAM JANSON.	RICHARD HENRYSON QUEECKEL.
HENRY HENRYSON EKELOOM.	WILLIAM CLASSON.
JACOB LAURENTSON REAL.	TIIS PETERSON.
JOHN EGBERTSON BISHOP.	CORNELIUS CLASSON SPRINGH.
	ARENT BISHOP.

After the receipt of the Letter, *Christian Sopingius*, Minister of *Warmond*, readily engaged to go to *Amsterdam*, and to give a few sermons to the *Remonstrants*, as they had requested. He preached accordingly, on the 5th of *February*, for the first time, at the house of *William Sweerson*; for it had been agreed among themselves, that there should be a sermon in his house for the *Hollanders* before noon in *Low-Dutch*, and in the afternoon for the *Walloons* in *French*. *Sopingius* before he begun his sermon declared: 'That he was not come thither of his own accord, but at the invita-
 'tion of several eminent Burghers, who had signified, that they could not receive any
 'edification in the publick churches, by reason of certain doctrines that were preached
 'up with vehemency, and inculcated as absolutely necessary; further declaring,
 'that he and they were ready to conform themselves to the Orders of the States made
 'for the peace of the Church, as soon as people would agree to a *Mutual Toleration*.'

The first sepa-
 rate meeting
 and sermon
 of the Nether-
 land Remon-
 strants at
 Amsterdam.

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1617.

This Declaration was followed by the Prayer, and that by the Sermon, at which were present about two hundred and fifty persons; so that the *Remonstrants* soon found the place too small to contain all that resorted to it. But some of the *Contraremonstrant* writers make them to have been a very few, and pretend that their first congregation consisted chiefly of people of other sects, such as *Lutherans*, *Mennonites*, *Koornbertists*, and *Neutralists*, (who being offended to find so many sects and parties among christians, would join themselves to none in particular) and others that came out of curiosity; so that according to them, there were not either in the first, nor even in the second meeting, which was much larger, above eighty persons that could be properly called *Remonstrants*; and among them too, several *Wallons*, followers of *Simon Goulart*. At these first meetings there were some zealous *Contraremonstrants*, who, by their warm contradictions, disturbed the congregation, and occasioned more mischief than they either expected, or (it may be) desired. A certain Locksmith, named *Frederick* (the same man who formerly pursued *Episcopus* in the street, with a design to do him some harm, and who now distinguished himself by his zeal) was likewise, with ten or twelve other *Contraremonstrants* at the first sermon of *Sopingius*, where he heard the said Minister, whose text was *Mat. xij. 41.* express himself in these words: *That the Ninevites had repented, and that the Jews themselves might have repented*; quoting *Christ's* expressions, *He will not come to me, that ye may have life*, *John v. 40.* at which he was so provoked, that standing up, he cried with great rage in the middle of the sermon; *You lie, and you are a false Teacher*. Upon that there arose some disorder, which was soon quieted, and then *Rem Bishop* said, with an audible voice, *If any man has any thing to object against the sermon, let him come to my house, and talk with the Minister, whom he shall find there prepared to give an account of his doctrine to every body*. One of the most considerable *Contraremonstrants* then present declared, the Smith to be in the wrong; which made the other hold his peace the sooner. The master of the house likewise caused the man that made the disturbance to depart, and then the sermon went on without any farther interruption. After noon the *Contraremonstrant* abovementioned came to the house of *Rem Bishop*, desiring, that according to his kind invitation in the morning, he and two other persons, who were at the door, might be allowed to speak with the Minister, and treat with him about the principal differences between them and the *Remonstrants*. *Bishop* replied, 'I did not offer that, nor can I suffer it in my house. The matter has been long enough agitated among the learned on both sides. If you have any thing to object against what was preached this day, you may freely propose it to the Minister, and he shall defend himself. This is what I offered, but I cannot permit any further disputes. I am not ignorant what is commonly intended by such disputants; viz. to ask, with a magisterial air, how do you understand this? and how do you explain the other? Then to draw wrong inferences and conclusions from one another's arguments, and afterwards go away and cry, *I have got the better*. I shall not lend my house for such purposes: would you do it if you were in my place?

The Minister is
contradicted in
the Pulpit.

The other answered, You are in the right: therefore, if I do not return presently, to discourse about the sermon only, do not expect me. Upon which he went his way, but soon came back with his two friends, one *John Johnson* a Schoolmaster, and one *Edward Johnson*, whom *Rem Bishop* looked upon as a rude caviller. They said, they did not pretend to object against the sermon in the very terms in which it was delivered, but that several things resulted, or were deducible from thence, to which they could not agree; however, instead of quoting such passages, they did nothing but ask questions. Something indeed was mentioned, which *Bishop* and those who were with him, denied to have been in the sermon. They therefore persisted in their resolution of not entering into a debate upon all the points that were spoken of. They were likewise under some apprehension, that if there should spread any report of a disputation, it might be a hindrance to their design of going on with their preaching.

The Remonstrants at
Amsterdam
hire a Warehouse to preach
in.

The next day the *Remonstrants* hired a certain large Warehouse, called *Scottenburg*, of a considerable Burgher, named *Herman Rendorp*, where above a thousand persons could come together. This place was immediately agreed to be fitted up for a place of religious worship. They set about it, and made a Pulpit, and a great many

2

Pews,

Pews and conveniences for sitting. The rumour of this was presently spread all over the town: it was reported, that such a large Warehouse was hired for the *Remonstrants* to preach in, which excited every bodies curiosity to see what was in it. Some of the *Contraremonstrants* begun to murmur and threaten. *Rendorp*, the owner of the house, was summoned before the Magistrates, and asked, *Whether he had let his house to preach in? and whether he imagined that to conduce to the peace of the city?* To this question *Rendorp* (as the *Contraremonstrants* relate it) gave the following answer: *That he was very sorry the people who hired it, should put it to such a use; and that he should be glad if he could get it out of their hands again; but that he had been since informed by them, that in case the Magistrates forbid preaching there, they were ready to leave it, and submit to their orders.* Upon this he was told, that those people had best look to themselves, lest by setting so ill an example, they should bring themselves into trouble. But though the *Remonstrants* were informed of this warning, they did not look upon it to be a sufficient reason for them to quit their undertaking; being of opinion, that if the Government did not intend to tolerate their meetings, they would signify it more plainly to those who had hired the house, and expressly forbid such assemblies, and even set a penalty upon them. And we are likewise told by some of the *Remonstrants*, that the other party had declared they did not design to disturb these meetings in *Amsterdam*; but that afterwards observing the great resort, and fearing it would still increase, they looked upon them with other eyes, and thought it adviseable to oppose them. And now some of the Ministers were heard sharply to censure this kind of meetings: but the hottest zealots made use of other means too. They dispersed and fixed upon the pillars of the Exchange, upon the doors of the Churches, on the Bridges, and other publick places, several *Pasquins* and *Libels*, serving to stir up the common people to raise a tumult. The first of these papers was pasted up the 4th day of *February*, to the following purpose: *O yes! O yes! O yes! You that are minded to hear the New Gueuxes preach, repair to the Floenburg, where you will hear it made out that nothing but false doctrine has been preached in this city these forty years.* Another was pasted up the 11th of the same month, and spoke thus: *Has any body a mind to fall upon those thieves who rob the word of God of its honour, let him come to the Exchange next Sunday morning at half an hour after seven, where there will be a meeting.* The day after, the following writing was set up, and scattered about the town: ‘*You Arminians! Leave off your preaching and meeting, or it shall cost you dear; for we Burghers will not bear with you any longer; your wives and children shall mourn for it, if you go on, for we will not have any rents or patches. Since the Lord has given us the victory, we will not retreat, having seen how it has fared with our yielding neighbours. And woe be to you, notwithstanding you have now hired a great warehouse. Take care, Gentlemen, for matters will pass very ill here, since they are not commanded to desist.*’

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Pasquins dispersed at Amsterdam, sending to stir up the people against the Remonstrants.

Rem Bishop observing the tendency of these things, informed some of the Magistrates of these libels, telling them, that as a citizen, he thought himself bound to give them notice, in order to prevent further mischief. He was answered, that the Burgomasters had desired the owner of the warehouse to put the *Remonstrants* out of it; to which *Rem Bishop* replied; ‘*He cannot do it: But if your Worships are so much averse to it, you may forbid the meeting; and I do not question but you will be obeyed, provided that you shew some regard to us also, in case a general Toleration can be brought about, by the means of which, both the parties, in all towns where there are Remonstrants and Contraremonstrants, may be allowed the free exercise of their religion; and that we be not excluded as if there were no Remonstrants in this city.*’ But they would not hear of this; and somebody told *Bishop* plainly, *The Magistrates will not forbid it.*

This was followed by the second meeting of the *Remonstrants* at the warehouse, on the 12th of *February*, where it is said, there were above eighteen hundred persons. *Sopingius* preached upon that text in the *Hebrews*, *To day if you will hear his voice, barden not your hearts.* But at the same time there was likewise a great concourse of the mob about the meeting house, and such showers of stones poured into it through the windows, that several of those that were at a distance, received some of them upon their bodies. The Minister went on with his sermon however, without regarding the disorder, at which many were amazed; but with such circumspection and prudence

The second separate Meeting.

A^NO D O M.
1617.

A certain
Englishman
speaks in the
Meeting.

dence, that he carefully abstained from all matters that might give offence to the *Contraremonstrants*; but what he did to avoid trouble, administered matter for trouble. A certain *Englishman* of that party, named *Humphry Bromley*, who sat near the pulpit, standing up at, or after the end of the sermon, spake the following words; *Men and brethren, I know that I am a sinner, and that there are here among you persons much holier than I; but is there no body moved with the spirit of the Lord that will speak?* When none would answer, he cried with a loud voice: *Hear! Gentlemen, hear! hear! Gentlemen, hear! Do they preach otherwise in the old and new church, where our Ministers Plancius, Triglandius, and Hallius teach?* Upon this question, whether *Plancius* and his Collegues taught otherwise, the people cried promiscuously, *Yes, yes, yes*; but about seven or eight of the *Contraremonstrants* then present, cried, *No, no*. Then said the *Englishman*, *Are not our sins great enough? Why then do we make a rent in the Church and in the State upon so small an account?* Crying further, with open throat, *O Amsterdam! O Amsterdam! thou wast wont to wear the Crown, to what art thou now fallen? The Lord have mercy on us!* His cry was followed with a much greater. And though the Minister begged them to be quiet, intending to baptize a certain child, it was all in vain.

Some of the hottest people ran up to the Galleries, with such a throng, that there was no stirring for them; and being there, they called out of the windows, *Come up, come up, now is the time and more than time*. Some of their companions being below, cried out, *Fall on, fall on*: others, *Down, down, with the Preacher, that schismatical fellow*. Others made up towards the Minister, who was still in the pulpit, striking at him, but the women warded off the blows with their chairs and stools. Some boys, that had begun to hurl stones before the *Englishman Bromley* spoke, did now, with the help of some of the men, break the glass windows, frames and all, in pieces. The door of the stairs, by which people were to descend, was nailed up, and some of the men were seen to give the boys money to buy nails. But the *Remonstrants*, and their friends, were too strong within, to suffer themselves to be shut up thus. Some got out of the windows, fearing to be murdered: others burst open the doors by force. Then every one ran that way whither his dread or concern hurried him; but when they were got into the streets, they were hunted and hooted at, pelted with dirt, and jostled.

The Minister in
great danger.

At the same time there stood near a thousand people on the other side of the Canal, looking on with pleasure, laughing in their sleeves, nay, some of them encouraging the boys to throw stones, but not one forbidding or blaming them. In the mean while those of the Meeting-house took care for the security of the Midwife and Child that was to be christened. The Minister, who was fetched out of the pulpit by his wife, went off with five or six creditable Burghers; but as soon as the mob discovered him, they ran after him, pelting him with dirt, and wetting him with mops or brooms; some made at him with cudgels, others cried, *Knock him down; kill him*: then it began to rain stones upon him and his followers, but they got no hurt. Thus they drove him as far as the *Bomeslot*, where the *Remonstrants* say, their design was to force him into the water; but he escaped it by taking refuge in a certain brewhouse called the *Cock*, about which there gathered immediately great numbers of the mob with design to break into the house; but the master of it, *Peter Evertson Hulft*, with his servants and some that came to his assistance, set themselves in a posture of defence against their violences. Abundance of the common people waited about the door till the very evening; and it was known afterwards that they intended to have thrown him, and the two Gentlemen between whom he walked, into the water from the first bridge they were to pass, and then to have stoned them to death. *Rem* and *John Egbertson Bishop*, *Jacob Laurentson Real*, Secretary of the Admiralty, *Cornelius Johnson Sprink*, and *Isaiab Hiole*, with two or three more that came last out, locked up the Meeting-house. Then the mob pursued them with reproachful language, and pressed so hard upon them, that they separated from each other. *Rem* and *John Bishop*, with *Real*, were obliged to take shelter in a baker's house, through all the shower of stones, where they remained about half an hour, till the market was crowded with numbers of people who came from church. But as soon as they were got into the street again, they were immediately surrounded, and lifted, rather

than driven, 300 paces by the throng into a little street called the *Baranende Steeg*; AN^O DOM. 1617. there they thrust them against the houses, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other side of the street, and seemed inclined, if they could have thrown them down, to have trampled them to death; but they narrowly saved themselves in a certain house, till the rioters ran unanimously back to the meeting place. Being arrived there, some of the boldest and most forward of them forced open the doors, flew up into the room, broke in pieces the pulpit and all the pews, threw them out of window, and then went off with the planks. The house was plundered of the chairs, books and every thing that had been left there in the fright and hurry. After this, they began to untile it, and would have levelled it with the ground, if the Magistrates had not at last interposed. Two of the Burghers that were *Remonstrants*, applied themselves to one of the Magistrates, begging them to prevent further mischief. But they were answered: *It is your own fault. Why did you do it? Since you have begun it, you may e'en go on.* They came together however, and about six in the evening, sent the Scout to the meeting place, and dispersed the mob. Afterwards, The Mob dispersed. the proprietor of the house, and the person that hired it, were summoned before the Burgomasters, and in their presence released each other from their agreement.

Soon after, the *Remonstrants* apprehending still worse treatment, drew up, and presented the following petition to the Magistrates; but I do not find what answer was returned.

To the Honourable the Heers Burgomasters, and the Thirty-six Counsellors of Amsterdam.

‘ YOUR Worships humble servants, the peaceful Inhabitants and Burghers of this City, do with all submission represent, that some of them being Members of the *Reformed* church, and others, who indeed are not Members, but yet adhere to the true *Reformation*, which has been introduced conformably to the word of God, finding their consciences uneasy in frequenting the publick churches, forasmuch as they cannot consent to the doctrine of *Predestination* and the points relating to it, as taught by the Clergy of this City, nor approve of the heats discovered by them in their pulpits; and the said petitioners and their families not being any longer able to abstain with a safe conscience from the exercise of their religion, have thought fit to invite over to them a Minister of their own persuasion, who preached to them, first on the 5th, and next on the 12th of *February*, and composed such a sermon from the word of God, as they the petitioners believe, could not be justly censured by any body. And although no private person has any right to prevent or interrupt their meetings, and much less to treat honest persons ill who were assembled there in great numbers; yet so it has happened, that the greatest insolencies and injuries have been offered to them and the place of their meeting that ever were heard of; and if they themselves had not behaved with great patience and temper, there would probably have ensued much mischief: but blessed be God who has graciously prevented the same.

‘ And forasmuch as these your petitioners are not conscious of having done any thing against your Worships laws and statutes, since you tolerate in this your City without any molestation, all kinds of christian sects and assemblies, several Refugees and banished persons from *England*, yea even *Jews* themselves, that disown *Christ* whom they the petitioners acknowledge for their Saviour; they therefore humbly pray, that they may be permitted to proceed in their publick worship, at least so long as till matters can be accommodated by the Government between the *Remonstrants* and *Contraremonstrants*, and in the mean time that your Worships would vouchsafe to take them under your protection, and by your prudent orders, secure them against all hurt from insolent and riotous persons: seeing that they also are your well-affected Subjects, Inhabitants, Burghers and free Denizens, who must, and do cheerfully bear all taxes and burdens jointly with their fellow Citizens; and that some of them have likewise born the heat of the day for the asserting and recovering their most valuable liberty of conscience; being all of them in general,

‘ and

A Petition of the Remonstrants to the Magistrates of Amsterdam.

A_{No} D_{Om}. 1617. and each in particular (as is known to God) sincere Patriots, and hearty lovers of the welfare of the *United Provinces*, and especially of this most renowned *Emporium*, or trading City: And they the said petitioners, do therefore hope that your Worships will not suffer them to be abandoned as a prey to a crew of turbulent people (as happened on the aforesaid 12th of *February*) or anywise obstructed in the free exercise of their religion. Which, if your Worships please to grant, they shall always pray to God to pour down his blessings upon your persons and government, for the good of this City and its Inhabitants.

New Pasquils
against the
Remonstrants.

The next week the Libels flew about again; and it looked as if the design was to halloo on the mob, and hinder the *Remonstrants* from meeting the Sunday after. Among the rest, the following Rhime was found pasted on somebodies door:

*If you Arminians, preach again upon Sunday,
Some of you shall be thrown into the water before Monday.*

And a few days after, there was found another Pasquil in doggerel rhimes, the substance of which was:

That the Arminians were to preach the next Sunday, but they had best beware, for they would be stormed by 700 brave Patriots; and this was to advertise those who had a mind to list themselves for the service, that they might repair to such a Captain. This advertisement so stirred the spirit of sedition in the young lads, as a certain *Contraremonstrant* writer has informed us, that they could hardly sleep in their beds for thinking of it. There was likewise money distributed among them, to animate them against the *Remonstrants*. On Sunday, an hour before sun-rising, the mob began to gather in several parts of the town. They made use of empty barrels instead of drums. Thus equip'd, they began their march through the town at seven o'clock in companies of fifty, a hundred or two hundred, partly boys, and partly men; some were thieves that thirsted for plunder, and most of them strangers and the dregs of the people. A great number followed the Scout, endeavouring to discover some Popish Conventicles, and to prevent their saying mass; but as he returned home, they left him. Then they ran through several streets, increasing as they moved, and enquiring every where, whether there were any *Remonstrants*, or as they stiled them, *Arminian* meetings, just as if they had been commissioned to hunt after them. Some relate, that they ran first to that part of the town where the *Remonstrants* had first preached, but without attempting any thing: The Magistrates sent likewise the Under Scout, and some Soldiers the same way, to prevent all plundering. At last a great body of the gathering mob rendezvoused on the *Koningsgracht*, or *Singel*; and there the heaviest part of the storm discharged it self upon the house of *Rem Egbertson Bishop*. The rabble were made believe there was preaching in his house: but it is thought that they who gave it out, knew better; and that the reason of levelling the fury of the people against him, was to terrify the rest of the *Remonstrants*, he being one of the chiefest among them, and by these proceedings to prevent any meetings for the time to come. The mob knocking at his next neighbour's door, who was a *Contraremonstrant*, he came out and told them, *you are mistaken friends*; directing them to *Rem's* house, where beating against the door, the cry went: *This is the Arminians meeting house*. Then they pulled the bell to pieces, thundered at the door, and at the same time broke all the windows, roaring out: *Open Arminians, open; you are preaching in this house*. Neither did all that *Rem Bishop* could say, in assuring them *it was not true, they might send in whom they pleased to search*, avail any thing. First, they forced in two casements of glass in the shop, hoping to get into the house that way; but some body from without, making his way through the crowd, thrust the wooden shutters so close too, that *Rem* was able to fasten them on the inside, though not without a slight wound upon his hand with a stone. But the mob continuing the storm with the same violence, *Bishop* ran up to the top of the house, striking upon a warming pan as hard as he could, and crying *fire, fire*, in hopes that that would have procured him some assistance: But expecting it in vain, he sent out a servant by a back-door to the Scout *William Doos*, begging him to deliver him from this great violence.

A second tumult.
An assault
upon the house
of one of the
principal Remonstrants.

He seemed not much to regard the tears and entreaties of the servant; but when one of *Bishop's* neighbours (*Herman Tholings*, son-in-law of the late Burgomaster *Hooft*) followed soon after, acquainting him that he was sent by a principal person, and at the same time showing his concern, the Scout was prevailed on at last, and with *Tholings* and some of his Officers made his way through the crowd, and seizing one of the chief Rioters, carried him into the house as his prisoner. This put a stop immediately to the casting of stones; and the Scout opening the door again, called out to the Mob, saying, *Friends, what would you be at?* They cried; *The Arminians are preaching here, and we will disturb them.* He replied, *I have been above, below, and over all the house, and I assure you there is no meeting.* They rejoined; *The next neighbours sent us hither.* Upon that *Rem Bishop*, leaning over his door, asked them; *Men and Friends, why do you use me thus? Have I ever wronged any of you, or had a dispute with any of you? Or have I been backward in paying my workmen, or with-held his wages from any man? Am I not a Burgher, and of as fair a character as others? What have I done to you, that you thus storm my house?* They all cried as one man, *Nothing, nothing, but you are an Arminian.* After this, as soon as the Scout was gone in from the door, they began again to throw stones. In the mean while the Under-Scout, *Arent Elbertson Haan*, with his Officers, came and quieted the people, who had begun to storm the house on the other side. The Heer *Folkert Overlander*, late Schepen, and one of the Council, and since a Burgomaster, (one of *Bishop's* neighbours) who had been called out of the church, on account of this riot, went then immediately to Burgomaster *Paw*, who lived about fifty doors off, upon the same Graft or Canal, begging speedy orders and assistance from him. The Burgomaster did not think fit to do any thing in the matter, without the advice of his brethren, but promised to consult with them, and to use his best endeavours for putting a stop to this tumult. The Rioters, in the mean while, cried aloud, that if the prisoner was delivered them, they would return to their homes peaceably. *Bishop* hoping for a good issue, prevailed on the Scout to release him; but then the Mob began to storm his house with greater fury than before. At last the Scout being weary of staying, resolved to be gone, with the Under-Scout. *Rem Bishop*, his wife, and the rest of the family, begged and prayed them to stay, saying, *Gentlemen, if you both leave us, it will be the same thing as delivering us up to their fury.* The answer returned them was, *We cannot attend here all day; we are not required to do it by the Burgomasters.* *Bishop* replied, *I thought the Scouts had always directions to prevent mischief, and to protect those that were injured or oppressed, to the utmost of their power: but if you will not be pleased to stay, could you not send me ten or twenty soldiers for my defence, at my own charge, let it cost what it will?* They told him, they could do nothing without the Burgomasters express orders, but that they would go out at the back door, and do their best to drive away the boys that were before the house. But the Under-Scout, upon drawing his sword, was pelted by them with stones; then the Mob cried, *The Scout is going away, the house is our prize, and all that is in it:* And then they poured in such a volley of stones, that no body could stay in the lower rooms. Whilst these violences were committing, and before the rabble had got into the house, several labourers and other honest people, troubled at such doings, offered the good man to assist him in his distress, and even to repel the rioters by force. But *Rem Bishop*, though he was perswaded that such resistance was allowed by all the laws of nature and civil society, yet chose rather to suffer the greatest losses than to run the risque of having any blood spilt, or any other worthy Burgher put in danger of his life or fortune for his sake. And his wife too, *Elizabeth Philippa Bishop*, sister of *John Bishop*, one of the Senate or Council, in order to prevent any such mischief, took all the arms in the house and hid them under the turf. Besides, there was little or no probability of their putting a stop to this rage and madness of the people. Here perhaps the Reader will expect I should give him the best account I can of this plundering, with all its circumstances, which have been variously related by different writers. But upon inquiry into this affair, I met with a certain Speech, or Discourse, containing an account of the most material events of that time, with some Reflexions and Observations of such importance, as, in my opinion, will not be displeasing to a lover of Truth, being written by an eminent Magistrate who had been several times one of the Burgomasters, and who then was a near neighbour of *Rem Bishop*, and an eye-witness of this riot and storming

AN^O DOM. 1617. storming of the house from the beginning to the end. This Gentleman speaks with such seriousness and freedom, as was suitable to the state of those times, or to his own judgment of matters, which the more he considered, the more he abhorred.

A Discourse,
penn'd by an
eminent person
who had been
in the Govern-
ment at Am-
sterdam, con-
taining an ac-
count of this
Tumult.

WE have cast off (*says he*) that yoke of Spanish Tyranny, (by which not only one particular sect was oppressed, but all that had renounced the errors of Popery) though not without great pains, excessive charges, and the weathering the most dreadful hazards, and by God's grace have obtained our common liberty. Is it not then a very preposterous work, that we suffer ourselves already to be thus seduced? That the promoters of one sect in particular, or at least the most violent among them, appropriating to themselves, and to such as herd with them, that liberty that was purchased with common danger and expence, should endeavour to saddle all other sects with the like, or, it may be, a more grievous tyranny than that which we escaped? It is for this purpose, that several party-preachers have been called hither from time to time, who treading in the footsteps of those of *Embsden*, *Groningben*, and others, are labouring after new persecutions, and will not consent to a Toleration, or any moderate methods, even upon points which the greatest Divines allow to be tolerable. By the opposition which was made to such attempts by other Members of these Provinces, we were necessarily plung'd into the present divisions. One might say a great deal upon what they alledge in justification of these measures and the methods they now take; but under correction, I am of opinion, that the present way of proceeding is not to be compared with that of our neighbours. Our Clergy will not allow even the Civil Magistrate any cognizance of Ecclesiastical matters, much less the common people; and yet on the 12th of this present month of *February*, we saw the Mob, with great applause of many of the principal Clergymen and Magistrates, arrogating to themselves not only the cognizance, but also, at the same time, the actual execution of their sentence, against those who were worshipping God, not without the knowledge of the Government; and not only very rudely threatening them, falling upon them with great impetuosity, and treating them very ill, but also for several hours together discharging their rage and insolence against their place of meeting, and doing it no little damage; without the Government's interposing, or making the least show of resisting them all the day, even till it begun to be dark: The Under-Scout *Haan* was there indeed more than once, with some of his Officers, and viewed the work, but did nothing to prevent it, nor showed any tokens of dissatisfaction; from whence the Rioters justly concluded that they might proceed; and so they did, till the Magistrates at last found themselves necessitated to take some notice of this tumult, and to do something in order to put a stop to it. How can we pretend to find fault with the Magistrates of our neighbouring towns, who act regularly and with cognizance of the matter, according as they think becomes them, whilst we ourselves, at the same time, suffer the populace to act thus, without using any form of process? I ever believed till now, that the Magistrates were obliged, *ex officio*, to defend from open violence, all those who live under their jurisdiction. Had the very *Jews*, that are permitted to reside in this City, been thus treated, the Magistrates would have taken them into their protection, and punished the aggressors in good earnest. If they will leave the reins of government thus loose, to the prejudice of some of their subjects, it may so happen, that the storm may fall upon themselves, or some of their party one time or other; for it is not easy to lay the spirit of sedition and tumult, when once it has been raised. Religion cannot (nor ought it if it could) be propagated by force and violence; it is a maxim in the large acceptation of it; *That the people will be led, but not driven*: Of this the Emperor *Charles* and his Son were but too sensible, in the business of religion. God does not allow his Temple to be built with bloody hands, and requires not a forced but willing service. But how contrary do men now proceed among us?

The Mob did not stop at their first essay of violence. On the 18th, being *Saturday*, the Council sat till half an hour past six in the evening, when, among other things, the disturbances of last *Sunday* were debated, and the Burgomasters desired to take more care to prevent the like for the future, which they accordingly promised. And the said Burgomasters and the Schepens staid together, after the Council was adjourned, to consider how to prevent all tumults. Whereupon it happened,

' happened the next day, which was *Sunday* the 19th, about 8 o'clock in the AN^O DOM.
 ' morning, that I, hearing a great noise of people at some distance, went out of my 1617.
 ' house to see what was the matter, and perceived that there was some disturbance in
 ' the *Warmoes-street*. And I think I was informed, with some certainty, that about
 ' the same time the Captain of the City-watch, and the Under-Scout *Haan*, were seen
 ' in the house of a famous rich *Jewish* Merchant, named *Mendez*, dwelling near the
 ' *Broad street* without the old *Antony's Gate*. But about half an hour past eight,
 ' the aforesaid company of people, most of them young lads, and some grown men,
 ' came into my neighbourhood, casting their eyes, with great rage, first upon the
 ' house of the *Heer Overlander*, and then upon those of *Rem Bishop*, *Arent Peterson*
 ' *vander Burg*, *Hugh Johnson*, as also upon my house; and last of all, on that of
 ' Burgomaster *Witsen*; but retiring afterwards a little, they stopped at *Rem Bishop's*,
 ' beginning at first slowly, and from time to time more violently to throw stones at
 ' his windows, till almost eleven o'clock. Then came the Upper-Scout *vanderDoos*,
 ' with eight of his Officers, into the house, where he staid about half an hour; during
 ' which time there was now and then a stone thrown; but as soon as his back was
 ' turned, the storm upon the house began to be more violent. After having broken
 ' off, or thrown down, the hatch before the door, as far I could see, they battered
 ' the door of the house with a great plank; and having broken open the cellar door,
 ' they took out from thence two great beams, and pushed them so furiously against the
 ' street door, that I thought they would have brought it down with every stroke.
 ' In the mean while several of the chief Officers of this City went, as I am
 ' certainly informed, with some Captains of the Militia, and walked backwards
 ' and forwards before the house of Burgomaster *Paw*. From thence they saw all
 ' that passed, and, if they had pleased, might have come time enough to prevent
 ' further mischief; but it looked as if they never troubled their heads about it,
 ' or as if the thing did not at all concern them; though they ought to
 ' have behaved themselves quite otherwise, and put in execution the Orders they
 ' had concerted the evening before. For, as I take it, the violence lasted till
 ' almost noon, before the Mob could get into the house. But with what insolence
 ' (after that shameful plunder, and wicked havock made among the provisions stored
 ' up against the Winter) did we see them bring out the household goods, till the Ma-
 ' gistrates appearing in a very moderate number, that vile Rabble dispersed. We
 ' call it persecution, and say those churches are under the Cross, which are never so
 ' little obstructed in the exercise of their religion: But what excuse can be made
 ' for this proceeding, which cannot be said to have been the effect of a sudden and
 ' unexpected fury, but seems to have been long projected by God knows whom,
 ' and regularly contrived, and gradually fomented; as now but too plainly appears
 ' to those that look back upon the whole transaction? And must not we, for the
 ' future, lay our hands upon our mouths, if any hardship should befall us or ours in
 ' the like case? Will not all our neighbours think they have just reason to stand
 ' upon their guard against us; especially those who are conscious of their differing
 ' from us in many more and weightier matters, and consequently are much less fa-
 ' voured by us? What will be the end of this? I ever esteemed the Government of
 ' this City to be so just and impartial, as to be exceeded by none in that point; but
 ' might not one now say, by way of lamentation, *How is the faithful City changed!*
 ' What apology can be made, that in a city where besides four Scouts and their
 ' Officers, besides the usual Watch and Patrole, there are eighteen brave companies of
 ' Militia, and three strong companies of regular Soldiers, a riot of some hundreds of
 ' boys, and a few men, was not opposed? that such violences should be committed
 ' by the Rabble, who had been gathering for a fortnight before, and who had suffi-
 ' ciently discovered their intentions against the meeting of the *Remonstrants*, then
 ' holden in the house of *William Sweeren*, and who, a whole week before that, had
 ' exercised their insolencies with impunity; I say, that such things should be acted
 ' in the sight of Heaven, and in the presence of numberless Burghers and inhabitants
 ' of all sorts, (for there were, as near as I could judge, a hundred spectators to one
 ' rioter) in the midst of the day, in the chief part of the city; and not only against a
 ' Citizen born here, but a Gentleman, who, at the request of the Burgomasters, had
 ' for many years with great zeal, and not without danger, taken upon himself the
 ' government of the Workhouse of this City? The original design, and natural

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reason of building towns and cities was, that the inhabitants might mutually defend and assist each other against all kinds of injuries and violences : But this has been so little considered, during these repeated riots, that it looks as if the Magistrates intended to abandon their good citizens to the rage of the multitude. And accordingly it was observed, that because of the little care our Governours took about suppressing that evil, the Burghers were so cautious and fearful, that the following night, when a fire broke out in a house called the *Emperor's Court*, near the *Harlem sluice*, none of them would venture to open their houses, nor come out into the streets, forgetting their usual diligence and readiness in assisting their neighbours, and fearing least the Mob should rise again; insomuch, that the Mistress of the house, for lack of help, could save nothing, and hardly escaped herself. Formerly, when the boys (according to the old *Papish* custom) were wont to assemble upon the Festivals of *St. Peter* and *James*, about the old city walls, and dividing themselves into two bands, under the titles of the *Old side* and the *New side*, pelted one another with stones, so that it was not safe to pass that way; though this was nothing but childish play, yet the Magistrates were careful to disperse and send them home, even at the time when there were but two Scouts belonging to the City. But now our Officers of Justice neglect their duty, though fairly warned by so many lampoons, followed both by words and actions. Hitherto we have taken no care to fortifie our windows with wooden shutters, as apprehending no danger. And many people of all sects are wont to leave their shops open, in which, and in their warehouses, are stowed not only their own, but other people's goods. But where and how shall such tradesmen be safe for the future, from the violence of foreign plunderers and shop-lifters, if matters go on thus? For I reckon, that few or none of the old *Hollanders*, or their children, have had any hand in it. But it is to be considered, (and God knows the truth of it) whether some may not of their own heads, and without the participation of others, that are called to the Magistracy as well as themselves, have promoted their particular views by these unheard of, and dangerous proceedings; and whether they do not meditate a new War, or a Revolution in the Government. The little concern they show in a matter of so great importance looks very strange. What can one otherwise judge, in seeing this storm raised by a company of boys, raging like a hurricane or whirlwind for so many days together, till at last it fell under the management of the full grown rioters, and occasioned such mischief? Not only the sight, but even the credible narration of this event, is sufficient to beget the utmost horror in the minds of all good men, who have at heart the peace and preservation of their country. But have we ever heard any of our Ministers, who so often reprove the dancing and merry-making of our young people, and the excesses and extravagancies of their repasts and cloaths, condemn these wicked and disorderly practices, from the pulpit, before the congregation? At least I could never learn that they did it, and I am sure I my self never heard them. Does not this afford cause of suspicion, that what has happened is agreeable to our Clergy, and if not to all of them, at least to some? But we may, nay we ought to conclude, that in case the Magistrates, who bear the name of Fathers and Protectors of the Burghers, and who are obliged to render equal justice to the poor and rich, to strangers and citizens, take no care to secure their subjects against such abuses and injuries, they and we shall dearly repent it, before we are aware. For do but allow the raging Mob such a latitude as this, and they will soon make no distinction between such as they nickname *Arminians* and others: All that have any thing to be robbed of, shall be declared *Arminians*, and their enemies, and they will sail with the same compass as that famous Pyrate *Mickiels*, who stiled himself *God's friend, but the enemy of all mankind.*

It is moreover related, in certain Memoirs writ in the hand of *Rem Bishop* about this time, that the afore said rabble of boys and young fellows had a list of his and seventeen houses more, particularly those of the Heers *Cornelius Hooft*, Dr. *Sebastian Egbertson*, and *John Real*, all three *quondam* Burgomasters; and besides them, the house of *Jacob Real*, Secretary of the Admiralty, and those of *Richard Quekel* and *William Lindeman*. It is also thought that they would have tried their courage upon these houses, if that of *Rem Bishop* had not, by reason of its strength, held out so long. It is further related, that a certain Gentlewoman, Daughter of one of the

Schepens,

Schepens, seeing this riot of the Mob, as she stood at her own door, should have said, *AN^o D^o M.* smiling to a certain person ; *See how zealous the people are :* but soon after, one of the same gang running by her house, which was a very good one, and looking at it, said *1617.* to his comrade in the *Westphalian* dialect, *that will prove a fine Arminian house ;* which made the person, to whom she had spoken, reply, *do you hear how zealous the people are ?* At which she retired out of fear and shame. Some of the plunderers were heard to say ; *If we were but a little nearer the Dam, we might surprize the Stadthouse, and then there would be glorious plunder for us in the Bank.* It is likewise said, that *Bishop* was in danger of his life ; for when the *Heer Overlander*, his next neighbour, had in vain solicited the *Burgomaster Paw* for help, hearing some of the Mob to threaten to dispatch him, he advised the poor distressed man to save all that was most valuable, and especially his own life ; for which purpose he kindly offered, and lent him his house. The damage that was done him, as *Bishop* himself declared, amounted to above five thousand *Gilders* ; besides a quantity of books that belonged to other persons, which were partly recovered. His wife getting out of the house at last, and being pursued by part of the Mob, who, with great rage, threatened to murder her, sheltered herself in a house on the *Heer-Graft* ; but not being able to stay there, she climbed over the garden-wall of the *Burgomaster Gerard Jacob Witsen*, where she fell and was taken up senseless ; but she was carried into the house with great tenderness, and proper means were used to bring her to herself : When she was recovered, says the *Burgomaster*, *Well, neighbour, how came you in this condition ?* Upon which, being still under great disorder, she burst out into these words ; *Ab ! Sir, this is the fruit of your Ministers sermons, who enrage and exasperate the people thus against us.*

Among those who stood looking on, and applauding the fury of the Mob, there was one who, hearing their insolence blamed, made answer very angrily ; *It were pity but your house and five and twenty more were treated in like manner.* Another cried : *There is no harm done : they have their deserts. If four or five of them had had their heads cleft in the Meeting-house, it would have been well done.* Another said, *What has been done by the boys we are ready to take upon ourselves.* And another, *God has inspired these children to act thus ; he has revealed it to them, that the Arminians seek to enslave the country to the Spaniards, and makes use of these lads to prevent it.*

But neither did the *Remonstrants* always return blessings for curses. Some of them spoke and writ about these riots with great warmth, in three letters that were published ; but these were answered, with no less heat, by the *Contraremonstrants*, of which we meet with visible tokens in some of their partial Historians. *Rem Bishop* writ afterwards concerning this plundering to his particular friend the *Heer Abraham Boom*, at that time *Schepen*, and one of the Senate, and since then a *Burgomaster*, in the following language : *They had a mind to make me a terrifying example — how barbarously they treated me, your Worship knows, and many more with you. I saw well enough who committed the fact, but they that directed the Mob were not by. They that gave them money were afterwards discovered.*

Somebody since asked the Minister *Ursinus*, why his people could not dissuade and withhold their children from such riots, as had been committed against the house of *Rem Bishop*, as well as the *Lutherans* and *Mennonites* did theirs ? His answer was, *We have our reasons for not doing it.* The other rejoined, *And so have I my reasons for not approving your conduct.*

During the storm upon *Rem Bishop's* house, two Burghers of the *Remonstrant* persuasion, one named *Cornelius Spring*, a Biscuit-baker, and *Abraham Antonison*, a Cheesinonger, walking along the streets of *Amsterdam*, were spied by some of the boys upon the *Heer-Graft*, who cried after them, *Oho ! Arminians !* The first of them was, on account of his zeal for the *Remonstrant* Meeting, nicknamed the *Arminian Sexton* ; the other, who was yet more zealous, was extremely hated by the *Contraremonstrants* for speaking so boldly against them. These men against whom their spite had been some time levelled, were overtaken with a shower of stones. This put them at first upon walking hard ; but finding the storm to fall thicker, they betook themselves to their heels, and endeavouring to shelter themselves in a house, the door was twice shut against them. At last *Antonison* got into the house of a Bacon-feller, at the corner of the *Heer* and *Warmoos-Graft* : Upon which the Mob began

Two Remonstrants are attacked in the street, and in great danger.

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began to break the windows, and pressed into the house, to seek for the *Arminian*, as they said, and to knock his brains out. But he had hid himself in the garret among some hoops and chips. They ran up with candles in their hands, but could not find him; then they ransacked the whole house, pulling all the cloaths off the beds, and cursing and swearing like madmen. This frightened him so, that he got out of the garret window, clambering at the hazard of his life over the steep tops of two houses.

Some of the Mob discovered him, and endeavoured to bring him down with stones; however they did not reach him, and he escaped into a safe house. The Biscuit-baker, an old man of about sixty years, was surrounded and seized upon in the *Warmoes-street*, and driven along as a malefactor. He got at first into the house of a Broker, but that being beset, he presently quitted it, that he might not bring his friend into trouble. Two unknown persons endeavoured to rescue him, by thrusting him into the next church, but another gave him a great blow on the face. Others cried, *he shall not be put into the church, he will make a tumult there.* He himself cried; *carry me then before the Scout.* Others replied; *Drown the rogue.* But when they had brought him to the Scout's door, they tried to take his cloak from him; but he wrapping it about his arm, and taking hold of the door-post, they pulled at it in vain. Then they cut out a great piece from it, snatched his hat off his head, and took his purse out of his fob, with about 20 Guilders in it, not without many blows and thrusts. Thus was he brought into the Scout's house, who used him very civilly, and in the evening dismissed him. The day after this riot, the plunderers enticed by the booty, and encouraged by impunity, began to gather again. They fell upon the house of *John Egbertson Bishop*, on the *Heer-Graft*, behind that of his brother; but the latter had got some soldiers into his house, who slipped out of the back door, and prevented their design. Upon which they ran to other houses, but without attempting any thing by day-light.

Another tumult.

A Memorial presented by certain Merchants. Measures taken for preventing tumults.

A Proclamation.

In the mean time, some of the Merchants talked of leaving the town (signifying the same to the Magistrates) unless care were taken of the common protection. Hereupon they the Magistrates ordered the houses of several *Remonstrants* that had been threatened, to be watched and guarded by soldiers, and appointed 24 men of every Company of the Militia, to go the Rounds well armed, and with positive orders, to disperse the Mob, wherever they found them in a body, and to secure all they could seize of them. This terrified them, and restored peace to the City. The second day after the plundering, the Magistrates issued a Proclamation, in which it was said: 'That the Remonstrants by holding such separate meetings without necessity or lawful cause, had occasioned those troubles in which they had been involved: but that the Lords Justiciaries intended, with the advice and consent of the Council of XXXVI, strictly to inquire into the insolencies and violences that had been committed in the publick streets and against the houses of the Burghers; commanding the discovery of all those who were any wise concerned in the storming the said houses, or in publishing Libels and Lamipoons; and promising a reward to such who should bring back any of the stolen goods, or that could give any account of the plunderers, and a pardon to them that should inform against their abettors and accomplices; threatening them with the severest punishments, even if they were found out many years after. It was further declared by the said Proclamation: That all those who were of the Christian Reformed Religion, and intended to adhere thereto, should abstain from haunting any of the private Conventicles or religious Assemblies out of the established Church, or lending or letting their houses or ware-houses for such purposes, by which the peace and unity of the Church or of the Citizens might be endangered. Forbidding also very strictly all seditious words and discourses against the Magistrates, their actions or conduct. — As also against the Ministers of the Holy Gospel, their office, behaviour or preaching: or the slander and defamation of any private persons, or the dispersing and pasting up of scandalous Pasquils and Libels: also the assembling in a mutinous manner, and scouring the streets; and above all, the plundering of houses, or committing any other kind of disorders or assaulting any persons in the streets; on pain of corporal punishment, to be inflicted in case of such great malversations, and even of capital, according to the nature of the crime.

¹ The next night there was a severe Libel pasted up at the Exchange against the Magistrates, who thereupon promised a reward of 300 Guilders to such as should discover the Author of it. The name of *Abraham Antonison* was set to the said Libel, to insinuate that it came from the *Remonstrants*, and so to render them the more odious to the Government; for it seemed to complain of the violences they suffered to be committed against the house of *Rem Bishop*. But it was found out afterwards to have been the work of one *Wynant Elbertson*, a famous School-master at that time among the *Contraremonstrants*; so far had his zeal transported him.

After this, the Magistrates caused a strict search to be made for the *Relation of the Tumults of Amsterdam*, which one of the warm *Remonstrants* had printed and published, prohibiting the sale, and causing it to be seized upon, as being written, in their opinion, with too much passion and partiality. Some of the persons that were concerned, or suspected to have had a hand in the plundering, were about this time taken up and imprisoned; but most of them denied that they were guilty of the violences with which they were charged. Some indeed owned, that they had some of the goods in their possession, but that they had either found them in the streets, or taken them away from such as had stolen them. Others pretended they took them to keep them for the owners, to whom they intended to restore them. Others again confessed that they had endeavoured to break open the house, or thrown stones at the windows. A certain *Brabander*, a Whitster or Fuller by trade, who was taken up as one of the principal actors in the riot, denied what one of the prisoners his accomplice charged him with; but being asked, what he did then in the house of *Rem Bishop*? answered, *He came thither out of zeal to assist in beating the Arminians, who were there assembled.* And being further asked, why he was so angry with the *Arminians*? He replied, *Should such fellows be suffered here, who dare preach, that God has made one man for damnation, and another for salvation?* So little did he understand the doctrine of those whom he thus raged against.

Some of these persons were soon after dismissed; others, after lying a while in prison, were discharged upon promising to appear when called for; after having been bound in the sums of 150, 200 or 300 Guilders, according to their respective offences. ² Some of the Schepens of *Amsterdam* excused themselves from consenting to inflict any punishment upon these people; *because they acted out of zeal for religion, which was a very tender thing.* Afterwards it was expected that the Court of Justice would have taken cognizance of the matter, but they did not meddle in it.

On the 23d of the same month, being the fourth day after *Rem Bishop's* house had been plundered, to which he and his family returned the day before (for so long had it continued empty, being guarded by soldiers) there came to him two Elders, warning him in the name of the Consistory, to forbear coming to the Sacrament, which was to be celebrated the following Sunday, for reasons that moved the Consistory thereto. He desired to know their reasons, and asked them, *whether he had behaved himself so unchristianly in looking on whilst his house was stormed, his goods plundered, and his own and his wife's life brought into the utmost danger, as to be excluded on that account from the Lord's Supper?* They replied: *You have behaved your self well and like a good christian; but since you are now in trouble, the Consistory will acquaint you with the reasons hereafter; in the mean time we have nothing else to say to you.* The same day they likewise forbade *John Laurentson Real*, Secretary to the Admiralty, Son to the late *Lawrence Jacobson Real*, and Brother to the late *Arminius*, to approach the Lord's Table, by way of suspension. At the same time also, if I mistake not, the like notice was given to *John Egbertson Bishop*, *Joost Brasser*, the wife of *Rem Bishop* and others, who were afterwards publicly excommunicated.

In the mean while, the Lords of the Committee of the States residing at the *Hague*, were informed of what had happened at *Amsterdam*, two Sundays successively, which gave them great uneasiness. They agreed, on the 15th of *February*, to inform the towns, when they came to the Assembly, of the riots and disorders that had

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A Notification
of the tumults
at Amsterdam
issued by
the Committee
of the States.

¹ Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 18.

² Grot. Apol. Lib. XII. p. 130, &c.

AN^D DOM. 1617. had happened on the 12th instant on account of the private meeting of the *Remonstrants* in a barn or warehouse, to the end they might take care to prevent the like inconveniences in their own districts. The notice or summons to the ensuing Assembly of the States was made after the manner used in other cases by the said Committee; it being signified, That affairs of importance, and such as concerned the towns, were to be considered in the Assembly.

After this, a Letter was sent from the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* to the Committee, with an account of what happened to *Rem Bissop's* house, and what had been done for discovering and punishing the rioters, as well as for preventing the like inconveniences for the future. Thereupon the said Committee of the States thought proper to transmit copies of this account to the College of Admiralty at *Horn*, and the towns of those quarters which sent Deputies to the Assembly, and, at the same time, to exhort them to take such care in their respective Governments, as not to fall into the same trouble and confusion. This was done the 21st of *February*. But the *Remonstrants* of *Amsterdam*, finding they were debarred of the liberty of exercising their religious worship in private meetings, by virtue of the Order of the aforesaid Magistrates of the 21st of the said month of *February*, or at least that if they did, they ran the risque of being insulted by the populace, after considering their condition, had recourse to the States of *Holland*, to whom they sent up a Memorial and Petition by three persons, who delivered it in their own name, and in the name of many more, on the 6th of *March*: The tenor of it was as follows:

To the Noble and Potent Lords, the States of Holland and West-Friesland.

A Memorial and Petition of certain Remonstrant Citizens and Inhabitants of Amsterdam, presented to the States of Holland.

WITH great respect and humility it is represented to your Honours, by *Richard van Endich* and *Abraham Antonison*, both of them Burghers and Inhabitants of *Amsterdam*; together with *Arnold Noiret*, inhabitant of the said City, (who have all of them hitherto professed the *Reformed Religion*) in behalf of themselves and of many others, inhabitants and Burghers of the said City, (who have likewise made profession hitherto of the same religion, but dare not as yet discover themselves, for fear of those dangers which are hereafter more largely to be related) that although they have not behaved themselves otherwise than as becomes good and honest subjects, and have born all the taxes and burdens of the aforesaid City in particular, as well as those of the Government in general; being (many of them) such, who (themselves or their parents) have concurred in asserting and defending the liberty and welfare of their native country against the common enemy, and set their All at stake on that account; and having (all of them) ever adhered to the true, pure, christian *Reformed Religion* as built upon God's holy word; so that there can be no cause why they should not be taken under the protection of your Honours, and of their lawful Magistrates (as well as the rest of their fellow-subjects) both as to their persons and estates, as also with respect to the free use and exercise of the aforesaid Christian *Reformed Religion*: Nevertheless, it has so happened, that the Clergy there, having, it seems, entertained an abstruse and dangerous opinion, vented by some private authors (which your Petitioners judge to be both unscriptural and offensive, and about which the present ecclesiastical differences arose with the true *Reformed*, whom they call *Remonstrants*) have inculcated the same with such eagerness, and of late years still more vehemently, on the minds of the people, as if their whole salvation depended thereon: from whence it proceeded, in the first place, that the good and worthy Minister *Simon Goulart*, who had served the *French* church of that City for several years, and edified it so much both by his life and doctrine, was so precipitantly and abruptly discharged from his Ministry, for no other reason, but because he had preached up, That Christ died for all men, and that none were excluded from the Covenant of Grace by any absolute decree of God; which is so plainly expressed in the holy scripture; and this was done not only without, but against all Ecclesiastical Canons, as well as contrary to the Laws of the land. After which

which, they railed at, and reviled every day more and more all those that could not come up to their notions, though living agreeably to the good old Reformation, within the bounds of the written or revealed word of God, branding them with the odious appellations of *Atbeists*, *Hereticks*, seditious persons, confederates with *Jesuits*, and unworthy to hold any conversation or communion with them, together with many more scandalous and slanderous names, which would be too tedious to relate; insomuch that many of the ignorant common people are perswaded, that we are really what those Clergymen have represented us to be. These slanders and reproaches were patiently endured for a long time, till at last they began to be unsupportable to the minds of many, who were troubled to see the pulpits thus abused, and whose trouble was still encreased by their endeavouring to ensnare the consciences of those that brought their children to Baptism, with questions not required by the Ecclesiastical Canons, nor conformable to any of the *Reformed* churches of this country; giving out, that whatever *Remonstrants* complied with them were forsworn, and had made a false declaration before God and his Church. Matters standing upon this foot, all those who could not submit to the absurd notions of some private writers, but adhered only to the word of God, agreeably to the aforesaid primitive and true christian *Reformation*, made a scruple of any longer frequenting such a way of preaching, or of bringing their children to such kind of Baptism: And yet, being unable to live without the exercise of an external Worship, the omission of which (with all due respect) they think ought not to be required of them, especially in this land, where liberty of conscience has always been maintained, and (with respect to those of the *Dutch* church) in their own country, in which they and their ancestors underwent so much, that they might serve God freely, according to his holy word, and without subjecting their consciences to any humane institutions and opinions: Therefore, first those of the *Walloon* church, (after having done their utmost to procure the abovementioned *Goulart*, who had been so unjustly turned out, to be restored to his Ministry) began to hold separate assemblies; and having repeated the same several times, probably not without the knowledge of the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, and without any disturbance, or prohibition; some of the Members of the *Dutch* church believed, that it was no less allowable for them, to hold separate meetings too; and for that purpose having invited a publick Minister from one of the neighbouring places, who being of no party, might instruct them from the pure word of God, without obliging himself to preach up those abstruse points (which have no tendency to the promoting of piety, but rather to the weakening the foundation of our christian *Reformation*, which was chiefly calculated for delivering religion from all humane glosses and institutions, wherewith *Popery* was tainted beyond all measure) they went openly and publickly to hear the said Minister, with the knowledge and under the view of the Magistrates of this City, who did not think fit to forbid them. And though upon that account, no others had any right to hinder them, yet some of the scum and dregs of the common people (whether by the counsels and encouragement of ill-meaning and factious persons, or being wrought up to it by the aforesaid party-preachers) did not scruple first to disperse, and paste up in several publick places scandalous and seditious Pasquils, and afterwards, on the 12th of *February* last past, to call after, and shamefully to insult your said Petitioners, as they were repairing to their meeting, and to commit great insolences before the place of their religious exercises; and when they were coming out, to attack them with most opprobrious language, yea, and with open violence, insomuch that some of them ran the risque of their lives, besides the injuries offered to the place in which they assembled: and the said Mob, being flushed with this success, did on the following *Sunday* (as if the former had been only by way of prelude) publickly assault the houses of several worthy citizens, where there was no meeting at all, out of pure malice, by breaking their windows, and by entring armed into them, under pretence of searching for certain persons, who, as they said, were concealed there; committing the like villainous actions in other houses, and one particularly, which they besieged, stormed and plundered (as is well known throughout all *Holland*, and consequently to your Honours) in the sight of the sun, and in the presence of many thousands of spectators besides those who were actually concerned in the riot. Whereupon the whole city being in an uproar, and many worthy citizens shewing their dissatisfaction,

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faction, the Magistrates did indeed issue a Proclamation forbidding the like tumults
 and violences for the future; but the Petitioners were at the same time for-
 bidden likewise the holding any more meetings; and what is yet more amazing,
 they find themselves so jumbled in the said Proclamation with Thieves, Shop-
 lifters, and Rioters, (for what cause, is a mystery to the said Petitioners) as if all
 the blame of that which had happened, was wholly imputable to them. And al-
 though the Petitioners did, after this, suspend their meetings, yet the injuries and
 insolencies of their enemies were so far from ceasing, that all the three abovenamed
 Petitioners, together with many other honest people, have been, since that time,
 publicly insulted, threatened and abused in the open streets. For which reason,
 they, the said Petitioners, find themselves highly aggrieved, as well in relation to
 the suppressing of their meetings, and other matters contained in the said Procla-
 mation, as to their apprehensions of being entirely abandoned, like a publick prey,
 to such insolent rioters; insomuch that they do not think they are safe any where,
 no not even in their own houses, unless some other care be taken for their security,
 for want of which many dare not walk the streets, and some intend wholly to leave
 the city: besides, it may be justly feared, that from these beginnings, and from
 such violent preachings, greater mischiefs will arise, (of which instances may be
 produced from our near neighbours, and are to be met with in histories) but which,
 they, the Petitioners, doubt not but your Honours and the Magistrates of *Amster-*
dam would be as ready to prevent, as they, the said Petitioners, should be sorry to
 suffer by them. They could not therefore omit, according to the good inclination
 and affection they bear to their common country, and the bounden duty they owe
 to you their Sovereigns, briefly to represent all these things to your Honours, and
 humbly to pray you not to consider the meanness of their persons; but to be per-
 swaded that many worthy Patriots, and Asserters of the Liberty of this Republick,
 and of the true Christian *Reformed* Religion, are sighing among them, and lament-
 ing that there have already happened such things through the extravagances of
 the Clergy, on account of which the said Religion, and your Honours laudable
 Government are slandered by the enemies of our country and of the *Reformed*
 churches; and which they are afraid may produce yet greater mischiefs. And since
 they (that is to say, partly those who have left their country, to the end they
 might enjoy liberty of conscience, and partly others that stay in their country, the
 liberty whereof has cost them much dearer than those who rail against them from
 the pulpit with their licentious tongues) ought not (with respect be it spoken) to
 be debarred the exercise of their publick and reasonable worship, only because they
 cannot, in complaisance to some of the Clergy, come up to the rigid opinions of
 certain particular writers, which they would force upon them by a new method
 of Inquisition, and which, notwithstanding, have nothing in common with the
 first and true *Reformation*, but have in time crept in, through the innovating tem-
 per of some of the Clergy, who have arrogated too great a power to themselves, and
 through the negligence of the Community: Your Petitioners do therefore most
 humbly pray, in the name of all the persons abovesaid, and beseech you, as upon
 their bended knees, that your Honours would vouchsafe to take them under your
 protection as good and faithful Subjects and Members both of Church and State,
 and consequently to defend them against all violence, insolence, and oppression, both
 in their persons and goods, and so to order matters, that they may be able to walk
 the streets freely, as is usual in all well-governed countries, without being ob-
 structed in word or deed by any body, and to live securely in their own houses;
 and as for their religious worship, that they may be furnished with some *Dutch*
 and a *French* Minister to preach in the publick churches, as well as the rest of the
 Clergy, on condition that they maintain a good christian and fraternal unity and
 communion, and that all of them jointly regulate themselves according to your
 Honours Resolution: and in case that cannot be immediately brought to pass, yet
 that they may at least be allowed to hold and celebrate their religious worship and
 exercises in their separate meetings, within such publick places as the Magi-
 strates shall appoint, or else in such other places as they themselves shall prepare
 for that purpose; and that they may be there secured from all lett or hindrance.

This

This Memorial was read in the Assembly of the States on the 10th of *March*, A^N^O D^O M. 1617. and after reading it, the Deputies of *Amsterdam* made it their request that the Nobles and Towns would declare: ' Whether they had done and still did amiss, ' in maintaining the ancient, true, pure, *Christian Reformed Religion*, as first ' received and still continued? *They added*; That they then would further declare ' their opinion concerning the seditious paper which had been read, having as they ' said, inquired into the matter of it, and from whence it came. Then all the No- ' bles and Towns, including that of *Gouda* itself, declared their respective opinions, ' as well with regard to their intentions of adhering to the *true Christian Reformed ' Religion* agreeably to the Old and New Testament, and the use of the Sacraments ' and Ceremonies of the *Reformed* churches, as with respect to the business for which ' they were summoned together; to wit, The issuing a Placard against seditious Libels ' and Books; the maintaining the repose of such places as were as yet free from distur- ' bances and had made no complaints; the accommodating matters in such other places ' where the people were uneasy, and had transmitted or brought their complaints ' and grievances; the discharging of Ministers and hearing the causes and reasons ' of their being turned out, and restoring them, if wronged, in order to the ' calming and pacifying mens mind. The time being spent, the hearing more opi- ' nions was adjourned.'

*The request of
the Deputies
of Amster-
dam.*

*A Declaration
of the Nobles
and Cities.*

The *Remonstrants* of *Amsterdam* finding that nothing had been done with reference to their Petition, presented a second to the States, of the following tenor:

*To the Honourable and Potent Lords the States of Holland
and West Freeland.*

' **S**OME of the aggrieved members of the Church of *Amsterdam*, who have hi-
therto made profession of the *Reformed* religion, do represent with all becom-
ing and humble respect, both on behalf of themselves, and in the name and by the
order of many others (some of whom are of no small rank) professing the same re-
ligion, as well in the *Walloon* as *Dutch* congregation in the said City, that they the
said Petitioners, some days ago presented a Petition to your Honours, and prayed,
that according to the common liberty of this land, they might be allowed the free
exercise of their religion, without being subject to any restraint or violation of
their consciences, or meeting any obstruction in their publick assembling; found-
ing their request and desire hereupon, that they cannot any longer, either with
edification, or even with a safe conscience repair to the usual sermons of the Clergy;
by reason of their frequent condemning and villifying of their scriptural opinions
(and for other causes largely recited in their first Petition) notwithstanding that
they the Petitioners adhere to the primitive, orthodox and christian Reformation, ac-
cording to the word of God; and as a mark thereof, have hitherto adhered and
conformed themselves in a scriptural sense, to the *Confession* and *Catechism*, as the
usual formularies of unity. And forasmuch as they the said Petitioners cannot
continue deprived of the exercise of all religious duties with a good conscience,
they are of opinion (under correction) that they ought not to be debarred the free
use of that religion, for the sake of which they took up arms against the tyranny
of *Spain* and *Rome*; especially in this country where none are oppressed in their
consciences, and where the most part of the Petitioners and their Relations have
concurred as well as others, in defending the common Liberty with their lives and
fortunes, under your Honours wholesome government, and the conduct of the late
Prince of *Orange* of happy memory, and his present Excellency Prince *Maurice*.
And whereas nothing has yet been ordered in relation to the said Petition, in-
much that the said Petitioners are apprehensive least your Honours should be in any
wise scandalized at the meanness and small number of their persons; they crave
leave to represent that they are likewise informed by those who are of the same
perswasion with them, and in whose name they have also humbly petitioned,
that many of those who on the 12th of *February* were assembled in the Barn,
are forbidden to come to the Communion, and all the rest threatened to be treated
in like manner, as soon as it can be discovered who they are; by which means

*The second Me-
morial and
Petition of the
Remon-
strants of
Amsterdam
presented to the
States of Hol-
land.*

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the reason alledged by the worshipful Magistrates as the foundation of their prohibition, which was published on the 21st of the said month, entirely ceases; to wit, *That those who are willing to adhere to the Christian Reformed Religion, should forbear frequenting such assemblies as have separated themselves from the established Church*, meaning by the *Reformed Religion*, the doctrine of the Clergy; and denoting by the expressions, *Those who are willing to adhere, &c.* those only whom the said Clergy shall own for Members of the Church; neither of which is applicable to the Petitioners in the present case, when certain private opinions are disguised and imposed under the specious name of the *Reformed Religion*, and they who cannot come up to those opinions are excluded from the Communion of the said *Reformed Church*. Wherefore the Petitioners could not forbear remonstrating these matters, and beseech you that they may not be deprived of their particular liberty in the midst of a free country, but that their foresaid Petition, according to the reasons therein expressed, and those which have been repeated in the subsequent Memorial, may be agreed to. And in case your Honours should make any objection against the smallness of the number of your Petitioners, and should rather incline to see more of them before you grant their request, they beg you that you would be pleased to determine how many more shall join in their Petition, provided that upon their subscribing the same, you will consent thereto; otherwise they would be glad to conceal their names, for fear of incurring further hatred, and exposing their lives and fortunes to greater danger.

The Resolution
of the States
of Holland
thereupon.

In consequence of this Petition, we find in the Journals of the States of *Holland*, an entry of the following Resolution taken on the 21st of *March*:

The Petition of the aggrieved Members of the Reformed religion at Amsterdam being read and debated, the Deputies of that City were desired to weigh the causes of their grievances with all discretion, and to take such measures, as might best tend to preserve the peace and tranquility of their City, and ease the consciences of the said complainants.

As soon as the *Remonstrants* were informed of what had been done by the States upon their petition, they applied again to the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, by renewing their former request, and delivered them the following Petition:

*To the Worshipful the Burgomasters, and the Council of
XXXVI of the City of Amsterdam.*

A petition of
the Amster-
dam Remon-
strants to the
Magistrates
of the said
City.

WITH all due respect and humility, the aggrieved Members of the *Dutch* and *French* Reformed churches represent in their own name, and in behalf of a considerable number of your affectionate and peaceable Burghers and Inhabitants of this City, all of whom are entirely devoted to the *Christian Reformed Religion* and the dear-bought Liberty of Conscience, together with the welfare of your (as well as of many of the Petitioners) native City, how that they the said Petitioners have been compelled by great and weighty reasons (which are fully expressed in this additional Petition) to exercise their external divine worship (which is more valuable to them than the whole world besides) out of the publick church; upon which account your said Petitioners have been hindered, through the informations and injuries of certain tumultuous and riotous persons, as likewise by your Worships subsequent Proclamation, from continuing their religious exercises; having been forced to have recourse to the States of *Holland* and *West Free-land*, as their only Sovereigns; to the end that they might be allowed to persevere in the foresaid exercise of their religion unmolested. And forasmuch as your Petitioners have been informed, that this their just and christian Petition, has been recommended to your Deputies at the last assembly of the States, after such a manner as that you should take it into your wise and favourable consideration; and whereas they the said Petitioners, know no reason why they should not pursue their Petition with all due reverence and respect; and the rather, because some of them have been without any cause suspended from the participation of the Lord's Supper, by the Clergy of this City, since the said Proclamation was published, besides that the *Remonstrants* with whom the Petitioners agree in their opinions about the controverted points, are daily slandered in several bitter and violent sermons, and otherwise; which causes them to pant continually, and sigh heartily for such a liberty

liberty of conscience, whereby they may be more and more confirmed in the knowledge of the truth, which, as * *St. Paul* says, *is after godliness, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come*; and in such wisdom as † *St. James* writes of, which is not *earthly, nor sensual, but is from above, and is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits*: Therefore your Worships Petitioners humbly address themselves to you their lawful Rulers, to the end that you would favourably grant and consent to this their request, arising only from a pious and peaceable temper, in such manner as is desired in the additional Petition; and the rather, because they are not only your affectionate Subjects, but also because they cordially endeavour to promote the welfare of this your City by their commerce and dealings, and particularly by their prayers to God.

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1617.

Whether any answer was ever returned to this Petition does not appear to me, but it is pretty plain from the sequel of affairs, that the Magistrates did not consent to it: neither do we find in any of the writings of those times whether they entirely broke up their separate meetings for a while: But this is certain, that they went out sometimes in small numbers to church at a little place called *Abkoude*, where was a Minister of their own persuasion, one *Hermannus Montanus*, whom some of them were wont to hear, before they began to hold their meetings in the city. And after the prohibition of these meetings, they frequented the sermons of *Johannes Geesteranus*, who, if I mistake not, was at this time the Minister of *Freedland*. In the mean while, their aversion to the Clergy of *Amsterdam* was increased, by a report that came to their ears, and which some of them also believed; to wit, of a request made by them to the Magistrates of that City, first by word of mouth, and afterwards in writing, that a certain Ecclesiastical prison might be prepared, to which all those should be committed that neglected the discipline of the Church, or misapplied the alms belonging to the Poor. This is related by some of the *Remonstrants* in print, and interpreted by them as a step towards an Ecclesiastical Inquisition, and a farther Persecution to the prejudice of other Sects. But others were of opinion, that such stories were too lightly credited.

At *Horn* too the schism grew daily greater. *Rippertus Sixtus*, formerly Minister of *Twiss*, but at this time a Preacher to a separate congregation, at a place called the *Ramen*, took great pains to enlarge his congregation, and for that purpose to entice people from the publick church. He preached and declared openly, that false doctrine (meaning the opinions of the *Remonstrants*) was taught in the church of *Horn*, in which it was impossible to be saved, and therefore that they were bound to forsake the Church, and come to his Conventicle. The Ministers of *Horn* on the contrary, asserted, that *Rippertus* seduced the people by heterodox and unscriptural doctrines. At last they came to a publick conference, chiefly promoted by *Dominicus Sapma*, one of the Ministers of that town, in which the said *Sapma* with five friends on one side, and *Rippertus* with as many on the other, dictated reciprocally to two Notaries. But neither of them understood, much less convinced his adversary; so that after thirteen several disputes upon so many days in *January* and the three following months, they ended without success, each giving the other the blame of breaking up the Conference. Here each of them had his Witnesses, too, who approved of his Cause and condemned his Opponent. Of so little use are such disputes when the minds of men are prepossessed with hate or aversion. This was that dispute, where one party (upon the proposition made by *Sapma*, to begin the Conference with calling upon God's name) refused to join with the other in prayer: Nay when *Sapma* and his friends went to prayer, *Rippertus* and his fate still, with their hats on, and afterwards withdrew into another room to pray by themselves. He said, he did it by the advice of several other churches in *North-Holland*, and that he was not at liberty to join in prayer with *Sapma*, who performed that office as Minister of the *Reformed* church at *Horn*, of which, he said, he was not satisfied. For the same reason he desired to dispute with *Sapma* as a private person, and not as the lawful Incumbent of the church of *Horn*. But *Sapma* answered, that he did not propose to pray either with, or without the character of Minister of the said town, but simply

* Tim. i. 1. 1 Tim. iv. 8.

† James iii. 17.

* Triglb. p. 847.

A^ND O^M. ply and privately : and besides, that it was not material in what quality *Rippertus* 1617. and his party would own him.

A Collection of Money made by certain Contraremonstrants for the support of their Cause.

In this distracted state of affairs, some of the *Contraremonstrants* were very diligent in collecting sums of money, in order to promote their designs. It is related of the Minister *Triglandius*, that being at dinner one day at the house of *Jorian Timmerman* in *Amsterdam*, he acquainted the company, that there must be money laid out for the maintenance of the deposed Ministers, and for young Students, as also for other expences, which the churches were to bear ; and that they who were present subscribed, some 12, some 20, others 30 and more Gilders yearly : and besides, that they appointed eight *Hollanders*, and as many *Brabanders*, for Collectors. But the *Remonstrants* being of opinion, on account of many things which had lately happened, that they were shortly to expect a terrible storm, endeavoured to weather it by a stricter union among themselves. This was done, if I mistake not, on the 1st of *March*, by drawing up and signing a certain Act and Articles, which about 14 years after was published by some of the *Contraremonstrants*, with a Comment in prejudice of the *Remonstrants* ; but *Uitenbogart*, who is mentioned in the said Act, tells us, in a certain printed answer to the Comment, that the Act was, for several reasons, suspected to be a spurious piece, but however, that he left it to stand upon its own intrinsic worth, and that he saw nothing in it that could be justly blamed, or of which they had cause to be ashamed, considering the state of their affairs at that time. However by this we may see how much the minds of men were mutually alienated : It runs thus :

An Act for promoting a stricter Union of the Remonstrants of South and North Holland, and of the Province of Utrecht.

WHEREAS several violent and unreasonable Ministers among the *Contraremonstrants*, and many of their followers, forgetting the exhortation of the Apostle in the Epistle to the *Ephesians* the fourth Chapter, (where he requires Christians who are *one body and one spirit, even as they are called in one hope of their calling, and have also one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, and one God and Father of all—to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace—to the end that speaking the truth in love, they may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ*) do daily more and more depart from the truth of the holy Scriptures, as well as from the band of unity originally maintained in the Reformed churches of these Provinces, not only broaching unedifying and pernicious doctrines, with respect to the point of *Predestination* and its consequences, but also endeavouring to impose the same upon us and others as necessary to be taught and believed, just as they have explained them in their *Contraremonstrance*, and in the other books published by them and their party ; renouncing all christian communion with the Ministers that do not enter into their notions, together with all others who oppose them ; erecting those Formularies of Unity, commonly called the *Confession* and *Catechism*, being human institutions, into new Articles of belief ; requiring, according to certain synodical Resolutions, that those Formularies should be subscribed to, not only to testify the unity, but also the orthodoxy and soundness of doctrine ; the immediate consequence of which is, that they will not suffer the same (according to the command of the Government) to be revised, in order to be corrected and amended according to the word of God ; labouring continually to bind not only the Teachers and Pastors, but even the meanest of the flock (as we understand) more closely to the said human Institutions, scarcely allowing them to be inferior in dignity to the Canon of Scripture it self ; which is not to be endured, being entirely founded upon *Papish* principles, diametrically opposite to the first views and designs of the christian and laudable *Reformation*, set on foot in these Provinces about forty years since, as well as to the Rights of the Church founded upon the word of God, which by no means allow us to be thus enslaved to human writings : and besides, endeavouring to appropriate to themselves, or to the church, as they call it, the authority or supreme direction of ecclesiastical affairs, which according to Scripture belongs only to the Civil Magistrate ; notwithstanding the numerous and serious admonitions made to them both by word of mouth and in writing,

^a From certain Memoirs of those times.

ting, for so many years last past, even in the presence, and under the presidency of A^N D^O M^I the Government; and the offers, so frequently tendered, of a Mutual Toleration, by the *Remonstrant* Clergy, and which they themselves have religiously observed; and the several Resolutions of our Sovereigns, all which have had no weight with them, and have not been able to induce them to desist from such unchristian proceedings, and to endeavour after Truth and Peace; so that they being daily more and more hardened, are come so far, as to set up separate churches and meetings in towns and villages, without any order or discipline, and also against the will and mind of the supreme Magistrate, with extreme insolence, and to the scandal of the Christian Reformed Church; whereby they have endeavoured, and still do endeavour, to disturb the publick religious Assemblies, every where, and in all places, wherever the same are served by one or more *Remonstrant* Ministers, to stir up the people against the said Ministers, and the christian laws of the Government tending to produce a Mutual Toleration, and to inspire them with great and incredible bitterness, in order to oppress the said Ministers, and all such who cannot keep pace with their zeal, but are inclined to forbearance and moderate counsels; nay, they go such lengths, as even to disown their and our fellow-servants and brethren, in *Christ*, who, though they agree with them in their opinion, with respect to the controverted points, do yet maintain christian brotherhood and communion with us, reproaching them with hypocrisy and trimming, and, as far as in them lies, cutting both of us off as rotten members: By all which unchristian methods of proceeding, they introduce unheard of novelties into God's Reformed Church, which never declared, that any man was to be accounted a false Teacher for such differences as these are, or that the bands of Christian Unity were to be broken on such an account; but has always laboured, on the contrary, to preserve Christian Unity inviolate, notwithstanding the difference of opinions with regard to these points; against which the *Contraremonstrants* acting and proceeding, as has been above related, render themselves guilty of that abominable *work of the flesh*, called *Herésie*, of which the Holy Apostle saith, in the fifth chapter to the *Galatians*, *That they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God*; setting up Altar against Altar, dividing the body of *Christ*, and giving a handle to new sects, and distinctions among men, just as if some other, besides *Christ*, was crucified for us, or as if we were baptized in any other name but that of *Christ*; which unchristian dealing was formerly severely reprov'd in the *Corinthians*, by St. Paul, as we may see in the first Epistle, and the first and third chapters; who also in *another place seriously admonishes them, to whom he writes, *to mark them which caused divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which they had learned, and avoid them*: Therefore we the underwritten Ministers of God's word, in order to provide against these inconveniences, and to preserve our Churches and their Members, as far as possible, in the pure truth of God's word, and in unity and peace, have thought it fit and necessary to bind ourselves more closely to each other in the name and fear of the Lord, by declaring in such manner as is expressed by the Articles that follow:

First, That we acknowledge no other rule of Faith, by which all doctrines are to be tried and touch'd, but only the holy books of the Old and New Testament; believing that every thing that is absolutely necessary to the salvation of the most simple christian, is express'd in the said books either by so many, or by equipollent words.

Secondly, That we adhere to the Confession and Catechism of the Netherland churches, as Formularies of Unity: nor will any of us, by our own authority, make any alteration therein, or teach any doctrines contrary thereto; but in all things promote the unity of the universal Christian Reformed Church, conformably to the word of God, and the harmony of Confessions of the Evangelical or Protestant churches, in the year of our Lord 1581.

Thirdly, And whereas no body is, or can be, oblig'd to the aforesaid Formularies of Unity, any further than as the same do agree with the holy Scripture, and

* Rom. xvj. 17.

A^N° D^O M.

1617.

and are to be tried by that test; we maintain that the said Formularies ought to be revised and reconsidered, pursuant to the Resolutions of the States in that matter; and that every one ought to be free to propose the objections that offer themselves to him, without danger of being called to an account for the same; and that the said Formularies may be tried and touched by the word of God, and, where necessary, corrected and amended.

Fourthly, If any one shall happen to vent any doctrine contrary to these, he shall be obliged to justify the same personally, since we do not conceive our selves to be concerned with him on that account.

Fifthly, Yet leaving a free and edifying communication about the points controverted between the several sects, to the end that men may grow and be exercised more and more in the knowledge of God's word and its truth.

Sixthly, Provided nevertheless that such communication be maintained with great caution and discretion, without spreading it among the simple or weak brethren, and without introducing any change in any point of doctrine, under such pretence.

Seventhly, As for what relates to the points that are now in dispute, with respect to the Divine Predestination and its consequences, in those things we adhere to what was offered by the Remonstrants to the States of Holland, maintained by them at the Conference, and ordained concerning them by the said States in the month of January, 1614.

Eighthly, Declaring however, that since we cannot henceforward, to our great grief, contain our selves within the bounds of the proposed Mutual Forbearance, which the Government has ordered, without disobeying the word of God, or burthening our consciences, because of the new and unheard of behaviour of the Schismatics before related (as has also been humbly represented to the States by a Memorial read and considered in their Assembly the 16th of the said month) it shall be free for every one of us to act in the teaching and proposing the said controverted points, together with the refuting the contrary opinions, and exposing the scandalous absurdities resulting from thence, according as we shall find most beneficial and edifying in the particular circumstances of our churches, provided it be by instructing those that oppose themselves with meekness, as becomes the servants of the Lord.

Ninthly, And as for those Ministers who are not of our mind in these points, and do yet equally detest with us the encroaching tyranny of lording it over mens consciences, and who, for fear of schism, are willing to tolerate our opinions, and allow us to propagate the same, and consent nevertheless to hold brotherly communion with us; we will likewise bear with them, upon the like foot, in conformity to the Resolutions of the States before-mentioned, and maintain christian unity with them; so teaching our opinions in the churches in which they happen to officiate jointly with us, as that the least occasion imaginable shall be given them to alienate themselves from us.

Tenthly, And as much as in us lies, we shall not consent that any person shall be promoted to the office of Elder or Deacon in the Church, concerning whom we are not assured by all possible means, that he will come into a mutual Forbearance and Toleration with us, in the manner already mentioned, and maintain a sincere christian unity with us.

Eleventhly, The supreme direction of the Civil Magistrate in publick, external church-matters, according to the word of God, is acknowledged and agreed to by all of us.

‘ Twelfthly, The doctrine and opinion of putting Hereticks to death, is rejected A^N D O M.
1617.
by us as unchristian and abominable ; and we are resolved to withstand and oppose it to the utmost of our power.

‘ Thirteenthly, None of us will publish any book concerning religious disputes without a general consent, or at least, not without the leave of those who shall be appointed for that purpose.

‘ Fourteenthly, We plight our faith mutually, and will be true to each other in our common christian concerns, and jointly stand by and assist one another in word and deed in the Lord, in all matters that may befall any of us on the said account.

‘ Fifteenthly, We likewise promise, to the best of our power, to appear at the Assemblies which shall be appointed and called by those whom we have commissioned for such purposes ; and to deliberate and resolve, according to our consciences, upon all events.

‘ Sixteenthly, The expences necessary for the support of this union, and for all troubles that any of our members may fall into, upon this account, shall be jointly born by us, upon the foot hereafter to be concerted among us.

‘ Seventeenthly, All these things are resolved and agreed to by us provisionally, and until the said Schismatics shall desist from their forming sects and divisions among the people, and from their rash sentencing and damning those who differ from them in the aforesaid points ; and until they shall own their past faults, submit to the aforesaid resolutions of the Government for a compleat mutual Cohesion, agree to the designed revision of the above named human Institutions and Formularies, and own the authority of the christian Magistrate in ecclesiastical matters, under and according to the word of God, in the most proper manner.

‘ Eighteenthly, Reserving always to ourselves the enlarging, retrenching, or changing the Articles, in order to proceed therein, as we shall see fit according to truth and edification.

Done at the *Hague*, this First Day of *March*, 1617, and Signed by

JOHN UITENBOGART,
HERBOLDUS THOMBERGIUS,
NICOLAS GREVINKHOVIUS,
THEOPHILUS RIJKWART,
BERNARDUS DWINGLO,
ISAACUS NERANUS,

PETER CUPUS,
ISAACUS WELSINGIUS,
DANIEL WITTIUS,
JOHN GREVIUS,
CHRISTIANUS SOPINGIUS,
and JACOBUS TAURINUS,

deputed thither for these purposes from the respective Classes of *South* and *North-Holland*, as also of the Province of *Utrecht*.

‘ In the same month, the *Remonstrants*, knowing that the accusation of novelty (which was daily objected to them) gave occasion to many to increase the schism more and more, presented a Memorial to the States, to prove : ‘ That their opinions were not *new*, but *ancient*, not only with respect to scripture, but also in relation to primitive Christianity, and the first *Reformation*, both within and without these Provinces ; and particularly with regard to the *Confession* and *Catechism*.’ They likewise proved, ‘ That the *Contraremonstrants* were the innovators ; intreating their Honours not to give credit to the slanders laid to their charge, but esteem them as such who adhered to the holy scriptures, to the ancient christian Churches, and to the first grounds of the *Reformation*, begging them therefore to have compassion on those Members of the church at *Amsterdam*, who, being of the persuasion of the

Q q *Remonstrants,*

A Memorial of the Remonstrants, presented to the States of Holland concerning the Accusation of Novelty.

AN^O DOM.

1617.

and are to be tried by that test; we maintain that the said Formularies ought to be revised and reconsidered, pursuant to the Resolutions of the States in that matter; and that every one ought to be free to propose the objections that offer themselves to him, without danger of being called to an account for the same; and that the said Formularies may be tried and touched by the word of God, and, where necessary, corrected and amended.

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Sixthly, Provided nevertheless that such communication be maintained with great caution and discretion, without spreading it among the simple or weak brethren, and without introducing any change in any point of doctrine, under such pretence.

Seventhly, As for what relates to the points that are now in dispute, with respect to the Divine Predestination and its consequences, in those things we adhere to what was offered by the Remonstrants to the States of Holland, maintained by them at the Conference, and ordained concerning them by the said States in the month of January, 1614.

Eighthly, Declaring however, that since we cannot henceforward, to our great grief, contain our selves within the bounds of the proposed Mutual Forbearance, which the Government has ordered, without disobeying the word of God, or burthening our consciences, because of the new and unheard of behaviour of the Schismatics before related (as has also been humbly represented to the States by a Memorial read and considered in their Assembly the 16th of the said month) it shall be free for every one of us to act in the teaching and proposing the said controverted points, together with the refuting the contrary opinions, and exposing the scandalous absurdities resulting from thence, according as we shall find most beneficial and edifying in the particular circumstances of our churches, provided it be by instructing those that oppose themselves with meekness, as becomes the servants of the Lord.

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1617.
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*A Memorial of
the Remon-
strants, pre-
sented to the
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land concern-
ing the Accu-
sation of No-
velty.*

Q q

A^N^O D^OM. 1617. *Remonstrants*, were desirous to conform to the first and ancient *Reformation*, and who, by the introducing novelties, and the continual inveighing against, and censuring the ancient doctrine, and otherwise, were hindered from the publick exercise of the Christian *Reformed* Religion in the churches of that City; to the end, that if matters could not be accommodated there and elsewhere, pursuant to their Honours Resolutions, they, the said *Remonstrants*, might enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to their consciences, as well as their adversaries in other places.

This Memorial was afterwards opposed by a counter Memorial, and defended by an Answer published in two volumes. But this was not sufficient to stop the course of the schism or separation; mens passions ran too high, and their views were too far extended.

The End of the Twenty Sixth Book.





PHILIP de MORNAY Lord of PLESSIS

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N
I N and A B O U T the
L O W - C O U N T R I E S.

B O O K XXVII.



IN this course of affairs, *Philip de Mornay*, Lord of *Plessis Marly* (a person no less versed in matters of Religion, than in Civil and Military affairs, and who by a letter to the Professor *Polyander*, had so zealously endeavoured the year before, to dissuade him from the *schism*) wrote in *March* of the current year, a certain Letter to the *Heer vander Myle* to the same purpose, being of the following tenor :

AN^O DOM.
1617.

S I R,
AS to that affair about which you desire my advice, I could wish, in order to speak more particularly of it, that I were a little better apprized, as well of the grounds, as of the circumstances of your differences ; since every small matter is capable of varying the nature of the thing. But in general I maintain, *That where the fundamentals of Salvation are not struck at, nor the outward worship defiled with idolatry or superstition, there is no cause for separation, even though people differed about points of some importance* : especially if there be any hopes of treating about and accommodating matters in a free and lawful Synod, to whose censure one of the contending parties would be but too much exposed, by raising prejudices to their disadvantage through a rash and hasty Separation. I am therefore humbly of opinion, that as charity obliges us to patience in this case, so the dangerous instances of the like quarrels in *Germany* should induce us to bear with each other, and to submit our differences to one and the same Synod, in which the proper remedies might be sought for. But there will be much more difficulty found when once the band of unity is dissolved. Our adversaries set us a good example in this matter ; for we have seen what disputes there have been between the *Jesuits* and *Dominicans*, for several years last past, upon the same points, and yet without causing a *schism* in their church. But besides, this affair is of so great moment for all Christendom, that I esteem the piety, charity and prudence of the Pastors of your Church, too highly to think they will proceed to such a Resolution,

Q q 2

without

A Letter of the Lord of Plessis to the Heer vander Myle, advising to moderation.

AN^o DOM. 1617. without consulting with the churches of the same confession of faith. And you have a very fair opportunity to do it, in relation to the churches of this Kingdom, by reason of their National Synod, which is to begin at Vitri in Britany, on the 16th of May next. For the rest, I make no doubt but that you employ your best endeavours to pluck up this evil by the roots, by all lawful means; and that you are very sensible, *that schisms in the Church, often cause divisions in the State; since different opinions in religion easily degenerate into civil factions.* This is what you ought above all things to prevent in your Government, which as powerful as it may be, is yet in its infancy, and may perhaps suffer much greater inconveniences by intestine jars than by any external assaults. I humbly recommend myself to your friendship, and beseech God to have you in his holy protection.

2d March
1617.

Your humble and affectionate Servant,

DUPLESSIS

Another Letter of his to the Sieur de Maurier, the French Ambassador in Holland.

In another Letter writ by the said Du Plessis, to the French Ambassador in Holland, the Sieur de Maurier, dated the 24th of the same month, he speaks the following language: 'As for the Church-divisions in Holland, I abominate and abhor them; they are as pernicious to the State, as scandalous to our churches. Some persons of consideration have desired my advice about them, which was by no means for fomenting them; but we live in an age, in which every thing is pushed on with great eagerness; and some secret force or impulse seems to prevail, by which even the wisest men are hurried away.'

After this, when the Heer van Langerak (the States Ambassador to the King of France) having received a letter writ, as appeared, in favour of the Remonstrants, sent it to the said Mr. Du Plessis, he returned him the following answer:

S I R,

A Letter of his to the Heer van Langerak, Ambassador of the States to the K. of France.

I have read with attention the Letter you were pleased to communicate to me, but am not so rash as to pass my judgment upon such a dispute. I can only guess that it proceeds from a good pen, and that the writer has said all he is able in the defence of his cause. But allow me only to subjoin, that I could wish with all my heart, that in these matters we adhered to the terms and ways of speaking, made use of in the holy scriptures, and confined our reasonings within those limits; not judging of the Theses or Positions according to the inconveniences or difficulties which attend them; because difficulties are to be met with in all matters; much less judging of men's principles by their consequences; since a certain person who believed and taught that the soul was procreated, yet died a Martyr, not being sensible that according to Philosophy, the soul must then be mortal. And in this case it is, that charity should prevail in not pressing more hard upon people than is proper; and modesty in not attempting to know more than we are capable of. If these were practised, I should hope that a National Synod might contribute something towards the healing of these wounds which will otherwise fester. I recommend myself, Sir, most humbly to your favour, and pray to God to keep you in his holy protection.

Saumur, 23d March,
1617.

Your most affectionate Servant,

DUPLESSIS.

He

¹ He afterwards pressed yet more earnestly for the calling of a National Synod, proposing that there should be invited to it some of the most considerable, wise, moderate and impartial Divines, from the *Reformed* churches of other countries; to which purpose he sent a certain Memorial to the *French* Ambassador, *Maurier*.

AN^o D^o M.
1617.

In another letter to the *Heer van Langerak*, we meet with these expressions: 'I pray God continually and heartily, that he would be pleased to bless the wisdom of the States, to the end that they may compose these troublesome disputes, which are like to be attended with such weighty consequences. I own, with you that we are more inclined to make an outcry about the diseases and infirmities of our neighbours than to administer remedies. But you must consider, that in this affair there is a mixture of joy and grief, since the same persons, who for reasons of State, would not willingly see you ruined, do however, for reasons of Religion, divert themselves, as it were, with your divisions, or at least have not the same feeling of them as you. Wherefore it concerns you the more to lay the Ax to the root of this evil. And without doubt the wisest and best men of both parties will contribute to it, all that is in their power. But I fear there are some who look upon that only as a cloak or pretext, which others take for the real cause. And those are the most dangerous of all.'

An Extract
from another
Letter of his to
the Heer van
Langerak.

² But it happened to *Monsieur du Pleffis*, as it very often happens to other Umpires or Mediators, who interposing between two adversaries, get little thanks from either. The *Remonstrants* thought him too much disposed to favour their enemies, and not sufficiently informed of the situation of affairs in *Holland*, and of the views of those who pressed for a Synod. On the other hand, some *Contraremonstrants* were displeased, because he did not immediately declare against the *Remonstrants*. There were likewise some of both parties, who interpreted his letters in their own favour; nay, some of them pretended that he had advised them to break the peace, notwithstanding that, *he* (as he says himself in one of his letters) *always admonished the one side, as well as the other, to avoid such a scandal*. Moreover, when some of the Clergy of the province of *Zeland* represented the state of the difference in a certain letter, and sent it to one of the Ministers of *Roan*, desiring the opinion of the *French Reformed* churches thereupon; the *Sieur du Pleffis* advised them to return no answer till they had heard what the *Remonstrants* could offer in their own defence, and to that end, to make application to the *States General*, in order to obtain a *National Synod*.

About this time, or a little sooner, one of the *Contraremonstrants* produced a certain letter of *Peter du Moulin*, Minister of the *Reformed* at *Paris*, which had been writ about eight months before, and was chiefly designed to justify the doctrines of the said *Contraremonstrants*; in which among other things he said; *Such are the sentiments of our Church, and they that are for making any change therein, do sap and undermine the foundations of the Faith, and err in matters of great importance to religion*. But the *Remonstrants* declared openly and in print, that the publisher of the letter had not acted fairly, in communicating the contents of it by piecemeals: purposely omitting that part in which the writer rejected several positions maintained, as they said, by some of the *Contraremonstrants*.

Part of a Letter
from the
famous P. du
Moulin.

The *Remonstrants* likewise printed at the same time in *French* and *Dutch* that part of the letter in which *du Moulin* uses the following words: 'I must not seem to you that some of our people in defending the truth, make use of certain harsh and odious terms, which tend to the prejudice of a good cause: For some have let fall such expressions as these: *God has made some men for perdition. God wills immutably, or according to his eternal decree, that some shall be damned. Sin is not the cause or motive of the divine decree, by which God has resolved the damnation of some. The Decree of punishment does not depend on the pre-science or foreknowledge of the transgression. Sin happens by God's direction or impulse. Just as if God had passed by, or forsaken, or rejected some men, without any respect to their sin, only because such was his pleasure. Such positions are, in my opinion, very rash, to say no worse of them. Neither have they ever been received by our churches, or by our most eminent Divines. Your divisions have fired the heads of some persons, whom I will not name, because they are living,* and

The conclusion
of the same
Letter.

AN^o D O M. 1617. and transported them to speak in this manner, by which means they spoil a good cause, and are but ill defenders of the Truth. Yet are they otherwise men whom I much esteem, and whom I know to be pushed on by their zeal for the House of God. —

This excuse and apology appeared very odd to the *Remonstrants*; one of whom said in a certain paper, which was read in the chamber of the Princess Dowager of Orange, (into whose hands likewise *du Moulin's* letter was put) 'That our divisions were so far from firing the heads of our adversaries, that, on the contrary, they having had fire in their heads before, had, by their writing, stirred up these divisions many years ago in other parts, and at last in these too. That the blame did not only lie at the door of some still living, who were not to be named; but that there were others of a much greater figure, who indeed were dead; but the living had learned these things from them; and that if the dead had not spoken, the living would probably have been dumb.' The writer had his eye upon *Zwinglius*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Martyr*, and other Doctors, from whose books the *Remonstrants* produced several passages at the end of the continuation of *Du Moulin's* letter, which agreed, as they thought, with those harsh and odious expressions rejected by *Du Moulin*, but which *Triglandius* and other *Contraremonstrants* vehemently defended. With the said continuation of *Du Moulin's* letter was published the plan prepared by him, two years before for promoting the unity of all the *Reformed* in Christendom; the design of which was to show, that the writer of it did not then think our domestic disputes to be of so great moment, as he now seemed to do.

In this same year, there was yet another letter published by the *Contraremonstrants* in *Du Moulin's* name, in which he declared himself more fully against the *Remonstrants*, saying; 'I am not a little troubled that I have been suspected of secretly favouring the *Arminians*. And in another place he says; I am of opinion that the doctrines of the *Arminians* do in a clandestine way, subvert the fundamentals of religion, and that they are as far distant from the truth of the Gospel as heaven is from earth.

A Letter written in the name of the Classis of Walcheren to the foreign Divines.

The Letter which the Deputies of the Classis of *Walcheren* in *Zeland* wrote, as is abovementioned, to some foreign Divines, came about the end of the last year to the knowledge of the *Remonstrants*, having been handed from one to another; in the said letter their adversaries endeavoured to lay all the blame upon them, and to beget an ill opinion of them in the minds of their foreign brethren. But they complained that the *Zelanders* had been very partial in relating the differences between them. ² *Grotius* expresses his thoughts about that paper, in a letter he writ to *Gerard Vossius*, President of the Divinity College at *Leyden*, in the following manner:

The judgment of Grotius concerning it.

'I have seen the paper of those of *Walcheren*, and discovered in it many tokens of minds maliciously disposed, or incapable of judging right for want of considering. The common opinion of the *Remonstrants* is therein every where mutilated or imperfectly represented: their chiefest arguments are suppressed, the opinions of their adversaries set off with false colourings, and their own answers omitted. Besides, general matters are mingled with the particular words and actions of private persons, which ought not, I think, to be placed to the account of others, neither do they belong to the point in dispute; which is, whether the Five Articles are to be tolerated in the Pastors of the churches. How much juster would it have been to refer the foreign Divines to the authentick Acts of the Conference at the Hague; or, if any thing more was wanting, to the books of *Arminius* himself; to the end that from thence, without their interfering who openly profess themselves enemies to the *Remonstrants*, the State of the differences might be impartially formed.'

Afterwards *Gasper Barlaeus*, the Vice-President of the said College at *Leyden*, was persuaded to answer the *Zeland* letter by a long one of his own, and both of them were printed together, chiefly for the use of foreign Divines, and to hinder them, from being prepossessed against the *Remonstrants*. The Letter of *Barlaeus* was published in the name of the *Remonstrants*, and it was the opinion of many, that nothing had been more nervously writ in their favour. In one of the letters aforementioned,

¹ See above in Lib. XXII. (and Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 50. ² Ex H. Grot. ad G. Voss. Epist. 10 Decemb. 1616. Script.

of the Heer *Hugo Grotius*, it is related that the King of *Great Britain* should say to *Noel van Caron*, the States Ambassador at his Court : *That he was sorry for the troubles which still reigned in the churches of the United Provinces. But that he did not intend to concern himself with them any longer, but would leave the matter to God and the States, wishing it good success.* Thus that King expressed himself, but he did not continue long in this mind ; for having been informed that the States of *Holland* were inclined to maintain certain strange notions, he was prevailed upon to write a letter to the States General of the *Low-Countries*, bearing date the 10th of *March*, a very different from his letter about four years before ; for in this he advised, *that a National Synod should be called for accommodating the differences.* It is thought that some persons had made his Majesty believe, that something was hatching, in respect to civil affairs, against his interests, though in truth there was no such thing intended ; and that this was the occasion of the King's giving advice so disagreeable to those of *Holland*. Accordingly his letter was afterwards published for the heartening of those that most eagerly pressed for the National Synod. But some were the more surprized at the writing of that letter, because they knew that King *James* looked upon the disputes about *Predestination* with very different eyes from those of the *Contraremonstrants* in this country. This appears in some measure by a letter which the *English Bishop Overall* writ to the Heer *Grotius*, which I my self have seen, and shall communicate to the Reader as I have translated it from the original in *Latin*, word for word, it containing his judgment in points of consequence.

AN^O. DOM.
1617.

The Declaration of King James the First of Great Britain, concerning the religious differences in Holland.

His advice in a Letter of his to the States General.

Worthy Sir,

YOUR Letter, with your Piece concerning the State's Orders about Ecclesiastical matters, and the copies of *Thompson's* book, are come safe to hand : For all which I return you my thanks, especially for your own book, which I immediately perused with no less pleasure than greediness. But as much as I was pleased with the book, so much was I troubled at reading your letter ; for from thence I learned that your disputes about *Predestination* are again imbittered, and through the furious turmoiling of some hot-headed men, are continually breaking out into schisms ; just as if the preservation of the Catholick Faith depended wholly upon these positions, which are nothing but Theological speculations. I am going to acquaint you with what occurred to me about these matters in the beginning of this year, and what I then said and heard. I happened to wait on our most illustrious King at the latter end of *Christmas*, when he was pleased to inquire of me concerning the Archbishop of *Spalatro*, who was come into *England* a little before, and whether I had had any discourse with him about Theological matters ? I replied, I had talked with him, and among other things, that I agreed entirely with him in certain opinions of his, relating to the disputes of *Predestination*, which being consulted upon, as he past through your country, he answered : *That these differences did not seem to him to belong to the Catholick Faith, but to the speculations of Divines ;* and therefore the Clergy should not be allowed to thwart and cavil with one another in their publick sermons about these points, to the dividing of their flocks, but rather should submit their differences to be accommodated by the private conferences of learned men, with the help of clear proofs from scripture and antiquity. To which his Majesty replied : *That he was of the same opinion, and that it appeared to him a very bold attempt for men to dispute so nicely about such questions of God's Predestination, and so peremptorily to decide matters, as if they had been in heaven, and had assisted at the Divine Council-board.* Which notable speech and sentiment of so illustrious a Prince, was approved by all the Bishops then present. I beseech God to pacify your troubles, and to bless your own labours. I am your affectionate,

A Letter of Bishop Overall to Grotius.

London, 20th
June, 1617.

JOHN OVERALL, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.

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AN^O DOM. 1617. The Bishop writ another letter to *Grotius*, dated the 13th of *August*, in which he spoke thus:

A second Letter of the Bishop.

YOUR Missive, most worthy Sir, together with the Answer of the *Remonstrants* to the *Zeland* letter, I have received, and read with pleasure. I am both amazed and grieved, that there are so many people among you, who are not able to bear with such pious and moderate opinions so learnedly explained. So much have of the tables of the * *Parcæ* influenced them. I shall return to *London* in the beginning of *October*; and if I can promote your cause, which I constantly recommend to God in my prayers, I shall not neglect it.

The aforesaid Piece relating to the Order of the States about church affairs, mentioned in one of the letters of Bishop *Overall*, has since, after long delays, and the death of its Author, been published and past through every ones hand in our time.

Grotius writes against *Socinus* upon the point of satisfaction.

This same year *Grotius* wrote his book concerning Satisfaction against *Faustus Socinus* of *Sienna*. Some think he engaged the more freely in this business, in order to endear himself, and acquire more authority with the Clergy, and so to employ himself more effectually in composing the differences between the two contending parties. He communicated that book before it was printed, not only to his friend *Vossius*, but also to the Professor *Episcopius*, in order to make use of their lights and remarks upon it. He writ about it to *Vossius*, and told him how much he was obliged to *Episcopius* for the trouble he had taken for his sake, and for the observations he had made upon it, desiring him to proceed in the same manner. The dispute between the *Reformed* and *Socinus*, upon the said point of *Christ's satisfaction*, consisted chiefly herein; to wit, *Whether our Saviour by his passion and death, obtained a reconciliation with respect to men only, or likewise with regard to God?* The last was denied by *Socinus*, who, as some think, miserably wrested several passages of scripture in his favour. Against him *Grotius* took upon him to defend the universal belief of Christians, in relation to that article. Many of the *Reformed* Divines judged, that nobody had ever writ more learnedly, judiciously and strongly on that subject. In *Germany* and *England*, the contents of his book were approved and applauded by many great men, particularly by Bishop *Overall*. However, *Hermanus Ravensperger*, Professor at *Groningen*, fell upon *Grotius* with several objections, and jealous insinuations, so rudely and unmannerly, that *Balthazar Lydius*, otherwise a zealous *Contraremonstrant*, exclaimed against him vehemently in a great company, calling his book a *childish work*, and saying that he was prepared to answer it. *Grotius* himself relates also in a certain letter, that even *Antonius Walæus*, at that time Minister at *Middelburg*, told him, that *Ravensperger's* remarks, displeased both him and *Festus Hommius*. However, *Vossius* took upon him to refute this work of the said *Ravensperger*. Afterwards the Partisans of *Socinus* united all their forces, to defend his opinions against the book of *Grotius*, making use of the pen of *Johannes Crellius*, one of their most learned and acute Divines, whose treatise appeared in the year 1523. By that treatise which was composed in a modest, civil, serious and artful manner, many of those of the same sect with *Crellius*, believed that *Grotius* was quite overthrown. And accordingly, not long since there were printed two letters from *Grotius* to *Crellius*, in which he treated him with great civility and esteem; from whence some concluded that *Grotius* was gone over to *Crellius* in the business of *Christ's satisfaction*. But there fell into my hands not long ago, the copy of a letter from *Grotius* to *Vossius*, which was writ several years later by him, in which he declares the contrary, in the following terms.

He is answered by *Crellius*.

* *Grotii Epist.* Ep. 1096=

A Letter of *Grotius* to *G. Vossius*, signifying that the answer of *Crellius* had not given him satisfaction.

In what mind, and with what views I writ my book about *Satisfaction*, you can best witness. I am glad that this book as well as yours against *Ravensperger* (a man

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* The *Parcæ* were esteemed by the Heathen, to be the Goddesses of Fate or Destiny, in whose tables every man's unchangeable lot was supposed to be registered: and the Bishop seems in this place, to compare the opinion of absolute Predestination to these notions of Fate; as *Melancthon* likewise has compared the same doctrine to the necessity of the Stoicks, and *Calvin* to their chief Philosopher *Zeno*. Vid. *Melanct.* Epist. Lib. IV. Ep. 796. p. 923.

Lond. 1612. and *Uitenb.* Hist. p. 64, and 617. where he recites another letter of Bishop *Overall*.

¹ Ex. Epist. *G. Vossij* ad *H. Grot.* 9. Jan. & *Grot.* ad *Voss.* 3. Jan. 13. March 1618. & 14. July 1617. Script.

² *Joh. Crell.* op. *Didact.* & *Polem. Edit.* 1656. p. 232.

³ Ex. Epist. *Cal.* Jan. ad *G. J. Voss.* Script.

man like *Schook*) is reprinted at *Oxford*, and pleases the learned. I cannot think I have done amiss, in not answering *Crellius* more at large; for what need is there to repeat what has been once well and fully expressed? If he cannot even demonstrate that it is unjust, that one man should freely bear the punishment of another; which can never be proved (and that the wisest among all nations have been of the contrary opinion, I have shown first in my book of *Satisfaction*, and after the publication of *Crellius* his treatise, in my book *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, under the title, *De communicatione Pœnæ*, or of the communication of punishment; and I shall show it more fully from many testimonies of the *Jews*, upon *Matt. xx. 28.*) it necessarily follows, that neither *Socinus* nor *Crellius* had any reason to depart from the propriety of the words *ransom*, *atonement* and *deliverance*, or to dissent from the apparent harmony of pious antiquity—— And in case any body after having seen the book of *Crellius*, desires to know my sentiment with respect to the things in dispute between him and me, the same will sufficiently appear from the passage in *Isaiah*, ch. liij. as I have rendered it in the disputation with the *Jews*. As likewise from thence, that at the end of my book *de Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, I explain what is said to the *Hebrews*, in the first chapter and third verse, not as betokening the present time, like *Socinus*, but the past time.*

AN^o D^o M.
1617.

There was likewise published at the beginning of this year, by *Adolphus Venator*, Minister of *Alkmaer*, a little tract, under the title of, *Theologia Vera & Mera*; or, an orthodox, clear and universal book of Fundamentals. Upon which complaint was made to the States, as if he had advanced therein certain positions in prejudice of the Divinity of *Christ*, and other fundamental points of religion. The States therefore writ to the Professors *Polyander* and *Episcopus*, desiring their advice about it.

Venator publishes a book, on account of which he is suspected of Heterodoxy.

They were of opinion, that he said too little in that book upon some fundamental points, suppressed others entirely, treated of some in such a manner as to give suspicion of his entertaining strange notions, proposed others so as that they did not agree with scriptural truths, and lastly, that he laid down such principles in that treatise, as, according to them, overthrew the absolute necessity of the christian religion in order to salvation, and opened a wide door, whereby people of all other religions, whether *Jews*, *Turks*, or *Heathens*, (provided they feared God and kept his Commandments) were admitted to eternal life as well as all sorts of *Christians*; which they thought was contrary to the will of God revealed in his Holy Gospel.

The States having received this information, summoned *Venator* to the *Hague*, in order to give an account of his book to the two Professors before-named, in the presence of the Heers *Hugo Muis van Holy*, Scout of *Dort*, and *Hugo Grotius*, Pensionary of *Rotterdam*. What past there, is related by *Episcopus*, in a certain letter to *Uitenbogat*, which runs thus:

ON the 17th of *March*, upon notice which we received from the Heer *Muis*, I together with *Polyander* waited on that Gentleman and the Heer *Grotius*, in the Chamber of the States, in order to discourse with *Venator*. And when it appeared by the Conference, that *Venator* could not make good his positions, and gave very little satisfaction (as he himself too well observed) he asked us, whether we would make our report of it to the States? We answered in the affirmative: whereupon he said: *I beg then that you will be pleased to inform them of these three particulars, which I declare to be my opinion: First, That the Lord Jesus is very God: Secondly, That he is God from all eternity: And thirdly, That he existed before he was conceived and born of his Mother.*

A Letter of Episcopus, giving an account of a Conference with Venator, and what followed thereupon.

This was promised him, and accordingly performed the next day, and in particular, those his last expressions were related in the Report, though partially enough by *Polyander*, but afterwards more clearly and fully by the Heer *Grotius*. Whilst this was in agitation, the Heer *Muis* presented a certain paper to the Lord

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Advocate,

* See *Grot. Annotat. in Matt. xx. 28.*

* Namely that *Christ* had by himself purged our fins.

² *Uitenb. Hist. p. 763.* Some thought that those Professors yielded too much to evil surmises by that advice,

concealing the good things contained in that book; for, they said, it comprized the principal points of religion, and with fine and strong arguments urged the duties of repentance, a good life and peace.

AN^O DOM.
1617.

Advocate, by way of a Remonstrance, in the name of *Venator*, in order to be read in the Assembly; in which was contained a large confession of his faith. When I had heard it, and found that *Polyander*, *Muis* and *Grotius* were silent, I said: *This paper is circumstantial, full and plain; if the man had spoken so yesterday, or even had sooner delivered his opinion about the three beforementioned points, he would have given better, nay, indeed, a entire satisfaction; so in my opinion, there is nothing wanting more.* Hereupon the Heer *Muis* replied: *Episcopus* says right, that *Venator* explained himself upon those three articles, but it was after the end of the Conference, and when we were going away: and although this paper be full enough, yet is it worth observing that he did not explain himself till he was hard prest, and in a manner forced to it. Then the Lord Advocate asked them what they thought? Whether the Remonstrance of *Venator* ought to be further considered, and whether they the Commissioners had formed any opinion about him among themselves? It being answered in the negative, he delivered the Remonstrance into our hands, and desired us to withdraw, and form our opinion concerning him. Upon this we went into the Chamber of the Committee of the States, where the Heer *Grotius* proposed, whether it were not adviseable to report that he ought to be suspended from his Ministry, and from all Ecclesiastical assemblies, till his case could be further considered? To this the Heer *Muis* subjoined: That he ought to be confined to some other place, since the people of *Alkmaer* would have no peace if he staid there. To which I replied: *Shall we proceed so far in our report, as to concern our selves with what is meerly civil, such as confinement, banishment and the like?* *Polyander* said, he was unwilling to give his suffrage for confinement or banishment, it being a matter that concerned the Church, and about which, some of the Clergy, as *Festus*, *Uitenbogart* and others should be consulted. I answered: *We have so much power in our selves, as to advise what we think is for the best, especially when desired and commanded by our Sovereigns.* What therefore if we came to the following resolution: That he the said *Venator* has given satisfaction by his Remonstrance, but that nevertheless we esteem his book to be scandalous and dangerous, and are of opinion that it ought to be suppressed. As for the rest, it being purely of a civil concern, we humbly submit it to the States to act therein as to them shall seem meet. This was agreed to. I could have wished that the Heer *Grotius* had been the reporter of our opinion, but *Polyander* said, *I will deliver it:* Being returned, he made the report thus: *Although Adolphus has given us sufficient content by his Remonstrance, yet are we of opinion that your Honours should condemn his book, and cause it to be suppressed. As for what concerns his person, that we submit to your pleasure. We did not think proper to meddle with it, for fear of offending the Church.* This last sentence he added of his own head, though it was expressly agreed, that he should not do it.

The Remonstrance or Memorial abovementioned, in which *Venator* gave an account of his faith, was word for word as follows:

A Remonstrance of *Venator*, presented to the States of Holland, giving an account of his faith.

Noble and Potent Lords,

FORASMUCH as your Honours most humble servant came hither by your order, having only been informed in general, but knowing nothing in particular of your commands, he desired and prayed, as he does again by these presents, to see in writing what is laid to his charge, to the end that he may have time to consider of the answer he shall make, and to avoid surprize, especially in such abstruse matters, in relation to which, when the mind of man is abandoned to the current of his own fancy, and sails through the vast ocean of so many different opinions without a scripture-compass, he may easily mistake the haven of truth. The eyes of all flesh must of necessity be dazzled, and even blinded in contemplating such a glaring sun-shine; for well has the Apostle said, 1 Tim. vj. 16. speaking of God, *who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen, nor can see; whose face and glory Moses could not behold, how earnestly soever he desired it, but only his hinder parts.*

‘ But not having been able to obtain my request, and being nevertheless desirous
 ‘ to satisfy your Honours to the best of my power, yea so far, as I trust, will give
 ‘ content to your Honours, and all reasonable people that shall attend to my argu-
 ‘ ments without prejudice: I declare in the first place, with respect to the Divinity
 ‘ of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, that it was not my design in so small a tract,
 ‘ containing nothing but scripture-texts for the instruction of children, to burden
 ‘ their tender minds with difficult matters; but on the contrary, I engaged my self
 ‘ to feed weak minds and children in *Christ*, (according to the Apostle’s advice
 ‘ in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, ch. iij. ver. 1, 2. *And I brethren could not*
 ‘ *speake unto you, as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ.*
 ‘ *I have fed you with milk, and not with meat, for hitherto you were not able to bear*
 ‘ *it, neither yet now are ye able*) with milk only, and not with strong meats, as it
 ‘ plainly appears by the tract it self. For the Apostle briefly relating to the *He-*
 ‘ *brews*, ch. v. and vj. *the principles of the doctrine of Christ*, which should be
 ‘ first proposed to children, and then exhorting them *to go on to perfection*, lays
 ‘ down only in gross the duty of faith in God: I was therefore of opinion that all
 ‘ that was necessary for children to know, was suggested in the articles of the
 ‘ Apostles Creed; and consequently that I ought not to be accounted a *Heretick*,
 ‘ for not having said enough about those matters, which may be done in another book
 ‘ or dialogue; for no body can justly be accused of having forsaken or rejected a po-
 ‘ sition for having barely not owned or professed it; not he that speaks in, but
 ‘ rather he that speaks without the scripture language.

‘ *Secondly*, I therefore declare, that the holy scripture does fully contain in itself
 ‘ all that is necessary to salvation; without the addition of humane phrases or unscrip-
 ‘ tural expressions; and that it is sufficient for a sincere Christian in matters of faith
 ‘ (especially in the most abstruse or nice points, such as those in question) to explain
 ‘ his mind in the very words of the Bible: and that no man ought to be censured as
 ‘ a *Heretick*, who at the very first, says all that the scripture itself says of any thing,
 ‘ and afterwards says no more, nor in any other manner, nor wrests it to any other sense
 ‘ or purpose; and consequently, that he runs no hazard of his salvation; forasmuch
 ‘ as the Holy Ghost has shown more wisdom than all the Fathers and Councils in
 ‘ expressing the mysteries of our Faith. Nevertheless I reverence prophecies, and am
 ‘ of opinion that the spirit ought not to be quenched in the Church of God: nor do
 ‘ I by any means assert, that the explication and interpretation of scripture, the com-
 ‘ paring one part with another, together with the application of it, as well according
 ‘ to the letter as spirit, ought to cease, either by word of mouth or writing; but
 ‘ think it necessary that Christians should *endeavour after the best gifts*, and espe-
 ‘ cially that of *prophecy*, and that *the spirits of the Prophets should be subject*
 ‘ *to the Prophets*, and that in the Church the Word should be *committed to faithful*
 ‘ *persons, such as are also fit to instruct others.*

‘ *Thirdly*, To speak of the things concerning which I am examined, I answer and
 ‘ declare, that I am not a *Samosatenian*, neither an *Arian* nor *Socinian*, but a sin-
 ‘ cere lover of Truth, and believing Christian; who profess and hold all that the
 ‘ Catholick Church has at all times unanimously received and believed concerning
 ‘ these matters, agreeably to the Orthodox confession: Consequently I say with the
 ‘ holy scripture, that *Jesus Christ* our Lord and Saviour is ¹ the only *Mediator* be-
 ‘ tween God and Man, ² our *Prophet*, ³ *High Priest* and ⁴ *King*, ⁵ *who has given*
 ‘ *his life as a ransom for many*, ⁶ *who suffered for sinners, the just for the unjust;*
 ‘ ⁷ *whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood,* ⁸ *who*
 ‘ *has cleansed us from our sins.* He, I say, is ⁹ *very God*, ¹⁰ *one with the Father*,
 ‘ ¹¹ *the brightness of his Glory, and the express image of his person*, ¹² *the only,*
 ‘ ¹³ *the eternally begotten Son*, ¹⁴ *the image of the invisible God, the first-*
 ‘ *born of every creature*, ¹⁵ *begotten of the Father*, ¹⁶ *but not created, whose goings*
 ‘ *forth have been from of old, from everlasting*, ¹⁷ *who had his glory with the Fa-*
 ‘ *ther,*

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² Tim. ij. 5.
³ Deut. xvij. 15.
⁴ Psal. cx. 4.
⁵ Joh. xvij. 36.
⁶ Matt. xx. 28.
⁷ 1 Pet. iij. 18.
⁸ Rom. iij. 25.
⁹ 1 Joh. i. 7.
¹⁰ Hebr. j. 8.

¹¹ Joh. x. 29. and xvij. 21.
¹² Hebr. j. 3.
¹³ Rom. viij. 31.
¹⁴ Joh. iij. 16.
¹⁵ Col. j. 15.
¹⁶ Psal. ij. 7.
¹⁷ Mich. v. 2.
¹⁸ Joh. xvij. 5.

AN^o DOM. 1617. *ther, before the world was, ¹ the same yesterday, to day and for ever, ² before Mary, ³ before Abraham, ⁴ the Word which was in the beginning, and that Word which was with God, and which was God, ⁵ by whom all things were created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, ⁶ and without whom was not any thing made that was made, ⁷ one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him, ⁸ in whom the fullness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily; ⁹ so that he who has seen Christ, has also seen the Father, ¹⁰ for he is in the Father, and the Father in him; ¹¹ and as we believe in God, so likewise we believe in him, ¹² and are in the Son of God, Jesus Christ; ¹³ this is the true God, and eternal life, who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen.*

Venator's
book is prohi-
bited and him-
self deprived
and banished
from Alkmar:

The same day the States made an order that *Venator's* book, as scandalous and unscriptural, should be suppressed, that he himself should be deprived of his benefice, and commanded never to return to *Alkmaer*, but to retire to *'S Gravesande*, a village in the jurisdiction of *Delft*, and there to continue till further order. This came upon him very unexpectedly, and consequently it was the more grievous and heavy. Professor *Episcopius* would fain have had his confession further considered, and the sentence mollified; and he, *Venator*, likewise, about three months after, presented an explanation to the States, in which he endeavoured to show that the aforesaid Confession, and the further explanation which he annexed to it, (but which I could never see) were scriptural, and conformable to the doctrine of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, as also to all the confessions of the *Reformed* churches in general, and that of the *Netherlands* in particular; shewing further, that when they were published, they would serve to remove the general scandal and offence, in case his book were construed and understood accordingly. Together with this explanation there was delivered to the States at the same time, the Petition following, either by *Venator* himself, or in his name.

To the Noble and Mighty States, The States of Holland and West-Friesland.

A Petition of
Venator, de-
livered to the
States of Hol-
land.

YOUR Honours most humble servant, *Adolphus Venator*, represents with all due respect, that he finds himself necessitated in the highest degree, to inform your Honours of the excessive grief, and unexpected troubles which your Resolution has all at once involved him in, and most reverently to implore the proper remedies: the rather, because your Petitioner cannot be convinced of the equality and proportion between the several heavy punishments inflicted on him, and the crimes laid to his charge, which that he cannot understand, he hopes and prays that your Honours will forgive him. And since he is nevertheless obliged to bear them (by having submitted himself to your pleasure) till your Honours shall otherwise order matters, he flies to you, from whom he formerly experienced the greatest justice and tenderness, exercised with prudence and moderation, and without precipitating your judgments in any case, which he has not only proclaimed every where, but was likewise one of the first Ecclesiasticks that regarded and submitted to your Honours authority in these matters: Wherefore not only he your Petitioner, but many other good people have been the more surprized at such severity, as if he had committed some high crime and misdemeanor against your Honours or his Countries welfare. My Lords, the oversights observed in his little tract, namely, that he has said too little upon some points (though it was not intended to speak of them, or other matters more fully there) are easily to be amended, by only supplying the defect complained of with a larger explanation. This your Petitioner has already done both by word of mouth and in writing; and that not when it was

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too

¹ Hebr. xiiij. 8.

² Joh. viij. 58.

³ Joh. i. 1.

⁴ Coll. j. 16.

⁵ Joh. i. 3.

⁶ 1 Cor. viij. 6.

⁷ Coll. ij. 9.

⁸ Joh. xiv. 9.

⁹ Joh. xiv. 10.

¹⁰ Joh. xiv. 1.

¹¹ Joh. xiv. 20.

¹² Joh. v. 20.

¹³ Rom. ix. 5.

' too late, or out of fear as some have pretended, but timely enough, it being early A^N° D^O M.
 ' in the morning, before the meeting, before any report was made, and before the re- 1617.
 ' solution; which was such as he the Petitioner could never have expected: because
 ' he acted in all things with a sincere conscience, to the satisfaction of the Commissio-
 ' ners, who, as he hoped, would have further considered his explanation, and dis-
 ' coursed him again about it, especially since he looked upon the said explanation to
 ' be so full, that not only your Honours, but all reasonable persons whatever,
 ' even the Synod itself, or the Universities of all christendom might be entirely
 ' satisfied therewith. The Petitioner did likewise offer *ex abundanti*, as he
 ' still does, to give satisfaction upon all points, agreeably to the word of God
 ' and the uniform confession of christians. He the said Petitioner declares, that
 ' he never caused any dispute in the Church concerning the common ortho-
 ' dox and ancient doctrine relating to the questions that were put to him, nor ever
 ' found fault with the sense usually put upon them; but only proposed it to be
 ' considered, whether it was not best to reduce the phraseology or manner of ex-
 ' pressing those things, to the stile of holy scriptures, by using the very terms of
 ' the Apostles, who best understood, and represented such mysteries as these, in the
 ' clearest words: without opposing however the usual terms, but always conform-
 ' ing to catholick christianity in such an article as that of Christ's person and
 ' office. Let any man confer with, or put any questions to him, he is ready to give
 ' a positive answer; he only prays that he may not be run down, but only fairly and
 ' fully examined, and that due credit be given to his words and writings, and no un-
 ' just insinuations suffered against him, as if he said and spake otherwise than he
 ' thought (which, alas! he could retort, in his own defence upon others) but that
 ' his reasons may be regarded, as the very nature of charity requires, and as the
 ' scripture teaches; to wit, That we ought to believe the best of every man. What
 ' can be said more in this case? He cannot unlock his heart to any man. Your
 ' Honours will please to consider this, and take pity on him. For what great vil-
 ' lany has he been guilty of, that both his little book should be condemned (which
 ' however was writ in the integrity of his heart, and without the least suspicion of
 ' causing so much trouble) and, which grieves him most, that he should not only
 ' be by surprize suspended from his Ministry (which alone would be rigorous
 ' enough, and beyond which the Synod itself never proceeded at first) but also
 ' actually deprived: and, what is yet more shameful as well as afflicting, that he
 ' should be forbidden to return to *Alkmaer*, where he has been a Preacher almost these
 ' twenty years, where his wife was born, where she brought ten children into
 ' the world with great sorrow and sickness, and from whence he has taken many wea-
 ' riful journies with much zeal for the welfare both of the Church and Town;
 ' insomuch that he thought, that by his long and faithful services, he might look
 ' upon it as his native country; especially since to the prejudice of his health, he
 ' had preached three times every Sunday, besides the weekly service, for the space
 ' of three months, and besides, had taken great pains to cause your Honours resolu-
 ' tions to be received in the churches belonging to the said town. Must this be now
 ' his reward, to be confined to *'S Gravefande*, where he is unknown to all, where
 ' he cannot earn a single stuyver for the support of himself and numerous family,
 ' where he can make no advantage of those studies in which he has been brought
 ' up from a child, and in which he has employed all his time, having learned no
 ' other business? Must he then be kept out of *Alkmaer*, and all the Cities of *Holland*
 ' like a Banditto? as he has heard already with tears, that he was to be proscribed by
 ' your Honours. Each of these misfortunes is alone sufficient to break the heart of a
 ' stout man; what torments then must he feel from all of them together? Especi-
 ' ally in such a condition, when his wife is unhealthy, his two youngest children, one
 ' of whom is still at the nurse's breast, are sick, and he himself very weak and infirm?
 ' He, the Petitioner too having lost the best part of his health in the continual troubles
 ' and disturbances of the Church, by being overwhelmed with melancholy and
 ' other accidents. Accordingly, when he received your Honours commands, his
 ' own, and his families sickness afforded him a very just excuse for not waiting on
 ' you; and yet to persevere in his ancient obedience, he forced himself from the arms
 ' of his weeping children, and repaired hither, in hopes of returning to them in
 ' few days. No body gave him notice of the points that were to be proposed to him;
 ' he

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he himself knew nothing of them, and consequently had no time to prepare an answer. And all these evils came upon him in so sudden a manner and at once, that he was utterly deprived of the means of honestly subsisting himself and his large family. All which, as it tended to the inexpressible grief of him and his, so it will be found to weaken the hands of the lovers of moderation, and to dishearten all your Honours well-affected subjects; and, on the contrary, to raise the pride and insolence of his enemies, and those of other moderate men, who now rejoice and insult here and every where, and jeer and point at him with their fingers, crying, ha, ha, that is the fellow who first of all and at all times appealed to the States, and was afraid of our Ecclesiastical censures, which are not so violent as theirs; now he has met with his reward, being deprived by them for whose authority he so strenuously contended. Will you not then allow, my Lords, that your Petitioner forthwith return to his afflicted consort, and poor innocent children, in order to assist them with a paternal affection and healing counsels? When can he best appear to them as a loving father, if not in their greatest need? And when do they want him most? Must he, an infirm and miserable man, bereft of the help and care of his own family, be forced to converse with strange faces in strange houses? Must his poor wife abandon her ancient mother, brothers and all her kindred, or rather must he be separated from her? Whither shall he go? Wherever he goes they will look askew on him, and the further he goes, the louder will the report ring, that he is banished for a *Heretick*, yea an *Arch-heretick*. With whom must he seek shelter in this deplorable condition, but with your Honours, next to God? You who are masters of your own orders; you, who can dispense with, soften or suspend the execution of them; you, who can restore him *in integrum*, or make him whole again; you, who can re-examine the whole affair, and cause him, the Petitioner, to render an account of his behaviour at a proper time; which he firmly believes he shall be able to do with sincerity, and to your entire satisfaction, and live in the town of *Alkmaer* so modestly and inoffensively, that he does not question but all the Burghers will reap much more good, and be far better pleased with his presence than absence. My honoured Lords, let your Lordships pristine discretion take place. Was ever any man declared a *Heretick* for having said too little in matters of religion, by the general Councils? And yet this is your Petitioner's case. How many books have there been writ, and daily published, full of scandal, in which too much was always said, and in which besides, so many of the greatest men in Church and State have been lampooned and ridiculed, and what is more, your Honours supreme authority has been directly attacked and undermined, and yet against the authors of these (so far have your Honours been from treating them like him) there have been no proceedings at all? Must he then be the *Jonas* alone? Is it to be hoped that his misfortunes and sufferings can lay this dismal tempest? Far from that: They boast they design to treat other persons, and those too some of the greatest, in like manner. All this being considered, your Petitioner most humbly beseeches you to extend your paternal compassion towards him, as a true father would towards his child, though he were never so angry with him. Your Honours are likewise fathers to your Petitioner and all your subjects; restore him then again to all that he was possessed of; permit him speedily to return to his wife and children. As for schisms and divisions, your Petitioner desires to make none, but would much rather, if it were in his power, help to lessen them throughout all Christendom. My Lords, let his case move you, and according to our Saviour's rule, allow him to taste the fruits of your compassion, as you would desire should happen to you, if you were in his stead. Your Petitioner promises he will always acknowledge your goodness, and pray to Almighty God for the welfare of your selves, the whole Land and the Church; as he hereby implores the same God and Lord, that he would vouchsafe to inspire your Lordships with moderate and fatherly counsels, that you may be so affected with the sad condition of your Petitioner, and extend your mercy to him, as you your selves hope to see it extended to your sinful souls from our God and Father. The Petitioner therefore, in expectation of your further and more favourable attention to this long and humble petition, puts up his prayers to God, to grant you grace and mercy with everlasting salvation, through *Jesus Christ* the Saviour of us all and of all believers.

But nothing was done upon this humble Petition. His Confession, it seems, did not meet with entire credit. In the mean while, those of the Consistory at *Alkmaer*, and divers other members of the Church, petitioned several times that his affair might be revived, and he, if it were practicable, restored to his office, but all in vain. Afterwards he was allowed to go to *Alkmaer* for a little time to settle his private concerns, but soon after, orders came from the higher powers requiring him to depart, and shewing their dissatisfaction for his lingring there so long. This happened on the 2d of *March*, in the year following, but the Magistrates of *Alkmaer* excused him on account of his indisposition. After this, they allowed him a month longer; till at length in the following *February* (his wife being dead before of pure sorrow, and his motherless children remaining there without any provision for them) the States consented that he might stay in the town by way of tryal; where he continued for some months, till the ensuing changes admonished him to quit the land and retire to *France*, where he ended his days. The opinion of the most moderate among the *Calvinists* was, that this man was too much hated by some, and too much loved by others: but those who were more violent, cried, that he had been handled too gently. During the time of his Ministry, he adhered chiefly to the party of the *Remonstrants*, being of their opinion in the business of *Predestination*; yet did they not much concern themselves in his particular affair, nor allow him any share in theirs, especially when some of them thought they discovered, after his deprivation, that he warpt a little in some points of the greatest importance. But how far he went in those matters, is only known to the searcher of all hearts.

Among the *Remonstrants*, or those that were counted on their side, there were some that treated the fiercest of the *Contraremonstrants* with equal bitterness, being guilty of the faults they condemned in others, particularly those of the *Classis* of *Rotterdam*.¹ Some there writ a sharp book against *Calvin*, charging him (both truly and untruly too) with violence, tyranny and a domineering temper, in order to revenge themselves upon some of the *Contraremonstrants*, who they thought agreed with, and imitated him too nearly. Three Ministers published it, who described themselves by these Letters, *M. I. A. H. B. S.* But we find in a certain little tract since put out by *Uitenbogart*, that several of the *Remonstrants* called in, and endeavoured to suppress that book, till the unseasonable severity of their adversaries fetched it out again, contrary to the will of many of the former. Since then, one of the three publishers, who was Minister at *Hillegonsbergb*, behaved himself after such a manner, that the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* were forced to deprive him. But afterwards, by the contrivance of some of the *Remonstrants* (whether it was that they concealed his faults, or that he had amended them) he was preferred to a living in *Gelderland*. The second, who was Minister of *Sevenbusen* grew wiser, and carried himself afterwards more moderately. The third, *Henry Slatius* a *Zelander*, Minister of *Bleiswick*, was the forwardest of those that forsook the paths of Moderation. He had been heard to say long before, that he had never subscribed the *Remonstrance*; which was understood as declaring that he did not intend to confine himself within those bounds; upon which he was told by some of the *Remonstrants*, that *he must not then think it hard, if they did not own him for one of them*. This man had learning, neither did he otherwise want wit; but was of a very violent spirit, and excessively bold, casting out from time to time, much gall from his mouth and pen, without sparing either friend or foe; insomuch that the greatest Patrons of *Remonstrancy* were displeased at it: He was very troublesome to the *Contraremonstrants*, who having made a schism at *Bleiswick*, kept their meetings in a Carpenter's barn, teasing them with certain printed articles and comparisons, containing what he judged their doctrine to be, but exposed by him in the ugliest colours, publicly dispersing the same, and challenging their Teacher, if he denied the charge, to dispute publicly with him, that so he might make good what he accused him of. But the *Contraremonstrants* judging it would be both unnecessary and unedifying too, to dispute with such a man, and upon such points, declined to be concerned with him, giving out every where that he was a slanderer and a liar, and that he charged the *Reformed* churches with abominable tenets, which they disowned. *Slatius* was so nettled at this, that watching his opportunity, and being attended by some others, (whose

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Indiscreet zeal
of some of the
Remonstrants.

number

¹ Baud. Mem. Lib. XI. p. 83.

² Grot. ad Voß. Epist. 6 Jan. 1617. Script.

As^o DOM. number was soon after increased by a great multitude of people) he repaired one Sunday morning, between 8 and 9 o'clock, to the barn where the *Separatists* were to meet, in order to celebrate the Lord's Supper. There he called to the Minister to come out and dispute with him, in order to clear himself from those articles, to the number of eleven, that were charged upon the *Contraremonstrants*. Some of the dissenting congregation cried, our Minister is able to defend himself, but he shall not do it till we have finished Divine service, which is the proper business of this time and place. *Slatius* said to them: 'In case you can convict me of the lies and 'flanders of which you accuse me, it will be of more use to you than a hundred sermons; for then you would bring over to you numberless persons, who now abhor your doctrines. Neither shall I myself stay till I am deprived by the Government, if your Minister can confute me; but freely resign my benefice, and publicly acknowledge myself to be the man you report me to be. Let us then proceed to the disputation, for I shall not depart from hence, nor let him preach quietly, till he give me satisfaction.' So said, so done: For there he staid above an hour and half.

In the mean time, their Minister *Johannes Kloppenburg* (famous enough since, having been Minister at *Heusden*, *Amsterdam* and the *Bril*, as also Professor of Divinity, first at *Harderwick* and last at *Franecker*) writ a letter to the Consistory of *Bleiswick*, in which he accused *Slatius* of *Socinianism*, and desired he might be obliged first to purge himself of that suspicion; and then he said he would undertake to confer with him. *Slatius* caused the letter to be read by the Secretary of the village in the presence of all the people, and vehemently complained of the injury done him by it; saying, he had justified himself no less than three times from the same calumny; to wit, first before the States and the Deputies of the Synod of *Utrecht*, at the time of his Ordination; next before the Directors of the *East India Company* at *Middelburg*, in the presence of three Ministers; and lastly; before the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*, who were pleased to hear him against the accusation of *Smoutius*; subjoining that he was ready to defend himself before his superiours against what *Kloppenburg* had to say; but that they must first treat of the articles in question, to justify which he had caused the people to be assembled. The Teacher *Kloppenburg* thereupon appearing, refused to engage in the dispute with him in the open streets. For that reason they repaired to the Church, where a table and benches being set about the Font, the two Ministers and two other persons took their seats, and two or three more sat down below, to write all that past between them. Here arose a *Logomachy*, or dispute of words about some passages in three of *Slatius* his articles (for *Kloppenburg* had not been able to go through the rest) one maintaining that they were fairly, the other that they were unfairly represented, but neither could satisfy his Antagonist. Each cried, he had confounded the other, and each found witnesses in his favour among the divided multitude. There was a day likewise appointed for disputing about the remaining articles, but nothing came of it, because *Kloppenburg* being attended by *Henry Arnoldus*, Minister at *Delft*, insisted again, that *Slatius* (who having heard of the coming of *Arnoldus*, had called the Minister *Nicholas Grevinkhovius* to his assistance) should clear himself from the charge of *Socinianism* which was brought against him. But some of the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*, under whose jurisdiction that village lay, being there present to prevent all disorders, said, that they who accused *Slatius* of *Socinianism*, did in effect, accuse them for suffering such men to preach in their churches: they insisted besides, that *Kloppenburg* should come to the Senate-house at *Rotterdam*, and there make good his charge of *Socinianism* upon the day they thought fit to appoint, promising to deprive *Slatius* as soon as ever he should be convicted of it; but that now they should proceed upon the articles they had begun with. *Kloppenburg* asserted, that *Slatius* ought to answer before the Consistory of that place. The Magistrates replied, that the people of *Bleiswick* had never brought any complaint against him on this account, and so adhered to their opinion, as *Kloppenburg* did to his. Thus they parted *re infecta*, each laying the blame on his adversary. However, *Slatius* did not behave himself with more moderation after this; insomuch that the Heer *Grotius*, Pensionary of *Rotterdam*, advised the Magistrates the year following, to discharge him from the exercise of the Ministry at *Bleiswick*. And accordingly the Synod of *Delft*, which met about that time,

time, proceeded to his deprivation, as shall be related in the transactions of the AN^o DOM. year 1618.

At the same time, the late Minister *Smoutius*, showed his zeal again on the part of the *Contraremonstrants*. He would not now stay any longer at 'S *Gravesande*, the place to which he was confined, but was put up into the pulpit sometimes by the Clergy of *Amsterdam*, as a Pastor, who in their opinion, had manfully contended and suffered for the purity of the *Reformed* doctrine. He drew his pen particularly against *Grevinkhovius*, one of the Ministers at *Rotterdam*, whom he handled so roughly in a *Latin* treatise, and charged with such faults, that the Consistory took it to themselves, and complained of it to the States of *Holland*, in whose Journal or book of Resolutions, we find the following Order :

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Smoutius
writes against
Grevinkho-
vius.

On the 21st of June, there appeared before us, *Franciscus Lansbergius*, *Peter Dirksen Karre* and — Deputies of the Consistory of *Rotterdam*, complaining of the contents of a certain book published by *Adrianus Smoutius*, in which he falls upon *Nicholas Grevinkhovius* their Minister, with very opprobrious and foul language, and praying that a strict inquiry might be made into the truth of what he is there accused of ; and in case it should be found to be nothing but detraction, that *Smoutius* be summoned before us, heard and punished : or if it proved true, that they might know it, to the end that the said *Nicholas Grevinkhovius* might be abandoned by them, and punished as one unworthy of the sacred function ; and to make good this their complaint, they produced a certain leaf, torn out of the said *Latin* book, and translated into Dutch : whereupon the said information having been considered, the said Deputies were told, that the States would consider thereof, and proceed therein as to them should seem meet ; and it was moreover resolved, that the Fiscal Attorney General should be directed to examine the said book, and make an extract of all that he should find tending to accuse and detame the said *Grevinkhovius*, and lay the same before this Assembly, to the end, that after it had been further considered, the States might give such other directions in the matter, as they should think proper.

But this Resolution had no effect : for *Smoutius* residing at *Amsterdam*, was made a Burgher of that City, and the Magistrates refused to let the Fiscal proceed against him there, or cite him before another Tribunal ; upon which *Grevinkhovius* did not think fit to prosecute the said *Smoutius* in that place. He therefore thought it might be best to defend himself in publick print. He answered the accusations brought against him and others by *Smoutius*, with a *Latin* Apology, which neither spared the accuser, nor forbore to represent the evil of these divisions. Speaking among other things, of his insolent temper, he took notice of seventeen articles which he of his own authority had advanced, and offered to a certain Minister who came to his examination at *Schiedam*, to the end that he should agree to and subscribe the same, together with the XXXVII Articles of the *Netherland* Confession ; or in case of refusal, that he should not be admitted to the pulpit. The aforesaid articles related chiefly to the business of *Predestination*, with its appurtenances, except the three last, which were as follows :

- ' I. The right of calling Ministers, belongs only to the Church.
- ' II. The last resort, or judgment of Ecclesiastical affairs and differences, and especially of what relates to doctrines, belongs to the Church ; and order requires, that those who are to form, or pronounce such judgment, be duly chosen by the Church for that purpose.'
- ' III. The Church has a right to exercise Ecclesiastical discipline over all degrees of men, even over the Civil Magistrate himself.'
- ' There was one of the Articles that ran thus : Every motion, action or operation of the Humane Will, and all other things were by an eternal and unchangeable Council or Decree of God, before ordained or determined to come to pass, as they now happen in time.'

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Bassecourt
accuses the
Remon-
strants.

It was likewise at this time, that the Minister *Bassecourt*, whose Call, after many procrastinations and delays by the *Walloon* Synod, assembled this present year at *Leyden*, was agreed to, began publickly to open his mouth at *Amsterdam*, against the *Remonstrants* and their opinions. And it is said of him, that he renewed the charge of treason against the State, and of a correspondence with the *Jesuits*.¹ But it was likewise replied on their behalf, in a certain paper which they published at the same time, *That Bassecourt and such as he, were themselves Traytors against the Church and State, since they knew such things, and did not discover and prove them, where they ought to have done it; or else that they were Detractors and Calumniators in exasperating the minds of the people with such stories and rumours, without being able to make out any part of them.* And it appears by the same account, that his violent declaiming from the pulpit, and his immoderate hatred of the *Remonstrants*, were the cause that there could hardly be a wedding celebrated in the *Walloon* church, but the new married people (if of the *Remonstrant* opinion) were in their return home, reviled and insulted, and even pelted with dirt along the streets.² *Bassecourt* on the contrary, maintained that he was unjustly accused, but owned that he had said in his sermon, *That there were many persons in the land, who like Ahaz, made a fair show, and yet were betrayers of their country, notwithstanding their good counsels and prudence, at least so far, as they brought down the judgments of God upon the land by their errors and false doctrines.*

Uitenbogat
has some dis-
pute with the
Walloon
Synod.

³ *Uitenbogat*, as one of the Ministers of the *French* church in the *Hague*, was likewise a Member of the *French* or *Walloon* Synod, which, though he was in great esteem with them formerly, began now to stir against him. In the *Walloon* Synod met at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1616, at which he himself was present, there had been some exceptions taken, but modestly and civilly, against certain passages in his vindication of the States Resolution; and the objections of some of the churches were represented to him; in particular that he insisted too rigorously upon some of the ill consequences by him deduced from the opinions of his adversaries: but he gave them so satisfactory an answer, that they only prayed him, that when he should have occasion to write again upon that subject, he would treat matters as gently as he could; and he assured them he would follow their advice as far as the points he defended should bear it. And when at the conclusion of the session, they proceeded to the usual censures, they intreated him to take in good part all that had been done in the affair.

But at the Assembly of the *Walloon* churches, holden in *April* this year at *Leyden*, they touched again upon the same string in *Uitenbogat's* absence. Some of them offered the very same objections against him; but of them it was asked more than once; *Whether they would maintain the opinions against which he the said Uitenbogat writ, to be the doctrine of the Church?* To this it was replied: *That the Assembly would not enter upon a decision of the differences in doctrine.* At the same time he endeavoured to satisfy the Synod by a letter. Some, who together made up about a third part of the Synod which met at *Dort*, in the month of *September* of the current year, thought he had given full content; but the rest insisted, that for the further satisfaction of the churches, there should be a deputation made to him, in order to obtain of him a fuller explanation of some matters contained in his letter. This was carried by a majority of voices, and *Bassecourt* with others were sent to him. But *Uitenbogat* declined treating with them, unless in the presence of witnesses, Elders of the *Dutch* church; for since he had writ his vindication as Minister of that church, and in that language, he judged it reasonable, that that church should be fully informed of the proceedings against him on the said account. He also sent afterwards a further answer in writing to the Synod, in order to give them all possible satisfaction. But there was something more at the bottom.⁴ His Excellency *Prince Maurice* having now openly declared himself for the *Contraremonstrants*, as shall be hereafter related, writ to the *Walloon* Synod at *Dort*, to send a *French* Minister of that persuasion to the *Hague*, for the benefit of those who did not care to hear the ordinary Ministers. The Deputies

Prince Mau-
rice endea-
vours to intro-
duce at the
Hague a
French Mi-
nister of the
Contrare-
monstrant
opinion.¹ C. Niel. en sa verification contre Bassecourt. An. 1618. p. 15.² Bassecourt en son Apologie. An. 1618. p. 29, 45 and 46.³ Uitenbogat's life, Lib. IX. p. 181.⁴ Idem Ibid. See the Resolutions of the said Committee. 7 and 10 Octob. 1617.

ties of the Synod communicated this matter to the *Walloon* Consistory of the *A^NO D^OM.* *Hague*: but the Ministers *Uitenbogart* and *La Haye*, declared plainly, that they 1617. could not consent to admit any one for their Colleague, who would not hold communion and brotherhood with them; but if it should be resolved to bring in such a man, they desired that they might be discharged. Thus did they deliver their thoughts at a meeting of the Committee of the States, who heard them, and agreed with them: so that the matter remained as it was, till the great Revolution in the year following, when every thing was submitted to the pleasure of the Prince.

Hitherto the disputes about religion were chiefly restrained to the Province of *Holland*, and canvast among the Members of those States, the States of the other Provinces not much concerning themselves with the same. But now some of these began to speak openly in favour of the *Contraremonstrants*, and were for promoting their views.

On the 10th of *May*, some of the Deputies of the States of *Zeland* made the following Proposal in the Assembly of those of *Holland* and *West Freeland*.

Noble and Mighty Lords,

‘ **T**H E Lords the States of *Zeland*, our Principals, have charged us, in the first place to present their humble service, with the tender of all friendship and good correspondence, and to offer you further whatever is in their power. They have next directed us to represent to your Honours, that having been informed both by their Deputies residing here, and otherwise, of the late troubles and misunderstandings which have risen on account of ecclesiastical and religious matters, and which are still to be apprehended in several places, in case some proper and seasonable remedies be not in due time provided and opposed against them; and particularly observing, that notwithstanding your Honours have been long deliberating about them, and mutually engaging in the search of means to compose and pacify the same (which the said States of *Zeland* heartily wish might have succeeded) yet it has been without coming to an agreement, at which they are extremely troubled and grieved. So that although they are convinced, that they needed not to interpose in the affairs of your Province, but might have safely left it to the wise and prudent management of your Lordships, to whom they must do the justice to acknowledge that your care from time to time has not been confined to your selves only, but has been faithfully extended to others in necessities and difficulties: however, having considered the strict alliances between the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zeland*, by virtue of several treaties, whereby they are obliged to assist and stand by one another in word and deed in all emerging difficulties; and particularly reflecting, that the subject and occasion of the present troubles are the differences and disagreements in certain points of religion; and being conscious that religion and the unity of Divine worship are the strongest bands, by which men’s affections are conjoined, and that these Provinces have been hitherto united and preserved by the exercise of the *Reformed* religion, and in it through God’s blessing, have attained to the desired liberty; and that the continuation of the said acquired liberty, and the welfare of the nation, still depend on the maintenance of the said religion without any alteration: and that on the contrary if any changes happen, they must needs produce great discords among private persons, from whence often follow as great revolutions in Cities and Provinces. The matter being therefore of so great moment and consequence, our Principals are of opinion, that out of regard to the common interest of both Provinces, they ought no longer to forbear interceding with your Honours, and giving you such counsels as they in their consciences judge may be of use to you, for removing the troubles already arisen, and for obviating all further dangers and inconveniences. They have therefore thought fit to depute us extraordinarily for the said end to your Honours Assembly; and first of all to entreat and insist, that as it was earnestly urged some time ago, on the part of some other Provinces as well as ours, you would forthwith enter into measures for calling a National Synod, in order to compose those quarrels and controversies, touching some points of religion that daily increase; and that the same may be discussed there, and the churches and the

A Proposal presented on behalf of the States of Zeland to those of Holland.

S f 2

‘ minds

AN^o DOM. 1617. minds of men restored by that means to their former tranquility ; forasmuch as experience teaches, that this is the method that has been made use of in all ages by christians on the like occasion ; as on the other hand it has been found that all other methods have hitherto been applied in vain ; but that hereby through the blessings of God, the desired peace of the Church, which has been sometimes overwhelmed almost with disputes and quarrels, has been attained ; insomuch that even the Holy Ghost himself has not suggested any other or better expedient in his word : also that Your Honours would yet suffer your selves to be perswaded, together with the rest of the Provinces, to agree and consent forthwith, (the sooner the better) and if possible, immediately to appoint a certain time for the meeting of a lawful National Synod ; where the points in question may be examined and tried according to the word of God, by pious, learned and peaceful persons, duly deputed for that purpose ; to whose decisions every body should be obliged to submit without contradiction. Our said principals know no other fitter means, and trust that the general peace of the Church (which deserves our utmost application) may be thereby acquired. And since they are sensible, that this cannot be brought about so soon and readily, but that it will take up some time to prepare all things necessary thereto, and since in the mean while they observe that many troubles do still arise daily in several towns and places on this account ; and that also several of the Clergy and other persons, as it is said, continually complain of the troubles that come upon them for the sake only of these differences, against which being willing to secure themselves by the common methods of law, they have not hitherto, as it seems, been able to attain their desire : therefore our Principals are of opinion, with due submission to Your Honours, that it is absolutely necessary that some care be taken provisionally, and until the controversies can be determined by the aforesaid lawful Synod, to the end that the aforesaid complaints may be removed, and the churches, as well as private persons, who have been affected by the former proceedings, may be satisfied, and so continue easy, waiting for such a decision as may obviate all the future mischiefs that are apprehended.

‘ All this may be brought about, as our Principals believe, without any diminution or infringement of the Civil authority, and without prejudice to the controverted points that shall be disputed on and discussed in the approaching Synod. They, our said Principals, declaring once again in the sincerity of their hearts, that they earnestly desiring to see peace and tranquility settled among their good and worthy neighbours, can at present advise nothing better ; and that if they should find themselves involved in the like difficulties and troubles, which God forbid ! they would cheerfully receive the like counsels from your Honours. They therefore intreat you to take this application in good part, and afford it such attention as the welfare of Your Honours Province, and the pressing wants of the Church require ; to all which they expect your favourable answer.’ *Done and delivered in the Assembly of the Noble and Potent States of Holland and West-Friesland, this 10th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1617.*

Signed,

JAMES DE MALDERE.
ENOCH POTTEY.

WILLIAM BREWER.
BONIFACIUS YOUNG.

After the delivering this Proposal, which was made in writing, the Deputies were thanked and dismissed, but nothing more was done about it at that time. Though afterwards there was an answer returned by the States of *Holland*, not without great opposition from four or five of the towns ; but it was carried by most voices, and shall be mentioned in its proper place.

*Remarks on
the proposal
of the States
of Zeland.*

1 As to the said proposal from the *Zelanders*, it has been since observed by some, that the Deputies owned that their Masters and Principals disclaimed all right of concerning themselves with the Government or affairs of those of *Holland*, and left them to the wise and prudent conduct of the States of the said Province, owning that

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. II. p. 23. Lib. XIX. p. 180.

that what they did, was only by way of intercession, advice and counsel, alledging by way of excuse certain particular conventions between the two Provinces, which plainly did not concern the other Provinces, nor had any relation to the rights of the *Generality*: neither was there once mention made of the *Union of Utrecht*, or of that authority which the *States General* claimed and pretended to by virtue of the said *Union*. I have likewise found in the *Memoirs* of a good hand, that the *Deputies of Zeland* were instructed by their *Principals*, to warn those of *Holland*, among other things, *not to set up Altar against Altar, Church against Church, or Consistory against Consistory*: but that when they proposed their other arguments, they did not think fit to make any mention of *Altars* or *Churches* for certain reasons. The Lord Advocate *Oldenbarnevelt*, having been before apprized of their instructions, asked those *Deputies*, *whether they had orders to say any more?* They answered, *no*. But they had spoken of that part of their Commission to the Prince, who told them: *It is too late, the schism is begun*. Being afterwards asked by others why they did not offer that article likewise to the *States of Holland?* they replied: *They were ordered to advise with his Excellency about it first*. But what there is in it, will appear from their very instructions, a copy of which I found among the papers of a Great man, who was at the head of affairs in those times; they run thus *verbatim*.

AN^O D^OM.
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‘ In the first place the said *Deputies* shall wait upon his Excellency, and after the usual salutations shall tender his said Excellency the proper and serviceable respects of the *States of Zeland*, with the compliments requisite thereto.

‘ In the next place they shall acquaint His Excellency with the occasion of their coming, and communicate to him the contents of their charge and instructions; to wit: That the said *States of Zeland*, having been informed by their *Deputies* residing at the Hague, that the troubles about Church-matters in *Holland*, could not as yet be accommodated by several Conferences which the *States* of that Province had holden among themselves; and being in hopes that their mediation with neighbours and friends so closely allied and united, might, through God’s grace, afford some help, or suggest some expedient for that purpose, had directed them to attend the Assembly of the Lords the *States* of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and after having paid the like civilities and tender of service, to represent to them in the best and most proper manner, that their *Principals* (the *States* of *Zeland*) having heard of the late troubles arisen among them on account of the religious controversies, and of the ill consequences thereof in divers towns and places, are extremely concerned at it, being sensible how much unity in religion imports the whole nation; and that therefore their Honours being so strictly and firmly confederated by several treaties, cannot be idle spectators, nor forbear shewing them by this extraordinary deputation, how earnestly and heartily they wish that some fitting means may be found to adjust and terminate the said troubles on all sides, declaring and protesting at the same time, that they have no design hereby to intermeddle with the government or direction of affairs in their neighbouring Province, but are only moved thereto, in order reciprocally to preserve the band of unity in religion, by which God has always so visibly and remarkably blest these Provinces.

That it is therefore absolutely necessary, that something should be done without delay, and with a good and true zeal, in which they doubt not but their Lordships will concur.

It is especially necessary that care be taken, that not only all further divisions may be obviated and prevented by proposing all convenient methods and expedients, and so the disquieted minds of men be composed and quieted by christian and friendly methods; but likewise that the schisms already begun, be healed, and the unity of the Church preserved, without setting up Church against Church by the appointing and establishing different Consistories.

‘ Uitenb. Hist. p. 680.

AN^O D^O M.
1617.

‘ They shall also most earnestly endeavour to perswade the said States of Holland, with the most patheticall and moving arguments they are able to produce, to give satisfaction to the complaining churches, with respect to the differences arisen, to the end that further troubles may be prevented.

‘ And since it is absolutely necessary for the honour of God, the preservation of the true religion and of unity; that some general means and proper medicines be found out to remove this distemper, and since it has always been the practice from the very beginnings of Christianity, when the Church happened to fall into any troubles with respect to the orthodox faith, to have recourse to a lawful Synod; whereby it often happened that such like grievous inconveniences were through the grace of God remedied. Therefore the aforesaid Deputies shall make pressing instances with the States of Holland and West-Friesland, that they would please to consent and agree that such a Synod may be convoked in a short time, and as soon as possible, to the end that the points which are controverted among the churches, and upon which there may still arise any disputes, may be regularly liquidated and decided, and perfect peace and tranquillity attained to.

Lastly, The Deputies are to conform themselves to the substance of the preceding instructions, and endeavour to execute this their commission in such a manner as may be most for the service of the Land, with the knowledge and advice of his Excellency.

Done at Middelburg.

A few days after the Deputies of *Zeland* presented their Proposal, the like was done on the 19th by certain Deputies of the States of *Gelderland*, and on the 20th by others of *Freeeland*, *Groninghen*, and *Over-ysse*, in order to induce the States of *Holland* to consent to a National Synod. Those of *Gelderland* spake the following language.

My Lords,

A Proposal of
the Deputies of
Gelderland.

‘ THE Deputies of *Gelderland*, first returning your Lordships thanks for the audience you grant them, are directed by their Principals, the States of *Gelderland*, to wish you all happiness and prosperity in your present Government, with the offer of their neighbourly friendship and correspondence, and at the same time to inform you particularly of the good intentions of the States, for preventing such further misunderstandings and differences as for several years last past have arisen, not only in some of the neighbouring Provinces, but also in some parts of *Gelderland* itself, even in the business of religion; which are found to occasion such an alienation of the hearts of the people, both in town and country, that greater animosities may probably arise from thence, to the dishonour, nay, to the ruin of the common cause; which the Almighty, by uniting the hearts of the inhabitants, has so graciously blessed and caused to flourish in past years. Wherefore the Deputies of *Gelderland*, believing that among other things to be transacted in this Assembly, your debates might fall upon the ways and means of restoring the unity of the Church, of reducing uneasy minds to peace, and of preserving and transmitting the purity of God’s word to posterity; from whence it is likely to happen, that the fruits and effects of your Resolutions will be shared by the equally United Provinces, as Members of the same Community, have thought proper to intreat your Lordships, in a neighbourly and friendly manner, according to the positive orders of their Principals, the States of *Gelderland*, that you would be pleased to take such resolutions in this present Assembly, as may serve to remove the misunderstanding already risen, prevent future ones, and reduce the minds of the people to the former peace and unity. Not to acquaint your Honours, that the said States of *Gelderland*, at their last meeting, could think upon no more fitting and surer means of attaining to the ends now so much desired, than the calling of a lawful

‘ and

‘ and national Synod, under the authority of the States General, as soon as possible ; it is hoped that such preliminary hints from our Principals will not be judged
‘ useles by the United Provinces, and particularly by your Lordships, and accord-
‘ ingly will be maturely considered ; in confidence whereof we tender all neigh-
‘ bourly and useful offices.’

A^N° D^OM.
1617.

Signed by,

A. VAN RANDTWYK.
MARTIN GRIPON,
E. VAN ESSEN.

JOOST VAN GIESEN.
J. VAN GOCH.
HENRY VAN BRIENEN.
N. DE VOOCHT.

Those of *Freeſland*, as also of *Groninghen* and the *Ommelands*, joined in the following Proposal.

Noble and Potent Lords,

‘ **T**HE Lords, the States of the respective Provinces of *Freeſland*, *Groninghen*, and
‘ the *Ommelands*, have charged us in the first place, to present their humble
‘ service to you, together with the tender of their friendship and good neighbourhood
‘ and correspondence, wishing you a long and happy Government ; and in the next
‘ place, to acquaint your Honours, that they the said States have understood with
‘ much concern, that great troubles are arisen in your and some other neighbour-
‘ ing Provinces, on account of the differences in religion, which increase daily, and
‘ occasion many mischiefs and inconveniences, to the prejudice of the true *Reformed*
‘ religion ; which has been taught and practised for above forty years in these
‘ United Provinces, to the honour of God’s holy name, and to the edification of his
‘ people. And what is yet more, that the hearts of the Community are thereby so
‘ extremely embittered, and the good agreement among them so much weakened,
‘ that not only infamy but ruin threatens these Provinces ; from which God pre-
‘ serve them ! Wherefore the said States of both the Provinces abovenamed, under-
‘ standing, that this your Honours meeting is calculated to find out ways and means
‘ for re-establishing the unity of the Church, for quieting the uneasinesses of men’s
‘ minds, and preserving the purity of God’s holy word, have thought it most highly
‘ necessary, that we should inform you in their names, as the good neighbours and
‘ allies of your Lordships, that they have not been able to find out any better
‘ means for determining the differences above-mentioned, than that of speedily calling
‘ a lawful and national Synod by the States General ; being firmly persuaded,
‘ that this their proposal will be received as useful and necessary by all the Provinces
‘ in conjunction, and especially by yours. And whereas your Honours will easily
‘ comprehend, that such calling of a national Synod will take up a great deal of
‘ time, they, the States of *Gelderland* are of opinion, under correction, that for
‘ preventing further mischief and inconveniences in the mean while, such provisional
‘ methods might be taken, as would put an effectual stop to all complaints, and give
‘ proper satisfaction to the parties concerned ; all which will conduce to the honour
‘ of God, and to the repose of his holy Church. Upon which relying, we shall
‘ wait for your Lordships answer in writing.’ Done and delivered at a meeting of
‘ the States of Holland, this present 19th of May, 1617.

A Proposal of
those of
Freeſland,
Groninghen
and the
Ommelands.

Signed by,

TACO VAN BURMANIA.
WYTSE BEYAMA.
G. VAN ENSUM.

G. CARMINGA.
A. CLANT.
D. YSBRANT.

The States of *Holland*, after returning them thanks, made answer: *That they would consider of the matter.*

During the course of these affairs and disputes, several people dispersed Libels and scandalous Papers daily, but without any name to them, with design to render their adversaries odious. But it will not be unuseful to set before our Reader what the

Many Libels
are published.

AN^O D^OM. 1617. Heer *Grotius* thought of this kind of proceeding, and its consequences. ' 1 If there be any thing, *says he*, unbecoming a *Christian*, it is the violating any man's good name by *Pasquils* and *Libels*. This by the *Roman*, or *Civil Law*, was forbidden on pain of death, and justly too, since every man by such means has it in his power to blacken his neighbour without his being able to obtain a legal remedy; because his adversary is concealed, who also lies the more boldly as knowing he cannot be obliged to prove his assertions. How much some of the *Contraremonstrant* Clergy, and others of their persuasion have found their account in this way of proceeding, their works will show: in divers of whose books, the Nobility and the Magistracy of the towns, as well in general as in particular, are painted with the most odious colours. The Advocate of *Holland*, who has born that burden near forty years with so much courage, and has now twice weathered those furious storms, once in the Earl of *Leicester's* time, when the same calumnies were raised against him, and after that, in the negotiation of the Truce, is again in his old age attacked with great violence in his honour and reputation, with numberless lies, which no man would dare to maintain against him in a Court of Justice; nay, they even compare him to the * *Marquis d'Ancre*, to show what favours they would bestow upon him if they could have their will. 2 The States of *Holland* have frequently endeavoured to put a stop to this growing evil. There was a draught of a Placard formed on this account, in which there was not less care taken for his Excellency and the Courts of Justice, and even for the Clergy, than for the States, the Nobles and Magistrates themselves. The penalties were levelled only against such kind of Libels and defamatory Papers; and particularly against some that had been complained of by the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*. [For some of the *Remonstrants* too had their share in the guilt of libelling.] But the Deputies of that City itself, and some who joined with them, would not hear of it: There were old Placards enough, they cried. But was it not formerly the practice, upon observing the like licentiousness, to renew the old Laws, and to adjust them to the present circumstances of things?

Then with intention to show how men proceeded from words to actions, he goes on thus:

' From the very beginning of the war, there were two kinds of people who endeavoured at a change in the Government. Some through zeal for their opinion, as did certain of the Clergy (among whom also there were several who expected to procure to themselves a larger stipend, and more respect) and others, that they might insinuate themselves into the Government, which they could not regularly attain to as being: Foreigners, or upon other accounts not so well qualified as their neighbours.—— Now, though they that were not natives of this country ought to have contented themselves with an undisturbed habitation, and with alliances to the natural born subjects, and to have waited till their children born here might have been equally qualified with others for publick employments; yet we find by our own experience as well as that of others, that the impatience of such people often occasioned or fomented much uneasiness: for such as seek it, can never want some pretence or other to cry out against the present Government. Of the same humour have some others constantly appeared, who indeed are natives of the land, but not of the best families, nor of the richest or wisest, who, according to the laws or customs of this country, ought always at Elections to be preferred to others. These humours have broken out long since.—— Yet such licentiousness could not produce so much mischief, so long as *Holland* consisted of *Holland*. But when after the loss of some parts of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, many of the inhabitants, who did not thoroughly understand the nature of our Government, fled into these Provinces, the late Prince of *Orange*, of glorious memory, warned the States of *Holland* carefully to attend to it, and strictly to provide against all turbulent and seditious designs. But after the death of his Excellency Prince *William*, the

Earl

* Grot. Apol. Lib. IX. p. 93.

* The *Marquis d'Ancre*, was a great favourite of the Queen Regent of France, but he and his wife were torn in pieces by the Mob in the very Court.

2 Baud. Mem. Lib. VIII. p. 22, &c.

3 See Grot. Apol. Lib. IX. p. 90. Lib. XIX. p. 203. The answer of the States of *Holland* to the Ambassador *Carleton*, in *Uitenbogart's* Hist. p. 847. And the Letter of the said States to the Elector Palatine. Epist. Eccles. p. 491. Ep. 304.

Earl of *Leicester* (who was a stranger to the laws and constitutions of this land) being at the head of the administration, all the malecontents thought the time was come for them to make their market; and accordingly they exclaimed against their lawful Governors, not only as persons that had no religion (because they would not suffer themselves to be bound by humane bands or institutions;) but as spies, traitors and *Spanisbly* affected. Hereupon ensued the intrusion of foreigners into the Government of *Utrecht*, by turning out those to whom the administration legally belonged: and when endeavours were used to bring about the same things in *Holland*, the prudence and courage of the Magistrates of *Leyden*, *Amsterdam* and *Enkhusen*, hindered them from taking effect. These distempers have been lulled asleep ever since the year 88, but are again awakened in these our last unhappy times. Now one hears nothing else in waggons, in boats, in streets, in lanes, but publick discourses and rumours of a Revolution in the form of Government, and a change of the persons of our Governors. Deeds have followed words: thus have we seen the Magistrates of *Oudewater*, violently assaulted in the very town-house, and compelled to do whatever the Mutineers thought fit. After which, the Senate for fear of a tumult, were obliged to chuse such Burgomasters and Schepens as those lawless people were pleased to direct; who also, by their own authority, placed guards throughout the town, and formed a kind of college or society in opposition to the Senate. At *Leyden* too, there was such another society erected by the Zealots. They raised another riot at *Heusden*, and annulled the election of Burgomasters and Schepens, which was made by the *Burgrave* and *Droffart* (according to the custom established above 40 years) in the presence, not only of the Scout, but of the Commissioners of the States (among whom I was one) forcing the *Droffart* to proceed to a new election, such as those malecontents pleased. They perswaded the Skippers to carry in their Flaggs, the Arms of his Excellency, with this devise: *Liever met Oranje, te leggen in het veldt, dan langer met de Arminiaenen te zijn gequelt*: That is, *We had rather live in tents with the Prince of Orange, than be plagued any longer with these Arminians*. We have likewise seen in publick print, lists of the towns and forts that were said to hold out against the *Arminians*. But some of the just now mentioned insolencies and disorders, happened somewhat later.

But that which then occasioned the greatest speculations was, the Prince publicly declaring himself for the party of the *Contraremonstrants*. Yet before he made that step, some, as *Uitenbogart* relates, who were known by their liveries, were seen in the separate meetings of the *Contraremonstrants*, and afterwards in the churches of the *Remonstrants*, scrutinizing or computing the number of the hearers, by beans which they dropt into little bags that they carried under their cloaks, and of which they gave an account afterwards.

On the 23d of July, a fortnight after the seizing the *Cloister-church* in the *Hague*, the Prince quitted the publick church, and went the same day to the meeting of the *Separatists*, together with Count *William-Lewis* of *Nassau*, Stadtholder of *Friesland*, attended with a great company which increased daily; but the Princess Dowager of *Orange*, and her son Prince *Frederick-Henry*, adhered to the church. That Prince said plainly, *That he did not believe the doctrine of Rosæus*. And his mother also declared openly, *That she would continue to hear Uitenbogart before the Synod, or any others, as long as the States would suffer him to preach; and that she could say the same for her son*. This action of Prince Maurice was very variously construed by the world. Some thought, *that he justly forsook that church, in which Uitenbogart had preached novelties and falsehoods, and had given occasion to Schism and Separation*. But others looked upon this matter with a different eye. His Excellency, says Grotius, many years after the controversy about *Predestination* broke out, had approved of the Toleration by his own example, hearing the sermons of *Uitenbogart*, and communicating with him at the Lord's Table, long after he had publicly joined himself to the *Remonstrants*. Nay, even since that time, namely in the years 1610 and 1614, the Prince had been pleased to make use

Prince Maurice leaves the publick church and goes to the meeting of the Contraremonstrant Separatists.

T t

¹ Uitenb. Hist. p. 681. Life. Lib. IX. p. 156. ² Journal on 5th of March, 1616. and in Sept. 1617. ³ Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 43, and 85. Uitenb. Hist. p. 681, and 913. Life. Lib. IX. p. 156. ⁴ Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 193. Uitenb. life. Lib. VI. p. 65. ⁵ Trigl. Hist. p. 1049. Uitenb. p. 729. Id.

AN^o DOM. 1617. of that Minister as his particular or private Chaplain, in the expeditions of *Juliers* and *Rees*; and in the year 1616, requested the States [or else the Magistrates] of *Utrecht* (who claimed a right to him, and very much insisted upon his returning to them) to resign him, and permit him to stay in the *Hague*, for the benefit of his Excellency and the Church there; and the Prince continued in the same communion with him till the seizing upon the Cloister-church. His Excellency also for a long time lookt upon the Resolutions of the States about a Toleration, without ever admonishing them that they did amiss, or that it would be more for the service of the Land and Church to proceed on some other foot. Wherefore (as *Grotius thought*) it could be no secret in this country, that it was not any religious consideration which induced some persons to advise the Prince to oppose the Resolutions of the States in the affair of the Church. — In another place he says, That there had been some advices given to his Excellency (who had hitherto kept himself quiet and unconcerned in these quarrels, and being taken up very much with Military matters, meddled very little with the affairs of the Civil Government) not very consistent with the nature of our Constitution, or with the Laws and Customs of the country: the consequences of which were, that he began at last, to dislike the States Resolutions in favour of the Toleration, to forsake the publick churches, and to join himself to the *Separatists*.

I have likewise read in certain Memoirs, written by *Uitenbogart*, on the year 1616, which were taken from the mouth of a certain Great man of *Zeland*, that some Gentlemen, being deputed by the States of that Province to exhort those of *Holland* to unity, and not having executed their commission till the very last, discoursing with his Excellency about it, the day before they departed from the *Hague*, received the following answer from him: *I am a Soldier, Gentlemen; these are matters of Divinity, which I neither understand, nor trouble my head with.* But afterwards he was heard to say: *That he looked upon the Contraremonstrants, as the ancient Reformed; and that they were the people who had placed the Prince his Father at the head of affairs.* From which words we may in some measure deduce the reasons of his favour to that party. It was about the same time too, that his Excellency declared, *that he would do nothing against those of the Reformed religion*, for so he stiled the *Contraremonstrants*, and them only, in all discourses both publick and private, excluding the *Remonstrants* from that denomination.

Orders are given to the Military men not to concern themselves with any differences arising on the account of religion.

How far he carried this his Declaration, says *Grotius*, of doing nothing against the *Reformed* religion, may be seen by the business of *Oudewater*. For whatever instances were made, after the great insolencies committed there, in order to get one company more of Soldiers to be sent thither (since it appeared that one company quartered there before, was not sufficient to prevent the disorders which lasted a long while in that town) yet his Excellency and others, scrupled to comply with that request. We likewise find in a certain Memorial, drawn up to justify that Resolution of the States of *Holland*, of which we shall give an account by and by, as well as in the writings of the Heer *Grotius*, that, 'Even during the Assembly of the States, without their knowledge (as well as without the knowledge of their Committee, to whom, jointly with the Prince, the care of the Garrison belonged) orders were given to some of the Officers, either by word of mouth or in writing; *That they should not concern themselves with any differences arising on the account of religion*; under which pretext all commotions were then cloaked: though the States of *Holland* maintained on the other hand, that the Military men were obliged to obey their orders, and to defend the Magistrates and publick places against the insurrections and tumults of the common people. Add to this, that many of the Soldiers and their Leaders were observed to say and do many things which tended to the encouragement of the Rioters, and to the open contempt of the Magistracy and the Civil authority of the land, by making false and dangerous interpretations of their oaths to the Generality.'

The raising of Garrisons.

Upon this, some of the Magistrates of the towns of *Holland* being jealous of their Garrisons, and also others that had none, did in consequence of a Resolution taken by the

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. X. p. 105. Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 43. ² Uitenbogart. p. 806. Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 37.

the States on the 4th of *August*, increase and reduce into companies the Watch of their respective towns, according to the ancient custom, which had never been contradicted formerly, either by their Stadtholders, or the States General: as did likewise the Province of *Utrecht*, which offered to do it exclusive of their quota to the common charge of the war. The raising, or increasing this kind of Militia, was fore against the will of some people. They called it an innovation, and pretended that the design of it, was to oppress the *Contraremonstrants*. But to this it was answered on behalf of the States: ' That the towns had always kept Watch and Ward more or less by their own authority, and that they had now, by a positive Order of the States, past at a full meeting, augmented the same, because it was become more necessary: *First*, For securing publick churches against the invasions of private persons, and preventing the same inconvenience in all the rest of the towns, which had happened at the *Hague*; and which, if it should be repeated in other places, might occasion great troubles, and even the effusion of blood: *Secondly*, For preserving the Burghers from being robbed and plundered out of hatred to their religion, as had been done at *Amsterdam*: And *Thirdly*, for securing their privileges against the unlawful intrusion of Magistrates. Grotius writes concerning the town of *Schonhoven*, that the Magistrates of that place, after having heard of his Excellencies declaration, had more reason to fear than trust the two Companies of Soldiers that lay in their town; and the rather, because those Soldiers had provided themselves with powder and ball, unknown to the said Magistrates. As for the town of *Delft*, they had no small reason, says the same Grotius, to be upon their guard, because at the time of the tumult about the Accise, the Magistrates being violently assaulted by the Mutineers, had no help from the ordinary Garrison, which could easily have prevented that commotion; nay, it was found that some of the Officers instigated the Burghers against the Magistrates, and held a private correspondence with one of the Ministers, who daily traduced the Civil Governors, and made them odious to the Community: from whence it proceeded, that one man, and he no Burgher of that town neither, had the confidence to assemble the *Schutters*, or Militia, without the knowledge of the Magistrates, pretending the Prince's order for so doing. It was likewise objected, that this new Watch and Ward was established in places where no popular riots were to be apprehended; particularly at *Gouda* and *Horn*. But in justification of the Magistrates of the former, Grotius says, that they did not raise their Warders till very late, and that when they did it, it was because they had especial reasons not to trust the ordinary Garrison; and for the latter, he could not conceive, he said, why no popular faction was to be apprehended there, especially since several examples of such factions had been already seen, which were sufficient to stir up even those that were otherwise peaceably disposed: besides, that those of *Horn* were the last who strengthened their Watch, and who did it not till they plainly discovered a general design and plot against all the Magistrates who were for maintaining the *Toleration*, and who, as well for conscience sake, as for the good of their country, were against oppressing the *Remonstrants*. Some were also of opinion, that there was no need of so great numbers of this new kind of Militia for obviating the tumults of the people. Upon which Grotius observes, that all the new raised Warders, did not amount to the number of 1800 men, whereas in the towns of *Harlem* and *Leyden* only, there were many thousands of strangers who waited for an opportunity of changes: and that afterwards a much larger number of Soldiers were employed merely to hinder the *Remonstrants* from preaching.

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The reasons for
so doing.

* The Resolution of the States of *Holland*, taken the 4th of *August*, mentioned above, whereby they empowered the Magistrates of the towns to raise more armed men or Warders for their own security, and for preventing any more violences, was called by some of the *Contraremonstrants*, the *Rigorous Resolution*. It was likewise ordered by the said Resolution, that the Regular Forces should be required to yield homage and obedience to the States and their Committee, and to be aiding and assisting to suppress all insurrections, without exception, on pain of being broke.

* Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 228.

* Idem ib. Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 37.

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The Contents
of the States
Resolution
with respect
to Ecclesiasti-
cal affairs and
the holding of
a Synod.

With respect to the Church, the Resolution imported likewise: That there had been many endeavours used, but all in vain, to move the Deputies of some of the towns (who declared they were not instructed or ordered to conform to the votes of the Nobles and the majority of the towns) to a due forbearance, and accommodation of matters. That at last, [on the 25th of July, 1617] it was offered, that in case it should be found necessary to come to a definition or decision of the Theological Five Points, which were treated of at the Hague, the aforesaid Nobles and most of the Towns would be content it should be done by persons lawfully deputed for that purpose, by the Civil powers of the Reformed religion and by the respective churches: and that, for the preservation of the Privileges, Rights and Privileges of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, there should be a Provincial Synod assembled, consisting of the Fifteen Classes of the country, who with, and under the superintendency of the abovementioned Committee of the States, might deliberate and give their advice about a Mutual Toleration, and concerning further restrictions of the doctrine of the Church with respect to the aforesaid points; forbidding that any other doctrine, that had not been received by the Reformed churches of Christendom, and particularly by those of the United Provinces, should be proposed to the Community, on pain of Ecclesiastical censure and Civil correction if necessary. And lastly, that it was the opinion of the Nobility and major part of the towns of Holland and West-Friesland, as the States thereof, that the convoking either of a Provincial, or National Synod at this time, would be highly prejudicial to the Rights, Powers and Privileges of the said Nobility and Towns, as well on account of the peculiar prerogative of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, which ought not to be communicated to others, as for other pressing and weighty reasons partly represented before.

At the same time they agreed, that a certain Declaration, prepared to show their good intentions, should be published: as likewise that their answer to the States of Zeland (upon their abovementioned proposal) and, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Provinces of Gelderland, Friesland, Groningen and the Ommelands, should be sent to them all respectively; with the addition of what had been offered by them, since, in order to a further accommodation, and that moreover the Resolutions formerly taken, should be put in execution by the Nobles and Magistrates of towns and villages (that is to say, such as thought the practice of them useful and necessary in their respective jurisdictions) with moderation and prudence.

A Declaration
of the States of
Holland, sig-
nifying their
good intention
as to matters
of religion.

In the Declaration of the States of Holland, bearing date the 5th of August, they represented the good and sincere intentions which they always had, and still continued to have of maintaining, together with the rights and liberties of their country, the true Christian Reformed religion; and why it belonged to their High Mightinesses as the sole lawful Powers and Governours of the land, to make and cause to be observed Ecclesiastical Canons; and why they had thought fit to ordain provisionally, that the *Remonstrants* should be tolerated in the Church, as well as those that were of a different opinion.

As also with
reference to
the holding of
a Synod.

As for the Synod, which was so much insisted on, they explained themselves on that head, in the following words.—— We cannot forbear declaring herewith, that our opinion is, that it would be a matter of the last consequence, to pretend at present to determine, and accordingly, to make new articles of Faith, about certain points which were never lawfully or unanimously determined, either by the Primitive Christian Church, or by the Reformed; and therefore, that it is by no means for the service of the churches, to consent that the same should be done by an Assembly called together from a few Provinces, and which can not possibly represent the Catholick Church: but that rather, according to the custom of the Primitive Church, such a thing ought to be done by the unanimous agreement of all the churches that are esteemed as members of one body; forasmuch as particular decisions, especially in the present state of affairs, can have no other effect, than instead of uniting the Protestant churches, to divide Christians more and more, and afford great advantages to the common enemies of the Reformation.

All this was concluded, declared and published, not only against the consent of *Amsterdam, Enkhusen, Edam and Purmerent*, but also of *Dort*, which City, in the disputes that were then depending, chose the side of the aforementioned towns, and soon after, began likewise to insist upon the calling a National Synod. However, at the meeting of the Senate of *Amsterdam* about that time, there happened no small diversity of opinions, with regard to the opposition made against the Resolutions of the States. ² When that Resolution which the States had taken on the 4th of *August* was, among other pieces, laid before the board on the 16th of the same month, and the Senate was going immediately to declare their opinion, (as had been practised for some time, in conjunction with the towns of *Enkhusen, Edam and Purmerent*) in contradiction to the Nobles and the majority of the other towns, some of the gravest Members of the Senate or Counsel, desired that in regard of the importance of the affair, some time might be allowed them to consider of it, and of the written advices of the Burgomasters. After many debates, the further consideration was at last adjourned to the 18th of the same month in the morning: but no copies of the desired papers were delivered out till the day before, and that only to two or three of the Council. The Senate being again met at the appointed time, they found that some of the Members were absent, among whom were the Burgomasters *Krombout* and *De Graef*, as likewise the presiding Burgomaster *Richard Bas*. Whereupon the quondam Burgomaster, *Cornelius Peterson Hooft*, insisted, that the matter should be again deferred. The Burgomasters, *he said*, had had eight or ten days time to consider of it, but almost all the rest of the Senate had no copy, nor more than one day allowed them to think of it. They went on however, and persisted in their old design, in opposition to the greatest part of the Members of the States of *Holland*, without shewing the least regard to all the arguments made use of by the Heer *Hooft*, some of which were to this effect.

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The City of Dort joins with those of Amsterdam, Enkhusen, Edam and Purmerent.

Diversity of opinions in the Senate of Amsterdam.

‘ How have those Gentlemen of this Assembly, who still affect the honourable title of *Old Gueuses*, departed from the paths of their brave ancestors? The *Old Gueuses*, endeavouring to weaken their enemies, did all they could to unite the several sects and parties (who by their discords, were divided among themselves) into one body. Our Predecessors, the Magistrates of this City, desired and obtained of the Sovereign Princes of this country, in the years 1347 and 1355, that this City should never be separated from the Province of *Holland*. We act just contrary, by making particular confederacies and alliances with Persons, Towns and Provinces out of *Holland*, obliging our selves to oppose to the utmost, and even by force of arms, the Nobles and the principal Towns of the said Province, who with their sweat and blood, have gained us the liberty we now enjoy. How come we thus to wander out of the way? How long shall we obstinately adhere to resolutions that have not been carried by more than a majority of one or two voices, without regarding that great majority of the Nobles, and the far greater part of the Towns in the Assembly of the States? Of such towns, I say, as have deserved so much of us; such as those of *Harlem, Schoonhoven* and *Oudewater*; which for the sake of our common liberty, underwent dreadful sieges of the enemy, whilst this city was subservient to tyranny, till at last, with the loss of much blood and treasure, they fell into his merciless hands. *Leyden, Alkmaer* and *Woorden*, were exposed to the like danger, but through the goodness of God, they repulsed the enemy. How those of *Horn* behaved themselves in the Sea-fight against *Bossu*, and how much blood that victory cost, is still fresh in our remembrance: and yet endeavours are now used in these cities, to stir up the People against the Magistrates, or to encourage those that are already so excited in their disobedience. We not only have allowed, or at least connived at the numerous assemblies of the Clergy from so many Provinces and Districts, which were holden on purpose to defeat the Resolutions of the States, but some have the confidence to talk of calling together a Synod at the charge of this City; and yet make no scruple at the same time to blame some of the neighbouring towns, because they began not long since to form certain particular meetings for maintaining the authority of the States. It is very improper to condemn in others what we our selves are guilty of. We have always in our

A Speech of the Heer C. P. Hooft, in the Senate of Amsterdam, relating to their opposing the Resolution of the States.

¹ Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 34.

² From certain notes of the Heer Hooft.

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mouths the old Dutch Proverb: *Eendracht maekt macht, en twist verquist*; that is, *Unity gives strength, and Discord weakness*; and yet I do not see but we are taking pains for discord and division, and consequently for our total destruction, as long as we endeavour to impose our own opinions upon the whole Province, whether the majority or minority of votes be on our side. There often happens a diversity of opinions and voices in all societies and bodies of men, not excepting even the Courts of Justice; but such disagreements are always determined by the plurality of votes: and yet the same is not allowed in the disputes which regard the Clergy. We will not comply with the Resolution concerning a Mutual Toleration, though past in the Assembly of the States by the majority of voices. We will not bear with one another in love, though it be for the general good. *Calvin* and *Beza* are extolled to the skies, and yet few observe how those great men upon several occasions inveighed against separation and schisms, and how much they pressed for toleration. Do but hear what the former says in his Epistle to *Farel*, in which he uses the following expressions. Christians ought to hate divisions so much, as always to avoid them to the utmost of their power. The reverence for the administration of the Word and Sacraments should be so great, that wherever we find it, we ought to believe that there is a church. When therefore it happens by God's permission, that the Church is served by some persons, let them be who they will, among whom the characteristick of a church is found, it is best not to break communion, no not even though there should be some unsound doctrines taught among them; for there is hardly any church that has not some remnants of ignorance in it.

In another letter to *Farel* he writes: This is what I have chiefly endeavoured, namely, That the divisions should not create a schism in any church, be she what she will, though her manners be corrupt, though she be infected with strange doctrines, provided she be not entirely fallen from that doctrine upon which as Paul teaches us, the church of Christ is founded.

Elsewhere he speaks thus: In case any man professes a heterodox religion, so as to scruple the using of these terms, Trinity and Person, though we do by no means approve his superstition, and should gladly take pains to convince him of his error, yet do we not think such things to be a sufficient cause for rejecting him who is otherwise a godly man, and agrees with us in the same religious principles. We ought therefore to bear so far with his ignorance, as not to cast him out of the Church, nor to stigmatize him with any censure as a Heretick.

The like moderate language was spoken by *Beza* too; though I doubt we shall find passages enough in both their writings of a quite different sense. However, what we ought above all to attend to, is the precept and example of our great Master and Teacher the Lord *Jesus*: and after that, we ought to reflect upon the occasion of our taking up arms against *Spain*; to wit, her tyranny, which was not pointed against any one, but all sects and parties in general, as the War also was maintained at the charge of all people without distinction. Wherefore it seems to me to be the effect of great ignorance of past events, or of great presumption or misapprehension, that this or that party should flatter themselves in particular, that they and theirs are only to inherit those great blessings which God has showered down so wonderfully, and in such great abundance on the common work. I should likewise hope, that God has given sufficient knowledge to the inhabitants of this land (who want for no education, no instruction, no inquiry, no understanding) of all the points of religion necessary for salvation, nay, and much more than one would expect to find among people that come from several parts, and are daily received with open arms into the communion of the Reformed Church. I do not pretend to say, but that there are to be found, wood, hay, straw, and stubble among the natives; yet, I think, we ought to tolerate them with all discretion, as far as we can. And if we sometimes find a few persons among our *Hollanders*, who make some scruple of submitting to the discipline of a Consistory composed mostly of foreigners, not qualified for governing the Church, we ought not presently to shut them out of the Church, and much less out of Heaven, unless it should appear, that they are worse livers than those who sometimes

sometimes speak contemptibly of them. I beg you therefore, Gentlemen, to consider seriously with your selves, whether it becomes our present Clergy to show so much bitterness against those who offer to live with them in friendship and brotherhood, to the great peril of the State; for the sake of certain opinions or points that were not only tolerated so many hundred years ago by the primitive Christians, but likewise by our own ancestors, in divers eminent men, so far as that their persons were even held in great esteem. Ought not our Ministers to be contradicted in this with authority and discretion? *If this be done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?* They have the confidence to animate the Magistrates against such persons: They rail at them from the pulpit: They are for carrying their point by pure obstinacy. They preach themselves hoarse to stir up a champion to defend their cause. One of our Ministers, in the transports of his zeal, had the boldness to declare; *That it would be better to lose all our trade, than to put a stop to this work.* But to give advice and to follow it, are different things. And I fear he would be but in a bad case, if by the consumption of the publick revenues, by the calamities of the war, and the intrenchment of the enemy, he should lose *half his trade*, that is to say, *half his stipend*. If these people had their way, and if the Government were to dance after their pipes, as some of them would have it, what would become of us all? I tremble when I think of what *Johannes Sturmius* writ formerly to *Frederick* the third, Elector Palatine: *If the sword of the Civil Magistrate were put into the hands of these people* (meaning the hot headed Clergy) *for the space but of three days, such dreadful thunder and lightning of persecution would follow, as would extend itself beyond the third generation.*

But as to the business of overvoting in the Assembly of the States, about which so many scruples are now started, I am sensible enough, that this method ought not to obtain in the matter of taxations; since by such means, too great a burden might be laid upon some, and too little on others; the lesser number, and among them the chiefeſt Members, being liable to be over-burdened, nay, intirely oppressed: but in all other cases in which one Member is not more loaded than another, as in that very matter now in debate, I am of opinion, under correction, that a plurality of votes should absolutely take place; for otherwise our constitution, which I look upon to be one of the best and safest, would be the most insecure and dangerous of any. And yet this would happen if two or three or a few of the Members or Towns of the Province, obstinately adhering to their design, and having contrived some mischief, should unanimously oppose all the other Members, and to enter into a confederacy with some of the other Provinces: This would certainly bring the whole country into confusion, and at last, to utter destruction. But whatever may be the consequence, the Government of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, ought never to endure that one Member should arrogate to itself any authority over another in matters of religion; it being diametrically opposite to the *Union* formerly so happily established at *Utrecht*, which has been the foundation of that laudable and sacred unanimity of our Government, and under God, the cause of our preservation. If we should therefore violate the same in this so important and capital a business, I doubt we should be esteemed by all men, as a people whom neither honour, oaths, nor treaties can bind; as those who act directly contrary to what our Predecessors, the *Old Gueuses*, effected with so much courage, and no less pains and trouble. They fought for liberty of conscience in general, according to the State of the country at that time; but not to gratify the humour or caprice of this or that person in particular; and carried on the war at the hazard of the lives and fortunes of all sects and parties, without any discrimination, till God was pleased to grant such a gracious and hardly credible issue, for which he ought to be lauded and praised for ever. — Let us not therefore any longer depart from that good old way. —

In the mean time, the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, or at least the Nobles and the major part of the Towns, made several proposals, in order to bring matters to some kind of accommodation, and people to a mutual forbearance; but whatever they proposed, was from time to time either put off, or rejected. We think it

well

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Proposals of the
States of Hol-
land made to
those of Am-
sterdam and
the other Ci-
ties, in order
to bring mat-
ters to an ac-
commodation.

A Proposal for
deputing cer-
tain Lay and
Clergymen to
that end.

The indulgence
shown by the
States of Hol-
land to Am-
sterdam and
the other Ci-
ties.

Grotius en-
deavours to
persuade the
Magistrates of
Amsterdam,
to consent to a
Toleration.

well worth our pains, briefly to recount in this place, some of the principal transactions relating to this affair, with which we shall likewise be obliged to inter-mix some events that fell out a little later. The States, or most of the Members, had frequently offered at their meetings, that in case there was any thing in their Resolution of the year 1614, liable to misconstruction, they would be ready at any time to clear it up by good and proper explanations, to satisfy by that means the City of *Amsterdam* and others, and to secure them against the introduction of all controversies, except those that had been already stirred about *Predestination*. But this proposal was of no effect. ¹ Afterwards, on the 21st of *February*, of the past year, the following offer was made (being the same with a proposal formerly given in, on the part of the Magistrates of *Enkhusen*, as also from some of the Deputies of *Amsterdam*) that, 'A certain number of learned and moderate persons, being well versed in Ecclesiastical affairs, and actually concerned in the administration in Church and State, should be appointed to consider of these matters jointly with those Ministers who had been engaged in the Conference at the *Hague*, taking likewise to their assistance other discreet persons in case of need; in order to form a certain scheme, whereby all misconstruction of the aforementioned Resolution might be obviated, and further orders made for the practice of it; pursuant to which, the disagreeing Ministers might preach about the aforementioned points with a safe conscience, and to the edification of the good Community, and all doctrines not consistent with those of the *Reformed* churches might be duly opposed and suppressed.' —

This Proposal was thought a proper method for satisfying all parties, and for restoring the former tranquillity: neither can it be denied, that the intervention of the Civil powers, has often greatly contributed to the accommodating Ecclesiastical differences, and had been practised at other times by the States of *Holland* with good success. And to render it the more acceptable, they shewed so much indulgence, says *Grotius*, to the Towns that scrupled to comply with the forementioned Resolution, that though they were so few in number, yet they agreed to put them with respect to the right of deputing, on an equal foot with all the other Towns, on condition that the Nobles might likewise depute some persons, who, they supposed would not be accounted adversaries, having never declared themselves with respect to the opinions in dispute, but only upon the point of toleration. It was moreover conceded, that the persons appointed for this business, should, after having conferred and deliberated the matter among themselves, report it to, and consult with his Excellency, who at that time, had not publicly embraced the party of the *Contraremonstrants*. ² And yet this proposal was likewise rejected even by them who had first made it. ³ *Grotius* further adds, that the Members of the Assembly could not agree about the deputation, by reason of the importunity of some of the Clergy, who opposed the Toleration to the utmost. However, to omit no possible means that might contribute towards peace, the States of *Holland* would never absolutely refuse to call a Synod, but on the contrary (notwithstanding several difficulties that were obvious enough) they shewed themselves disposed to it; but always with the design of conducting matters to a Mutual Toleration, without condemning one side or the other. ⁴ And the same *Grotius*, relates in one of his letters, bearing date the 12th of *January*, of the current year, that even the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* themselves, had hitherto always given hopes, that peace might be maintained between those who only differed from each other upon the *Five Points*: having at the same time declared, that they did not approve of the project of *Triglandius*, as tending to schism or separation.

It happened likewise this year, that *Grotius*, observing how much those of *Amsterdam* insisted upon a Synod, conferred with their Deputies, to see whether they were still disposed to come into a Toleration; and finding that they gave him some encouragement, he went along with the Heer *Pauw*, Pensionary of that City to the Lord Advocate *Oldenbarnevelt*, and endeavoured by all kind of arguments, to induce him by way of reconsidering the former proposals, to conduct things to the calling of a Synod, but not without a due preparation of men's minds. Which the Advocate judging to be an expedient not improper to be used on that occasion, there were added to the proposal

² Grot. Apol. Lib. VI. p. 60. Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 40.

³ Justific. of the Resol. 4 Aug. p. 9. Baud. Mem. p. 40.

⁴ Grot. Apol. Lib. VI. p. 63.

⁵ Ex Epist. H. Grot. ad G. J. Voss. Script.

propofal of *February*, for appointing certain Civil and Ecclefiastical perfons, the following expreffions, *That it was hoped, that by this means all fufpicions and jealousies being removed, the difputes leffened, men's minds mollified, and the divided Claffes and Churches united again, matters would be fo difpofed, as that a lawful and impartial Synod might be called together with fome appearance of fuccefs.*

But the aforefaid fcheme of commiffioning fo many Civil and Ecclefiastical perfons being rejected, there was another propofal, into which moft of the Members came, for calling a lawful, impartial and Provincial Synod, under the direction of the States of *Holland*, provided fome proper means were previously ufed for foftning peoples minds : for which purpofe, a certain Letter was prepared, which the States fhould fend to the Claffes (and which we fhall mention again in the fequel of this *History*) requiring the Clergy, either wholly to avoid touching upon the controverted points, or whenever it was neceffary, to treat of them with temper and difcretion ; and to direct all matters towards friendfhip, charity, a good life, and fubmiffion to the higher Powers. And thus that which was drawn up before by way of Placard, was now, for greater fatisfaction, put into the form of a Miffive.

The reafons that determined the States of *Holland* to call a Provincial Synod firft, and not a National, as was defired by others, were thefe : It was, they thought, very plain, that the National Synod being once refolved upon, no good could be expected from a Provincial one ; fince thofe who were for cenfure or condemnation, were fure to carry their point in a National Synod. Whereas the Provincial Synod only, being firft appointed, it was to be hoped, that by the authority of the States of *Holland*, who would have prefided there by their Deputies, matters might have been brought to an accommodation, which might afterwards have been eafily ratified by a National Synod. But this propofition of a Preparative being likewise rejected by the Magiftrates of *Amfterdam* and the other towns adhering to that City, the defire of the States of *Holland* for peace was ftill fo great, that they nevertheless refolved upon a Provincial Synod, being the more careful concerning the perfons that were to be deputed thither, and of the management and direction of it, becaufe the rejecting of the aforefaid foftning methods, rendered the accommodation yet more difficult : And fince the Magiftrates of *Amfterdam* had always declared, that they confented the States fhould enjoy the fame authority which was ufual among other Chriftian Princes, it was propofed, that according to the practice of the Proteftants in Ger-

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A Propofal made for convening an impartial Provincial Synod.

A Propofal of the States of Holland, concerning the deputation and direction of a Provincial Synod.

many (as appears by the book of *Marsilius Patavinus*, published by *Gomarus* himfelf) ‘ All the Magiftrates fhould affift at the choice of the refpective Deputies, and ‘ take care that moderate men were invited thither, and that if the perfons fo chofen ‘ alledged no reafon for their being excufed, they fhould be commiffioned by the ‘ States, with the addition of fome other learned perfons, fuch as they judged to ‘ be moft proper ; and laftly, that the Synod fhould be fubject to the direction and ‘ prefidence of the States, in order to the preventing all partiality and irregular proceedings.’ In oppofition to this, it was faid, that this was not agreeable to former practice. But to that it was answered on behalf of the States, that the Synods before *Leicefter’s* time, were holden by the connivance, but not by the authority of the States ; and that in the time of that Earl, a National Synod was forced upon the States, who fhewed their diflike of it.

But befides the difficulties made by *Amfterdam*, and with refpect to the manner of holding a Provincial Synod they all adhered to their Refolution of not agreeing to fuch a Synod, unlefs the National one was agreed to at the fame time ; which, according to the opinion of moft of the Members, was the effectual way of coming to a condemnation. The good difpofitions of the States did not flop here ; there were other propofals made, to try whether matters might not be brought to fome happy iffue by a Provincial Synod.

‘ The Heer *Grotius* dreading the confequences of this ftiffnefs of *Amfterdam*, and the other difagreeing towns, in which they were encouraged by the correffpondence of fome Deputies of other Provinces, and ruminating upon every thing that might tend towards qualifying thefe heats, propofed to the Affembly of the States : ‘ That endeavours fhould be ufed to accommodate matters by a Provincial Synod, and

A Propofal of Grotius.

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‘ and in case such an accommodation could not be brought about there, that then the
‘ decision should be left to a General Synod of the *Reformed*, upon the foot former-
‘ ly proposed by the King of *Great Britain*; namely, to treat likewise about a Coa-
‘ lition with the *Lutherans*. By this means he hoped the decision would produce still
‘ better fruits; for he could not believe that the foreign churches, being first fully
‘ apprized of the nature of the points in dispute, would be brought to pronounce a
‘ severer sentence in the matter, than was done formerly in the time of *Pelagius*,
‘ and soon after; with which, in his mind, both parties might and ought to be
‘ contented.’ *He likewise added*: ‘ That if this his proposal was approved of, a
‘ National Synod might be called too, though not to pass any judgment (which
‘ could not be done with the requisite impartiality) but by conferring together, to
‘ prepare matters.’

There had already some overture been made of this proposal, in the Declaration of the States in the month of *August*, as also in their answer to the advice of the Province of *Zeland*, of which we shall speak presently, and it was agreeable besides to what the *Contraremonstrants* themselves approved of at the Conference; but now the towns which stood out, replied: *That such a general Synod was indeed a desirable thing, but matters could not now bear that tedious way.* And yet, in the opinion of *Grotius*, it was certain, that a general Synod might have been called in as short a time, and at as small an expence, as the assisting Deputies were afterwards invited from so many foreign parts; forasmuch as the only difference would have been, that they would have come armed to the Synod with instructions, and represented their respective churches. They who opposed this, considered that in such case all that had past, must have been laid before the Sister churches; upon which, there would probably have ensued orders for endeavouring an accommodation; and that in a Synod bearing the name of General, a National one would have been deemed no more than a branch or member, and so might easily have been over-voted; whereas the National one being strengthened by the foreigners, could carry matters as they saw fit, by making use of the votes of strangers to support their own, or else by reserving them by way of advice, and so remain secure of the success, which was the condemnation of the *Remonstrants*.

The reasons
why some ra-
ther desired a
National than
a Provincial
Synod.

In the aforesaid Resolution of the States, bearing date the 4th of *August*, it was also agreed, that an answer should be prepared and returned to the Proposal made by the Deputies of the States of *Zeland*. In pursuance of that Order, the Committee of the States of *Holland*, sent some Gentlemen from their body, among whom was the Heer *Grotius*; and they were ordered at the delivery of the answer, to excuse the long delay. The answer briefly contained several things of moment, partly touched upon before, and ran thus:

The Answer of
the States of
Holland to
the Proposal of
the Deputies of
Zeland.

THE States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, having maturely deliberated upon the Proposal on the part of the Lords the States of *Zeland*, by their Commissioners the Heer *James van Maldere*, Knight, Lord of *Heyes*——Representative of the Nobles in their Assembly; *William Brewer*, formerly Burgo-master of the town of *Middelburg*; Master *Enoch Pottey*, Pensionary of the town of *Veer*; and *Bonifacius Young*, Pensionary of the States of *Zeland*, made on the 10th of *May*, in their meeting at the *Hague*, and then delivered in writing: They the said States of *Holland*, &c. do in the first place by these Presents, very friendly acknowledge and thank them the said States of *Zeland* for their deputation, advice and further offer; and they do hereby make a mutual tender of all friendship, good correspondence and reciprocal services, as becomes neighbours and ancient friends and allies, with the utmost sincerity and cordiality.

‘ As for the misunderstandings lately arisen in *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, about ecclesiastical and religious matters, they cannot conceal from their Lordships the States of *Zeland*, that from the very beginning of the War, and long before the Pacification of *Gant*, there have been two principal differences among the people of these countries, with respect to the affairs of the Church, which, in the last ten or
‘ twelve

twelve years, have considerably augmented, notwithstanding all possible endeavours, which they the said States have used for adjusting and composing the same.

The first difference or dispute was about 40 years ago, as it still is, concerning the authority in Ecclesiastical matters, namely, Whether it belongs to the States of Holland and West-Friesland, as the supreme Magistrates, to make Ecclesiastical Canons and Constitutions, to the end that God's Holy Word may be preached in purity, and with edification to their Community and good Subjects, and all church-matters orderly and regularly managed. The Second is, Whether the opinion of God's Eternal Predestination, with its appurtenances agreeable to the Five Points here following, may under certain restrictions, continue to be taught and tolerated with edification in the Reformed church, as well as other opinions; or whether it shall be forbidden and hindered;

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* That God by an Eternal, Immutable Decree, &c.

As for what relates to the first question, their Lordships the States have from the very beginning of the Reformation, looked upon it as a certain and undoubted truth; That it is the right of a lawful supreme Magistrate, according to the word of God, and the practice not only of the Jews under the Old Testament, but likewise of all believing Emperors, Kings, Princes and the Rulers and Governors of great and little States or Republicks, to make laws and ordinances touching Ecclesiastical things and persons, and to take such care to cause them to be observed, as that the Gospel may be preached with purity to their subjects, and all Church-matters administered with regularity. * Many texts and passages are quoted for that purpose out of the Old Testament; and it is well known, that under the new dispensation many ancient and laudable Canons and Constitutions have been made by Christian Emperors, Kings, States and Potentates. It has further been shown, that in the last hundred years, all the Kings, Electors, Princes and States which cast off the yoke of Idolatry, Tyranny and Heresy introduced by the Church of Rome, embraced the Reformed religion, and received it into their Kingdoms and Countries, proceeded to make and publish Ecclesiastical laws and ordinances in matters of religion; such as for instance: King Edward and Queen Elizabeth of pious memory, for their Kingdoms and Subjects of England and Ireland: The Kings of Denmark and Sweden, for their own Subjects: The Electors and Princes Palatine of the Rhine, Saxony and Brandenburg: The Princes and Dukes of Brunswick, Wirtemberg, Hesse, Anhalt and many others: The Counts of Nassau, Solms, Hanau, Teckelenburg, Bentheim and many more: The free Cities of Bremen, Zurich, Bern, Basil, Geneva and others. All these made, altered, increased or diminished the Ecclesiastical laws in their own territories, according as they thought would most tend to the edification and advantage of their respective churches and communities. To which was subjoined, that it is expressly shown by the Petition from the Protestants of the Netherlands, presented in the year 1566, to the King of Spain and the States of the Provinces, that this is the office and business of the Sovereign, yea, that the Confession itself imports as much. That it was in like manner requested, in the Petition of the late Heer van Brederode, presented the same year to the Dukes of Parma, the then Regent, in behalf of the confederate Lords and Gentlemen, that matters of religion might be regulated by the Sovereign and the States of the land. That also in the Conferences holden between the Ministers of the Reformed, and the Teachers of the Anabaptists at Embden, and elsewhere, the right and authority of the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical matters was asserted and maintained. * That besides, in the beginning of the War, some years before the Pacification of Gant, there were such laws made by the late Prince of Orange, of glorious memory, as Governor of the Provinces of Holland, Zeland and Free-land, on the part of that King, together with the States of the said Provinces. And forasmuch as some of the Clergy of those times, pretended to maintain, that the making of church laws and ordinances did not belong to the Civil powers, but to the Ecclesiastical Synods, the contrary was maintained by a good apology containing very strong and cogent arguments, on the part of his said Princely Excellency,

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and

* Here the States rehearsed the famous Five Points of the Remonstrants, so as they are found in their Declaration published the 5th of August, of this current year. See Baud. the Remonstrants, as they stand in the Declaration of Mem. Lib. IX. p. 32. and our XIXth book, p.

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and the said States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, and it was proved that this did belong to, and was the proper office of the lawful Christian Magistrate. That also when the said States conferred the Government on the said Prince, in the year 1575, and afterwards, the supporting and maintaining of all legal Officers, Magistrates and Governors was stipulated and promised, without suffering in any Towns or Villages, any other Societies or Consistories, but such as should be nominated, appointed, or recommended by the respective Magistrates, or the States themselves. That further, in the year 1582, the said Prince observing the inconveniences that resulted from the Ecclesiastical Decrees and Canons made in the year 1581, by some of the Clergy assembled at *Middelburg* in *Zeland*, and how dangerous they were like to prove to religion and government, he most earnestly exhorted the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, timely to agree upon some good order and regulation, with respect to matters of Religion and the Church, since otherwise, both that and the State were in danger of being ruined. Upon this admonition, the afore-said States, in the same year, commissioned and empowered some Gentlemen from their own Body and from the Colleges of Justice, to abrogate the old Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons, and to draw up such new ones as the preservation of the true Christian religion, and the interest of the Country required, according to what was stipulated and promised in the collation of the Government; namely, that in the exercise of religion, his Excellency the Prince should make such regulations as should be found most useful and agreeable to the present State of publick affairs, and for the greatest ease and convenience, without prejudice to the honour of God; and this he was to do in concert with the States, if necessary.

By virtue of this commission, the said Gentlemen did the same year draw up an Ecclesiastical Constitution; but by reason of the ensuing troubles and the horrible assassination of the aforesaid Prince, it never took effect. After this, some of the Clergy, in the year 1586, during the administration of the Earl of *Leicester*, made new Church laws, which were only provisionally received by the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* upon this express condition: That the Nobility and Towns of their Province should be secured in their ancient customs and privileges, as to the admitting or discharging Ministers. But those Provisional laws appearing to be neither useful nor practicable, the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, in the year 1591 (after the troubles which arose from the Government of the said Earl of *Leicester*, and from the Ecclesiastical laws of the year 1586, were composed) did appoint eight Lay-men, and as many of the Clergy to resume the consideration of the aforementioned Constitution, and to draw up a new one, which was accordingly done the same year, and signed by those Commissioners; and it being by them presented to the States, they referred it to both the Colleges for their opinion and advice, which wasto this effect, that it was not only advantageous, but absolutely necessary for the welfare both of Church and State. Accordingly, the said Ecclesiastical Constitution would have been provisionally received at the next Assembly of the States, had it not happened that five of the towns opposed it, alledging, *That thereby the States and the Government were divested of too much of their authority, and too much power was added to the Clergy, which they judged to be prejudicial to the Laity.* Nor are the States of *Holland* ignorant, that those of *Zeland* likewise in the same year received a particular Ecclesiastical Constitution upon a positive declaration, that it should be only provisional, reserving to themselves the right of altering, adding or diminishing what ever they should think proper. That likewise most of the Towns of *Zeland* had their particular objections against some of the articles of the said Constitution, which they therefore varied according to their several circumstances, and it was expressly agreed, that each town might regulate itself accordingly, without any contradiction. Matters standing thus in *Holland* and *Zeland* upon the first head, concerning the authority of the Civil Magistrate over Ecclesiastical persons and things, the States of the former cannot imagine that those of the latter, if they would seriously and maturely reflect upon the present posture of affairs, and the consequences, would advise them to do any thing that tends so much to the impairing or lessening their lawful authority in Ecclesiastical matters, much less that they would justify the indecencies which have been practised against that authority by sermons, libels and other methods. Nor can they think they would justify those who oblige themselves by illegal associations

affociations and subscriptions, to renounce all christian brotherhood and communion with such other Ministers and Fellow subjects as shew their obedience to the Government in the foresaid matters; those who separate and set up altar against altar, by forming different Consistories, whereby to the great prejudice of the land, the strength and vigour of the *Reformed* religion is weakened and diminished: Much less would they countenance those who are guilty of acts of sedition against their Rulers. Since these and the like proceedings have been always detested by sincere *Reformed* christians, who according to their Confession of Faith, are obliged to reverence and respect the Magistrate, though he were a *Papist*; how little ought undutiful behaviour to be endured in such who contemn and vilify the order of a lawful *Reformed* Government, as has been done here in opposition to those who can say with great truth, that they both have, and still do exert themselves more strenuously for the true Christian religion, than any King, Prince, or State of Christendom, within these last hundred years; and who, as well as their ancestors, have with great constancy, for 40 or 50 years together, even ventured their lives and fortunes in defence of the true Christian *Reformed* religion, and in opposition to *Spanish* tyranny.

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As to the Second point, the States hold it for unquestionable, that there never yet was made any lawful definition or decision by a General Ecclesiastical Assembly, Synod, or Council, upon the diversity of opinions among Doctors, Preachers and Writers, touching God's Eternal *Predestination* and the matters relating to it, contained in the *Five Articles*: And consequently, no body can be lawfully or justly excommunicated or discharged from the Christian brotherhood, on account of holding one or t'other opinion in such doubtful cases; neither ought a separation to be made for the same. It is well known too, that from the beginning of the War, many of the inhabitants of these Provinces, who professed the *Reformed* religion, have been of the opinions mentioned in the said *Five Points*; witness the *Lay-man's Guide*, a treatise writ above 60 years ago upon this subject by *Anastasijs Veluanus*, and dedicated to the States of *Gelderland*, which has past through all hands, as has (long before that) the book of *Philip Melancthorn* and several others. Nay, about 40 years ago, the said opinions or doctrines, were publickly taught in the University of *Leyden* without any opposition, as likewise in several other towns and villages in *Holland* and *West-Friesland*; and there are even at this time some Ministers living, who have served the church about 40 years, and always taught the same to the edification of their flocks, without having ever been called in question for it either by the Clergy or Laity. It is true, that between 20 and 30 years ago, some proceedings were begun against *Herman Herberts*, a Minister in the town of *Gouda*, *Taco Sybrants* in *Medenblik*, and some others who preached these doctrines; but together with these, they were likewise accused of many more. However, the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* thought fit to interpose their authority, putting a stop to all Ecclesiastical proceedings, and bringing matters to an accommodation. And their Lordships observing from time to time, that new controversies arose from the different explanations of several articles in the *Netherland* Confession, found it necessary in the year 1597, to deliberate and resolve that it should be moved at the next meeting of the *Generality*, on the part of the said States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, that a National Synod should be called and holden, on condition that the said *Netherland* Confession might be there revised; hoping that the misunderstandings which resulted from the various constructions and explanations of that Confession, might by this means be brought to an accommodation and uniform sense, or at least to a Mutual Toleration. The same was afterwards agreed to by other Provinces, on condition that the said Synod should in the fear of the Lord, revise not only the Confession but the Catechism too.

Now, notwithstanding the most ancient Ministers who had appeared in the former National Synod, freely owned, *That it was usual at the beginning of such a Synod, to examine first of all, in the fear of the Lord, the aforesaid Confession and Catechism, and to receive the remarks or objections of the Brethren, and after having weighed them, to proceed as they thought proper*; yet many of the Clergy refused to submit to the foresaid Resolution about revising the said Confession and Catechism;

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In the mean time, some entertained an ill opinion of *Jacobus Arminius*, who was called to the Professorship of sacred Theology in the University of *Leyden*. But in order to examine into the matter without noise, there was a meeting of the Clergy and other learned men about it, at the house of the *Heer van Nortwyk*, as senior Curator of the said University, where Professor *Gomarus* presided ; and *Arminius* appearing, and having given full content upon the questions proposed to him, *Gomarus* granted him his Degree, and admitted him to the Professorship. And although it was no secret, that the said *Arminius* maintained the above-mentioned doctrines concerning *Predestination* and the points relating to it, and that upon this occasion, some of the Clergy had given out, that there were great differences between the Professors on account of doctrine, yet was it at the same time declared in writing by *Gomarus*, *Trelcatius*, *Arminius*, and *Kuchlinus*, Regent of the College, that they were at unity and without difference among themselves, thereby giving to understand that the aforesaid opinions might be tolerated among Divines and Reformed christians. Some time after, new accusations were brought against *Arminius*, which induced the States to order that the Professors *Gomarus* and *Arminius* should be heard together before the High Council or their Grand Committee, at which hearing, several of the Clergy were to assist.

This being done, the aforesaid Committee reported to the States that they could not find there was any material difference with respect to what had been moved and inquired into ; for which reason they thought it convenient to charge those Professors to live in christian love and unity, and to act in their station to the edification and good instruction of the Students. Some time after, Dr. *Arminius* represented by a petition to the States, that he had been accused of introducing unsound opinions and novelties into the established doctrine, and that thereupon the examinations of the Students of his acquaintance were more strict and rigorous than usual, and less credit than ought to be, was given to his testimonials ; upon which account he offered to clear himself from the aforesaid accusations. It was therefore thought proper to hear him in the Assembly, to the end that he might declare his opinions concerning the fundamental Articles of Faith ; as he did accordingly. This being made known to some Ministers, who stiled themselves the Deputies of both the Synods, they writ to *Gomarus*, to desire a like audience of the States, and to charge *Arminius* with what he had to object against his doctrines and opinions ; which was also done. After this a Conference being holden between *Gomarus* and *Arminius*, in the presence of the States themselves, at which some of the Clergy chosen by both parties were present ; they were both charged to live in fraternal charity together, and to draw up in writing the opinions which each maintained, and to deliver them to the States, in order to their being duly and maturely considered.

Before the said Conference the States-General had caused an Assembly, preparatory to a general Synod, to meet, in order to consider further how the same might be called and holden under the authority and direction of the States, in such manner as might most tend to the advantage of the Church and Nation. But the Doctors and Ministers being likewise divided in their opinions about the same, they were acquainted that they should offer their respective sentiments thereupon, supported by the best arguments they could produce, to the end they might be considered of when a better opportunity should offer, and that every thing might be done that should appear to be for the service of the Church and Nation.

And forasmuch as it was thought convenient, by the particular Synod of *Holland*, that all the Ministers should be directed to consider seriously, and in the fear of the Lord, upon the contents of the *Netherland* Confession and Catechism, in order to note and extract those passages which, on account of the various constructions and explanations, were liable to objection, and communicate the same in writing to their respective Classes ; therefore the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* being informed of it, (and fearing that the communication of the said objections to the Classes might produce more troubles and inconveniences in the churches) thought fit to declare, that the aforesaid objections should not be transmitted to the said Classes, but sealed up and delivered to them, the said States, or to their standing Committee ;

Committee; to the end that they might be preserved and kept secret till a lawful synodical Assembly could be convened.

Soon after, some of the Clergy in the Classis of *Alkmaer*, were the occasion that a new form of Association was drawn up, in order to its being subscribed by all Ministers, the substance of which was, **That the Confession and Catechism were in all things agreeable to the word of God, and that they would accordingly defend them to the utmost.** But five of the Ministers of the said Classis scrupling to subscribe, were immediately turned out of the Assembly by the rest, who were something above the half of the Classis. Upon this the excluded Ministers brought their grievance before the States, and those of the Classis having made their defence both by word of mouth and by writing, their proceedings were declared unjust and unreasonable, and accordingly they were ordered to make reparation to the injured persons; which after many delays, evasions, contradictions, and disputes, was done in the presence of Commissioners appointed for that purpose.

And whereas in the mean while Dr. *Jacobus Arminius* departed this life, and many of the Clergy, as well those who had assisted at the abovementioned Conference, as others, were apprehensive of meeting with the like troubles, as he, the said *Arminius*, and the other five Ministers, had been brought into; it was resolved to present a Remonstrance to the States, in the name of all that were concerned in these matters, in which they declared what they had taught in respect to the aforesaid *Five Points*, and what they thought they were obliged in conscience to teach further about the same; as also what scruple they made of assenting to that which other Doctors, Writers, and Ministers held to be their opinion, of which they likewise gave an account at the same time. But because the States had then under deliberation two points relating to church-matters, *viz.* first, *The final establishment of the abovementioned Ecclesiastical Constitution of the year 1591*; and secondly, *Whether they should not make use of the most convenient means for choosing out of all the Classes in Holland and West-Friesland a good number of the most learned and experienced persons in church-matters, and such as were of a peaceable temper, in order jointly to deliberate about the most proper methods of bringing the differences among the Clergy either to some accommodation, or else to a provisional mutual Toleration, so as might be most for the good of the country, and the Rest and Peace of the Churches*: therefore the consideration of the aforesaid Remonstrance was put off for some months, in hopes that the said two points might in the mean time have been unanimously agreed upon. But this hope becoming fruitless, the said Remonstrance was read in the Assembly of the States, in the month of *May 1610*, and the Deputies of the towns desired copies of it, to the end they might lay it before their Principals, and matters being duly debated, might receive their instructions with orders for a speedy return. About ten days after, the said Deputies being re-assembled, together with the Nobles, as States of the Province, it was resolved, after mature deliberation, by all the said Nobles, and a very great majority of the towns, that none should be obliged to proceed either in teaching or examining with respect to the *Five Points* beyond the contents of the aforesaid Remonstrance; and though many of the towns declared, that the other opinions were never taught within their jurisdictions; yet it was agreed, that every one should be at liberty to teach and embrace the same. Afterwards the Assembly being informed, that some Classes had taken upon them at the examination of certain Ministers actually in service, and of others who were about to be admitted, to trouble them upon points that were carried further than the limits aforesaid; it was resolved, that they should be admonished by Commissioners in the most solemn manner, to proceed no further therein, at least with respect to such as found themselves aggrieved.

Seven months after the said Remonstrance was presented, certain of the Clergy assuming to themselves the title of Deputies of both Synods, made their complaints against the aforesaid points, and offered in the Assembly of the States to prove that they were contradictory to God's holy word, as well as to the Confession and Catechism. Whereupon it was thought fit and resolved, at a full meeting of the States, that there should be a friendly Conference holden in the fear of the Lord between twelve of the Ministers, to wit, six on each side, in order to come to a good understanding and mutual forbearance; or if that could not be brought about,

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about, to agree upon a state of the question, to the end that after having duly weighed it, such a Resolution might be taken, as should be found agreeable to the word of God, and expedient for the Church and Nation. This Conference was accordingly holden many days in the months of *March*, *April*, and *May*, 1611, and was followed from time to time by the resolutions abovementioned.

During these deliberations, the holding a synodical Assembly was several times proposed and debated, but most of the Members were of opinion, that the prejudices and prepossessions of most of the Clergy on both sides were so great, and that some of them had entered into such strong engagements, as well against the authority of the Government, as in defence of one or other of the clashing opinions, that it would be impossible, in the present disposition of mens minds for a national Synod, to examine and decide these controversies with impartiality, and for the service of the Church. There were likewise proposals made of chusing some of the most learned, peaceful and most experienced Divines for that purpose; but this was scrupled too, because it was maintained by some, that none but the Clergy ought to have the choice of the persons.

About six months ago, the States had it again under deliberation to cause an equal number of Civil and Ecclesiastical persons to be named not by the Assembly in general, but by the Nobles and some of the towns, in order to consider of a proper scheme for the mutual Toleration and further limitation of it, in concert with other Divines, such as were actually in the Ministry, as well within the Provinces of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* as without: It has also been again proposed in this present Assembly, whether it might not be expedient to invite from *Germany*, *France*, *Great Britain*, and *Switzerland*, some learned, peaceable, and impartial persons on the same account.

Finally, it has been likewise proposed, that there should be holden a Provincial Synod of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, consisting of persons deputed by the Classes, with the consent of the Civil Magistrate, not to determine upon the things in debate, but by means of good information to set each other right in those matters; and as for what might still remain in dispute, to consider of a provisional plan for such a mutual toleration as might be received by all parties with a safe conscience; and moreover, to consult of the most convenient methods for maintaining Ecclesiastical Unity. And this being done, if they should find that there remained any points which required a formal decision, that in such case, matters might be brought by a National to a General Synod, where both the truth and necessity of those points might be examined according to the word of God.

From all these proceedings the States of *Zeland* may easily observe, that the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* have nothing more at heart than to bring these pernicious schisms and quarrels to a happy issue: but they expect, that before all things a stop be put (pursuant to the common Union between the all Provinces) to tumults and popular insurrections; and that not only the particular States themselves, but the Governours of the respective towns may be secured in an uninterrupted enjoyment of their rights, to which, not only the States-General, but also those of every province, and more especially the States of *Zeland* (with respect to those of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, conformable to their particular treaties and alliances) are above all bounden and obliged. And they, the States of *Holland* in general, as well as the Nobles and Towns, are firmly resolved, by the Grace of God, to give all possible proofs of their attachment to the true Christian Religion in its utmost purity, as reformed according to the word of God, and of their intention to preserve the same by the best and fittest methods; as also to make it appear, that whatever things have been laid to their charge, either in general or particular, contrary to their Declaration, are meer calumnies and falsehoods, or misconstructions of what they have done to obviate these divisions. Wherefore the Lords Commissioners of the States of *Zeland* (after hearty thanks for the trouble of their Deputation and Negotiation) are earnestly entreated to accept of this Answer and Declaration in the best manner, excusing the delay, and to report the same to their Principals.

Done at the Hague, the 5th day of August, 1617.

This

This Answer having been presented by the Heer Yonker *John van Duvenvorde*, A^N° D^O M. Lord of *Duvenvorde*, and Master *Hugo Grotius*, Pensionary of *Rotterdam*, to the States of *Zeland*, on the 14th of the same month; *Grotius* spake to them in the following words:

Noble and Mighty Lords,

THE Honourable Committee, of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, have, in pursuance of the Resolution of the said States, taken on the 4th instant, ordered us to tender to your Lordships, in their name, all good neighbourly and friendly correspondence, together with their best services. We likewise present to your Lordships the Answer which they, the said States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, have thought fit to return to the proposals made to them by your Deputies, begging you to excuse the delay. The detaining your Deputies so long has been already excused to them, which we doubt not but they have faithfully reported to your Honours. Since then, there has been a great deal of time spent, by reason of the recesses which were judged necessary, by the Deputies of the Towns, in a matter of such importance, in order, among other things, to learn the intentions of their Principals concerning the present Answer, as also on account of their being employed in preparing and adapting the same, as much as possible, to the true state of affairs, for the satisfaction of all parties, and by reason of many other daily incidents. Now though we make no doubt but your Lordships, upon considering in general the great and weighty affairs which daily intervene in *Holland*, will put the best construction on their delay; yet we trust your Lordships will be still more inclined to do so, when we shall have more fully explained the particulars of the said affairs. You may therefore be pleased to understand, that they, the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, observing that the scruples and mis-understandings have risen by steps and degrees, and consequently that they are to be redressed by the like degrees; and especially that some stop ought to be put to many licentious and slanderous books and papers; have thought fit, in the first place, to cause² a Placard to be drawn up, in which declaring their intention as to the calling a lawful and impartial Synod, they very strictly forbid all writing and publishing, or speaking either in publick or private, which might tend to the prejudice or diminution of their authority, or that of his Excellency, or of the great Councils, Courts of Justice, Magistrates, and other Officers, or to the contempt of the Clergy; as also the publishing any thing for the future that relates to the rights or privileges of the Nation, or to the present differences in the Church; otherwise than with the consent of the States, or such as are appointed by them for that purpose; and the buying or selling any books or pamphlets that have been published against the Government of these Provinces, or the rightful Magistrates. And since it has been found by experience that the heats which have arisen in treating about the controverted points in the Pulpit, (where the Clergy have publickly charged, accused, and refuted one another) together with the apprehensions of changes to be made in the established doctrines of the Church, have occasioned great heart-burnings and divisions; it was thought expedient, the better to dispose mens minds for a good Synod, to prepare certain letters to be sent in the name of the States to the respective Classes, whereby the Ministers were to be exhorted to avoid meddling with the points debated at the *Hague-Conference*, as much as possible, and as far as their texts would allow; and when it appeared absolutely necessary to touch upon them, to do it with the utmost caution and discretion (which in effect was what the Clergy themselves had offered at the time of the Conference) and to keep to that manner of expression used in the word of God, without inveighing or railing against others with bitterness, heat, or calumny; but on the contrary, to instruct the good people in saving doctrines, and exhort them to a sincere mutual Friendship, Charity, and Reformation of manners, together with a just respect and obedience to their Governours. And whereas it had been frequently agreed and resolved at other times by the States with respect to doctrinal points,

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that

*The Speech of
the Deputies
of Holland,
to the States
of Zeland.*

¹ Extracted from the Papers of the Heer *Grotius*.
² See Baud. Mem. Lib. VIII. p. 22.

³ The avoiding those Points, as much as they could, was agreeable to what had been advised by some of the *Zeland-Clergy*. See *Grot. Apol. Lib. VI. p. 64.*

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that for the future nothing should be proposed to the people inconsistent with that catholick doctrine which the *Reformed* churches had received and declared in their Confessions, and particularly in the *Netherland* Confession and *Heidelberg* Catechism; the draught of the aforesaid letter accordingly required, that every one should act conformably, and for the same purpose it was ordered, that the churches should be carefully visited, and the transgressors proceeded against with proper censures; and that in case of neglect, the States themselves, or their Committee, should be informed of it, in order to apply a remedy, if necessary, by the means of higher ecclesiastical Assemblies. Together with this Letter to the Classes, there was another drawn up, and sent to the Magistrates, exhorting them to see to the execution of the Premises.

Moreover, though the Nobles, and the far greater part of the Towns, have always been, and still are of opinion, that the resolutions taken by them provisionally concerning the Church disputes (especially after the previous advice of several Ministers and Divines, both domestick and foreign) are just and lawful, and do not prejudice either the one party or the other, and consequently that those who judge it proper to make use of them, cannot fairly be hindered; yet to show that their Lordships were not for rejecting any methods that might be subservient to an accommodation, there were Deputies appointed to consider of calling a lawful and impartial Synod; and a certain project was laid before and approved by the Nobles and most of the Towns, the purport of which was, that such of the controverted points, which were treated of at the Conference, and were judged necessary to be decided, should be laid before a General, by a National Synod, because the former would be least obnoxious to any suspicion of partiality, as it would likewise carry more credit and weight with it, and have greater influence on the preservation of unity, not only with the neighbouring, but other *Reformed* churches too; this way having been of old, always esteemed the best, and most convenient for the determination of any controversies in doctrines: a way towards which, his Majesty of *Great Britain*, the Princes of the *Palatinate*, and very many eminent Divines of the *Protestant* churches, have always shown a particular inclination. Add to this, that those of the Clergy who go under the name of *Contraremonstrants* in *Holland*, as also those of the districts of *Arnhem*, *Zutphen* and *Harderwyk* in *Gelderland*, have declared it to be their opinion, that these matters concern the Universal Church. It is further also to be observed, that besides the liquidating the present difficulties, it may be expected, among other good events of such a general Synod, that the *Reformation*, which is now a hundred years old, may, by a mutual communication among the churches, through Gods assistance, arrive at a solid and immutable state. And since while matters are disposing to this end, the case of the churches of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* demands a prompt remedy, it was projected that a Synod of the said Province should be holden forthwith, in order to endeavour, in the first place, by calling in some learned persons from our neighbours, or even out of other countries, to bring the contending parties, after having convinced them by the word of God, to a uniform confession of the truth, relating to the points treated of at the Conference, and then to lay down plainly all that shall appear to be uncontestable. Secondly, To consider of those things that might remain still in dispute, to the end, that by way of accommodation, with the joint consent of both parties, a Provisional Plan of Mutual Toleration and Forbearance might be devised and agreed on, such as both might be received and put in execution peaceably and to edification, without burthening the consciences of the people. And Thirdly, To consider of the most proper methods, whereby the doctrine of the *Reformed* churches might be preserved in truth and purity.

And since it had been formerly found by experience, that many acts and decrees of Synods remained ineffectual, by reason of the discontents and jealousies they occasioned to the Government, it was further proposed, that in the deputations from the Classes to the Synods, the Magistrates should take particular care that none should be sent thither, but men of eminent learning, piety and temper; and that the States should take no less care in the superintendency and direction of affairs in the Synod, according to the principles of the *Reformation*.

‘ The Members of the Assembly agreed to many articles of these projects for a Placard, Letter, and the holding of a Synod, but as several objections were made by some against this or that particular point, they could come to no resolutions upon the whole ; however, the Deputies undertook to make a faithful report of the said projects and the debates concerning them, to their principals, in hopes that God would be pleased to dispose mens minds to every thing that might tend to the promoting his honour and glory, truth and unity, together with the liberty and good of the Provinces.

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‘ Now whereas during these deliberations, it was daily observed, that my Lords the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* (who have done as much as any Potentite in the world for the maintenance of the *Reformed* religion) and in particular the Nobles (who themselves, or their Progenitors, were the chief persons that helped to plant the said religion in these Provinces, having run through great dangers on that account) as likewise the Magistrates of those towns, which were the first that embraced the *Reformation* and induced their neighbours to do the same, (among which Magistrates, there were many who became exiles for religion, or were born in banishment, and from their infancy brought up in the knowledge of the truth, having always made publick profession of it) whereas, I say, it was observed, that all these were most shamefully traduced, as if they were about to depart from the said religion, under which God has so signally blest this country ; and which is worse, as if they were promoters of Popery, notwithstanding that all wise men are sensible that none would be greater losers by it than the States themselves ; forasmuch as that religion, besides all its other errors, superstitions and idolatries, also robs the Civil Magistrate of his authority in ecclesiastical matters, and dispenses with the allegiance and duty of the subject : it being likewise observed, that all these calumnies had their rise from hence, that the said States perceiving that there had always been various opinions among the *Reformed* Clergy, touching the doctrine of *Predestination* and the points relating to it, and that several eminent Professors, Ministers and other Members of the Church in their own dominions, still differed from their brethren in these matters, could not consent that those of one opinion should be worse treated than those of another, since by that means, occasion might have been given to them to join with other sects, to the great prejudice of the *Reformed* religion : It was therefore thought necessary, in order to remove such calumnies, to print and publish forthwith a certain Declaration, which had been for some time prepared in order to make known to all men, that their Lordships the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, were obliged to assert and maintain that prerogative and authority which belongs to them, for the defence of the Church, as well as to all other *Reformed* Potentates, and particularly to these of their neighbouring Provinces : and as for the points which were handled at the Conference, they thought it their duty to prevent, by the most proper means, all rash and hasty sentences and divisions on that account ; and that it was their constant resolution, that none should introduce into the Church any doctrines, contrary to those already established by the Formularies ; as also that they the said States, were never averse to the calling a lawful and impartial Synod upon all just and reasonable terms, as is more fully shown in the Declaration abovementioned. Your Honours will find all these matters clearly and plainly related in the answer of the States, which we now present you, together with the addition of several advices, resolutions and negotiations relating to them. By which, we hope your Lordships will be informed to your intire satisfaction, of the true state of this affair. Besides the time spent in this and other publick business, my Lords, the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, have employed much time and pains in inquiring into the pretensions of the ordinary Colleges or Courts of Justice, to a right of taking cognizance of what has been resolved or done by particular towns, on occasion of the present differences : concerning which, the said towns have made appear, that they are possess of a right by virtue of their privileges, immemorial custom, decrees and resolutions made in the Assembly of the States, without any form of process, and by order only of the Burgomasters and Senate or Council, to cause any seditious or factious person to depart from their jurisdiction ; and that they are not accountable for such actions as those to the ordinary Courts of Justice, but to the States themselves : as also that according to the privileges of the Nation, the sen-

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‘ences of the Schepens on extraordinary occasions are not liable to any appeals. The States have likewise declared, that by the institution of the before-named Colleges of Justice, they had not divested themselves of the power of putting a stop to their proceedings, and of evocating or calling a cause before themselves: as your Lordships also have formerly done, and exerted your right on many occasions, in matters relating to your own Province of *Zeland*, especially in such upon which the welfare and tranquillity of all your subjects depended: they moreover declared, that having interested themselves thus long, both in general and particular in the affairs of the Church, they could by no means, without a remarkable violation and infringement of their authority, abandon the cognizance of such affairs, and of all that depends thereon, to any other persons or bodies of men.

‘ But the said States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, have been taken up more especially by the daily disorders and the seditious behaviour of certain persons, who, under the pretence of Ecclesiastical differences, have presumed to set on foot private confederacies and associations, to introduce Ministers into churches illegally, and even to threaten to seize upon churches by open violence. From whence, and from the further rumours of the like, and yet more heinous attempts against the publick peace, it sufficiently appears, that matters may be brought to great extremities, unless the publick authority be supported in the best manner, against such proceedings as these, and secured against the impending danger. For the effecting which, two methods have been thought proper; the *first* is, That those towns, which should think it necessary, might be permitted to follow the examples of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, and almost all the towns of the Northern quarters, which have strengthened and secured themselves by Warders (who take an oath to the Governors of the said towns) against all riots and tumults.

‘ The *Second* is, That whereas the Soldiers in the service of the nation, have taken an oath of fidelity to the States of these Provinces, and to the Magistrates of those towns where they lie in garrison, and consequently are bound to support the authority of the Government, they should be particularly obliged, without any scruple, well and truly to observe the said oath on this occasion, and accordingly to suppress all tumults, either against publick or private persons, places or estates.

‘ And for obviating all sinister interpretations of this Resolution, there were first some Gentlemen deputed from the Assembly, who were followed by the Grand Committee, in order to wait on his Excellency, and to inform him of the good intentions of them the said States, to treat his Excellency in all points, according to his high birth and merits, and to support him in the administration of his office agreeably to his Commissions, Patents and Instructions: after which several other conferences on divers particular occurrences were holden with his Excellency, in hopes that all matters, both publick and private, being well understood, might be brought to a good accommodation.

‘ From this relation, your Lordships will be apprized of the reasons which have till now prevented the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* and their Committee, from returning an answer: We therefore beg you once again, to put a favourable construction upon this delay, and to look upon them the said States, as those who are always ready to convince you, that they esteem your Lordships as their most ancient, faithful, and best Friends and Confederates.’

This Speech was presented to the States of *Zeland* on the 15th of *August*, in writing. After which those Deputies of *Holland* appearing at the Assembly of the said States, on the 17th of the same month, were thanked by the mouth of the Pensionary of *Zeland*, for the said Answer and subsequent Speech, who also acquainted them: ‘ That their Lordships would consider well and maturely of the Answer which the States of *Holland* had made to their Proposition, as the importance of the matter required: That their Lordships were always of opinion, that a National Synod would be the most proper means of extricating our selves from the present difficulties; and that they therefore earnestly conjured them to labour that point with their Principals.’

Upon

Upon this the Deputies of *Holland*, after thanking them for the audience they had had, remonstrated further to them : ‘ That the Christians of old times, found it proper to decide disputes in religion by General Councils or Synods : whereas on the contrary, from National Councils, proceeded the schisms of the *Donatists*, the divisions between the *Eastern* and *Western* churches, and not long since those among the *Protestants* : that in the year 1577, all the Deputies of the *Low-Country* churches, together with those of the *Queen of England*, the *Electoꝛ Palatine*, and of the *French*, *Bohemian* and *Hungarian* churches, had made the same remark, and accordingly represented to the Princes of *Germany* the great dangers that arose from particular decisions : that therefore the disputes not only concerning the Lord’s Supper, but also about *Predestination*, *Free-will* and *Perseverance*, ought to have been brought before a General Synod. That in the mean while, in order to make some provisional regulations, my Lords the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* were of opinion, that the Union of the Provinces had not transferred the authority in church-matters from the particular States to the Generality, but that the said authority was still inherent in the respective Provinces ; as *Zeland*, for instance, could testify ; the States whereof had made Ecclesiastical Ordinances, even contrary to those enacted by National Synods ; besides, that several other things which had been approved in a National Synod (such as the yearly holding Provincial Synods) were never observed nor complied with : That the States of *Gelderland*, not long since, on account of the like disputes as had been started in *Holland*, had made the like provisional orders ; as also the Governments of *Bern* and *Geneva* had by their own authority, with the advice of some learned men both from abroad and at home, composed the like differences : That my Lords the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, nevertheless intended to take the advice of learned and godly men, even of foreigners themselves, with respect to the said provisional regulation. These things being thus, they thought, that in case their reasons were weighed impartially, the proposals for an accommodation, which had been approved by the Nobles and most of the Towns, would be found to be good and satisfactory : and that there was no probability that they the said States would depart from the Declaration they had so solemnly made. That if they could contribute any thing towards the defence of the true Christian *Reformed* religion, the restoring of the unity of the Church, and other good offices of a sincere friendship and correspondence between the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and those of *Zeland*, they should always find them most willing and ready.

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A further Remonstrance of the Deputies of Holland.

After the Deputies of *Holland* had offered these arguments, they took their leaves of the States of *Zeland*, where the Members of that body were likewise far from being unanimous. Some of them leaned towards the side of *Holland*, and did not think it fair, that at the Assembly of the States General, there should be combinations among some of the Provinces to over-vote that of *Holland*, and force it into the project of a National Synod. It was a long while too, before they could be brought to any resolution upon that affair. But what happened on that occasion, and the consequences which resulted from thence, as well as the management used therein, will best appear from certain minutes of the assembly of the aforesaid States of *Zeland*, which I shall communicate to my Reader, in order to give him a better light into several remarkable events, beginning with what past in that Assembly, in the months of *January* and *April* of this current year. The said Minutes are as follows :

JANUARY 26, 1617. Afternoon.

‘ THE Heer *Joachim* (Deputy of the States of *Zeland* to those of the Generality) having thought fit to repair hither for a few days, knowing that the time necessary for summoning the States General, and the affairs to be there considered, would allow him so to do, proposed to this Assembly, several weighty matters which required to be most seriously considered, and the sooner the better (because the Resolutions of this Assembly had been long desired as to some of them, and others of them would undoubtedly very soon occur ;) to the end that the persons deputed to the said Generality, might be perfectly instructed of the pleasure and designs of the States, and that their Lordships might transmit to them

Minutes of what past in the Assembly of the States of Zeland, with regard to the difference in Holland.

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their advices, with respect to such things as most directly tended to the service of the land.

In the first place, he related the troubles and disputes with reference to the Ecclesiastical affairs of *Holland*, particularly about what happened in the Church of the *Hague*, and what had occurred thereupon for several Sundays now last past, not without very great danger of tumults and insurrections; also what had been done for preventing the same, by the Grand Committee of the States of *Holland*, by the Provincial Court of Justice, by the Commissioners of the Treasury, and by the Magistrates of the *Hague*, till the departure of his Excellency which followed: adding, that though these commotions seemed only to affect the Province of *Holland*, yet being of so great consequence, if not seasonably composed and accommodated, (as he hoped they might be) they would doubtless affect other Provinces, even in the highest degree; he therefore proposed, whether it were not proper to consider what advice should be given by the rest of the Provinces with respect to these matters, which ought to be looked upon as common dangers, and upon which the States of *Holland* are now particularly called together.

JANUARY 28, 1617.

PRAYERS being ended, and business entered upon, it was again deliberated, whether the Province of *Zeland* should not use its good offices to help put a stop, if possible, to the troubles already arisen, as well as to prevent those which were still to be apprehended, on account of the misunderstandings in the business of religion, and what might be done for obviating further inconveniencies, both in this, and other Provinces, and particularly in that of *Holland* on the same account. And after it had been maturely considered, how much the good of the country depends on harmony and unity in the matter of religion, it being the chief band whereby the Provinces are tied together, and that for which God has been pleased thus long to bless them; which makes it the duty of each Province to endeavour its preservation: It was therefore agreed and resolved, upon a serious consideration of the Premises, to empower the Gentlemen deputed from this Province to the Assembly of the States General, to insist (as they have formerly also been instructed) that the calling of a National Synod may be forthwith put in execution, in order to consider of the abovementioned disputes and quarrels, and to come to such resolutions as may most conduce to the peace of the Church. And for what relates to the particular differences in *Holland*, it was resolved, that since the States of that Province, were said to be met in a special manner, in order to take care about, and apply proper remedies to those evils, the Deputies should wait the Resolutions they should think fit to take thereupon: in hopes that they the said States, according to their great wisdom and prudence, would find means to prevent all further inconveniencies. However, if it should so happen, that the Deputies of this Province should be consulted, and their advice desired about the same, they might give it, first communicating with his Excellency thereupon: and they were required likewise to give an account of all occurrences, from time to time, to the States or their Grand Committee.

A Resolution
of the States
upon the point
of a National
Synod.

APRIL 13, 1617.

FORASMUCH as at the last Assembly, there was nothing finally resolved, as to what might be endeavoured on the part of this Province, in the meeting of the States of *Holland*, or in that of the Generality; or wherever else it should be thought necessary, in order to remove the great misunderstandings there arisen about Church-matters and their consequences; it was further deliberated concerning what was yet to be done. And several Proposals were made, chiefly tending to this: That an extraordinary deputation should be sent by this Province, to the States of *Holland* now sitting, in order, after condoling with them on account of the troubles they are involved in, to intreat them to think upon some proper expedient for preventing all further mischiefs that may, yea, that must necessarily arise from these differences, whereby both parties may be quieted and satisfied; and to represent that the very best we can advise for preventing further schisms and

Proposals for
removing the
misunderstand-
ings with
respect to
Church-
affairs.

separations (which ought absolutely to be avoided and prevented) is that for the giving ease in some measure to the minds of certain people; there should be a Declaration made, importing: That they cannot consent that any be allowed to go beyond what is either clearly expressed, or to be inferred from the Five Points, which if any man shall do, he shall be liable to proper censures; and that for the removing the main of these inconveniencies, orders shall be forthwith given for the speedy calling of a National Synod, to meet at a fixed time: That thanks shall be returned to his Excellency for using his good offices, in order to compose the late troubles, intreating him to continue to interpose his authority on the same account: and that every thing shall be done with his advice and participation.

But upon reading the letters of the Deputies, dated 22d March, making mention of these affairs, and particularly, that his Excellency did not think it convenient, that the Province of *Zeland* should meddle as yet, because there had been some proposals made in the Assembly of *Holland*, upon which they had adjourned; nothing could be finally resolved at this time.

APRIL 25, 1617.

THE business of the meeting being forthwith taken into consideration, to wit: The sending some extraordinary Deputies to the States of *Holland*, in order to persuade them by all possible means and reasons, to consent that the differences arisen about Church-matters, might be endeavoured to be composed by the calling of a National Synod, and that in the mean time, the complaining Church might enjoy some redress: it was debated and finally agreed, that extraordinary Deputies should be sent.

APRIL 26, 1617.

AFTER Prayers, and the entering upon business, the instructions were drawn up for the Deputies to be sent to *Holland*, about the Ecclesiastical differences in that Province, and the same were agreed to, with the following addition. That not only further divisions might be prevented, but also that those which were already risen might be healed, and the Church preserved in unity, without setting up Altar against Altar, or choosing different Consistories: and besides, after the conclusion of the aforesaid instructions, these words were ordered to be inserted, viz. With the advice and knowledge of his Excellency. And the Deputies appointed for this end, are the Heer van *Malderee*, Burgomaster *Brewer*, and the Pensionaries *Pottey* and *Young*.

AUGUST 11, 1617.

THE Minutes of this day contained the report made by the Deputies who had been in *Holland*, on the part of the States of *Zeland*, in order to remove and obviate the differences about Church-matters, and to move them to call a National Synod. In the said report, which for brevity sake, I shall pass by, an account was given of what had been done by those of *Gelderland*, *Freeſland*, *Groningen* and the *Omlands*, towards promoting a Synod. There were likewise the following expressions in it: 'Now since we could obtain no answer from the States of *Holland*, [to the proposal made the 10th of May] after having waited so long for it, because they the said States, did not care to give it by a majority of votes, therefore to the end that our journey might not be wholly fruitless, being persuaded, that the chief intention of our principals, was the calling a National Synod, (which could not be, but by an Act of the States General) we after consulting his Excellency, (who thought it absolutely necessary) repaired to the meeting of the States General, where the Province of *Zeland* then presided, and there we made the proposal for a National Synod.' This was done in the month of June.

* Trigland. p. 936. &c.

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AUGUST 12, 1617.

A Letter of the
Prince desiring
that some ex-
traordinary
Deputies
might be sent
to the Hague.

A Letter from his Excellency, dated the 9th instant, was received and read, in which he desires there should be some extraordinary Deputies sent thither, in order to assist at the deliberations of the States General, for the welfare and preservation of the Land, and that with all speed: forasmuch as the Ecclesiastical differences increase more and more, and cannot be cured by any other methods: whereupon it was agreed to answer: That the States of *Zeland* are now met together, and that care shall be taken immediately, to inform his said Excellency of all that is done about the same.

AUGUST 14, 1617.

A notification
of the arrival
of certain De-
puties from
Holland.

AFTER Prayers and entring upon business, the Pensionary acquainted the Assembly, that there had been with him the Heer Yonker, *John van Duven-vorde* and Master *Hugo Grotius*, telling him, that they were deputed hither on the part of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, to deliver to their Lordships of *Zeland*, the answer which they the said States of *Holland* had agreed to make to the Proposal delivered some time ago by the Deputies of this Province, touching the disputes in the Church—— and moreover to apologize for the delay thereof: for which purpose, they prayed to be admitted to an audience. Whereupon the question being put, whether the said Deputies should be complemented and welcomed on the part of the Assembly, it passed generally in the affirmative, and the persons appointed to wait on them, were the Heers and Burgomasters *La Palma*, *Pous* and Secretary *de Wittee*, who were likewise to offer them an audience whenever they desired it.

A Letter from
the Heer Joa-
chim relating
to the dissenti-
ons in Hol-
land is read
in the Assam-
bly.

The letters of the Heer *Joachim*, bearing date the 9th instant, were read, relating to the dissensions in *Holland*, not only among the Clergy, but the members of the States themselves.— As also relating to the alterations in the form of the oath taken by the Soldiers in the *Bril*, being different from what they had been accustomed to take; together with the Memorial presented to his Excellency and the Council of State thereupon. Relating also to the complaints of his said Excellency, with reference to his being falsely charged with a design of surprizing the *Bril*, and all that followed upon it; and the spreading of reports concerning him, as if he designed to act as another *Earl of Leicester*, and to render himself master of the Land; things which, as he said, never once entered into his thoughts, having squared all his actions to the service of the Nation, conformably to his Commission, and to the preservation of the Reformed religion in which he had been educated, and in which he designed to persevere with sincerity; to which was added, that if any man had any thing to object against him, he was ready to hear it, and to amend whatever was amiss in him. And whereas the Deputies of *Holland* were desired by the President of the Assembly, to give them some account of the State of affairs in their Province, they replied, that they were not responsible either to the States or any other person, but that however, they were ready to declare it to them by way of information, and with a *Salvo Jure* to their principals. Accordingly, after complaining of the great troubles in which the Province of *Holland* is engaged, by reason of the present dissensions; and of the indignities and affronts they had been obliged to undergo, even in this very place, they exhibited the Resolution of their Masters, which occasioned their last meeting, and the act of recess, together with the letter sent to the towns, as also the Act of the Magistrates of the *Bril*, containing a relation of what had been done there by the States Commissioners *Rukhaver* and *Meermans*: namely, their obliging the commanding officer in that Garrison to swear, or solemnly promise to protect, defend and assist the Civil Magistrate against all violence, and particularly against such as attempted to seize upon any churches or publick places; and their ordering him at the same time to break those that should refuse to submit to such oaths or assurances; and their administering the oath to the Garrison of that town accordingly: adding that these proceedings having been com-

communicated to the Prince and Council of State, their opinion was, that the Committee of the States should be desired to keep to the old oath; but the aforesaid Deputies replied, that nothing of this could now be done, because that Committee was obliged to put in execution the orders of the States. His Excellency they said, had moreover declared, that several of the chief towns of *Holland* did not approve of the new form, and that they had signified the same to him: that they had been followed by the Deputies of *Zeland*, *Freeſland* and two out of the three of *Gelderland*, but that those of *Utrecht* and *Overyſſel*, wanted to be more fully instructed of the pleasure of their Principals.

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1617.

As to the business of the licentious calumnies that flew among the people, the said Deputies of *Holland* testified their concern; but added, that it was not strange, that in the present situation of affairs, some things should be reported to the prejudice of his Excellency. The other Provinces, they said, declared in like manner, that the spreading such calumnies was unavoidable on account of the reigning Dissentions; but that they were well satisfied with the conduct and actions of his Excellency, thanking him, and desiring him to continue the same.

And since it was easy to observe by this account, what a critical juncture of affairs they were in, and since the other Provinces were about sending up their respective Deputies against the 16th instant, they desired it might be considered, what inconveniences would probably happen, in case the States of *Zeland* refused to send theirs, or if business was put off on their account.

Afterwards there appeared at the Assembly, the Heer Yonker *John van Duvenvorde*, Lord of *Duvenvorde*, *Voorschoten*, &c. and Master *Hugo Grotius*, Doctor of Laws and Pensionary of *Rotterdam*, as Deputies of the States of *Holland*, and after the usual tender of all neighbourly friendship and correspondence, and all other good offices, as well on the part of the States of *Holland*, as of their grand Committee, they presented their Credentials from the said Committee, bearing date the 12th instant, together with the answer of the said States to the Proposal lately made, as beforementioned by the *Zeland* Deputies; and after that, a certain Memorial, which was to excuse their deferring the said answer, as well as to justify what had lately happened with respect to political and ecclesiastical matters; particularly since the departure of the Deputies. For all which, and for the trouble which the said Commissioners or Deputies of *Holland* had taken, the thanks of this Assembly were returned them, and they were told, that the States would seriously consider the whole, and act according as they should find to be most for the advantage of the land, and the unity and peace of the Church.

Minutes of the
transactions of
the Deputies
of *Holland*.

AUGUST 6, 1617.

IT being considered what answer should be returned to the Commissioners of the States of *Holland*, it was agreed, to desire them to appear to morrow in the Assembly, and to thank them for the answer which they brought, and the Proposal made by them, promising to consider it with all that attention the importance and weight of the matter demands; It was likewise agreed, that it should be particularly recommended to the said Commissioners, as persons who have great influence on the affairs of their Province, to do their utmost with the States of *Holland*, to dispose them to the calling a National Synod, as the only means of healing the divisions, and preventing further evils; and besides, that the usual complements should be paid them; that they should be treated that evening, their charges defrayed, and each of them presented with two Hogheads of wine.

Deliberations
upon the an-
swer to be re-
turned to the
Deputies of
Holland.

AUGUST 11, 1617.

THE Assembly afterwards entered upon the consideration of the first point mentioned in the summons, concerning what is to be transacted at the appointed time with the rest of the Provinces, with respect to the holding a National Synod, in order to put an end to all these deplorable dissentions and quarrels among the Clergy, and for preventing all further mischiefs: and after some debate, the Representative of the first Noble declared, That he was instructed by his Principal, to

Consultations
about a Nati-
onal Synod.

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inſiſt

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insist in the strongest terms that a National Synod might be called as soon as possible.

The Deputies for *Middelburg* said, they had not as yet received any other directions, than to hear the report of the aforesaid Commissioners upon the first point, and afterwards to give an account thereof to their Principals, and to explain themselves further as soon as possible.

They of *Zieriksee* said, they were ready, and begged of the Gentlemen of *Middelburg*, to bring in their opinions as soon as might be, seeing that delays were dangerous.

Those of *Ter Goose*, (with whom also agreed the Deputies of *Ter Tholen*) said, that their Principals, having examined the point of the summons, and compared the subjoined proposal with the instructions, did not find that any mention was made of the *healing the breaches or divisions, without setting up Altar against Altar, by appointing different Consistories*; and therefore desired to know of the Deputies how that came to be omitted.

Those of *Flushing* and *Vere* declared, they would do as the rest of their brethren.

Afterwards, the Deputies having conferred with each other, upon what had been proposed by them of *Ter Goose* and *Tholen*, they declared, That in pursuance of their instructions, they had applied themselves to his Excellency, to the end that they might do nothing in this affair but by his advice: and that as the situation of affairs was best known to him, he did not think it proper that those formal expressions should be inserted; being sensible from what had already past between the contending parties, that they would be of no use, nor mend the matter, the schism being, as it were, regularly established there already; and that they would serve to strengthen those who were for condemning the party of the Contraremonstrants, which side was also favoured by the Province of *Zeland*; forasmuch as they scrupled to receive the Resolution about the Five Points, as not having been as yet duly and legally examined; of which there had been several instances, in their depriving Clergymen of that opinion, and substituting others of a contrary mind? yet, that notwithstanding this, they had declared, though not in so many words, both in the Assembly of the States of *Holland* and in that of the Generality, as likewise in the Conferences with the Lord Advocate, that their orders were to insist upon the holding of a National Synod, for putting an end to the present troubles and dissensions, and thereby reuniting the Church, and preventing further mischiefs and schisms; judging, that in so doing, they conformed themselves to the good intentions of the States, as having in all their actions, had an eye to the holding the aforesaid Synod, which they looked upon as the only remedy, and particularly endeavoured to promote it; with such effect as related at large. And the Members who were not yet instructed, being desired to procure further orders, they promised to do it as soon as possible.

AUGUST 17, 1617.

The advices of
the respective
Members of the
States of Ze-
land with re-
lation to the
National Sy-
nod.

PRAYERS being ended, and business begun, it was agreed to insert here the respective advices of all the Members upon the first point of the summons, and afterwards to come to a Resolution thereupon:

Accordingly the Deputy of the first Noble, declared he was instructed by his principal, to insist upon calling a National Synod for obviating the dissensions in Church matters.

Those of *Middelburg*, after recapitulating the great troubles that had befallen the Province of *Holland*, on account of ecclesiastical differences (from which God be praised this Province as yet is free) and recommending a particular attention to, and faithful application of the remedy, declared, as their opinion, that it was necessary to exhort the States of the said Province to the holding a National Synod, praying, that a convenient time might be agreed upon for that purpose, to the end they might the better prepare themselves for holding the same; for which purpose all possible means and arguments should be made use of, together with endeavours for allaying the heats of the contending parties in *Holland*; that so they might mutually agree, as well on the one side to the holding of a National Synod, as on the other

other to that of a preliminary or preparatory Conference, to dispose mens minds the AN^O D^O M. better for the said Synod ; and that this ought to be done by sending together with the ordinary Deputies other extraordinary ones, joined in the same Commission, which should be further inspected by a particular Committee ; and that the said Deputies should repair to the Assembly of the States General, and in conjunction with the other Provinces, assist in moving and inducing those of *Holland* to consent to the holding the aforesaid Synod ; and that all this should be done with the knowledge and approbation of his Excellency ; and in case any difficulty might occur, that they should write or send over hither one of their body, to report the same to the Committee, at least, in order to receive fresh instructions.

The Deputies of *Zieriksee*, declared, that they had likewise considered of the importance of this business among themselves, and had sought after remedies, but as yet could think of none for extinguishing the present, or obviating future divisions, but that of calling a National Synod ; since the disease, though it reigned chiefly in *Holland*, had discovered it self in other parts, and might spread much further still ; for which reason, as those of *Middelburg* had well observed, pressing instances ought to be made with the States of that Province ; which must be done by extraordinary Deputies, with the knowledge and consent of his Excellency. But if, after the employing their utmost efforts, they could not obtain the same from the said States, that then, in conjunction with the other Provinces, and those who should be pleased to adhere to them, they ought to resolve upon holding a National Synod, and fix the time and place for the same.

Those of *Ter Goose* especially, after the like summing up of the inconveniences, were for putting an end to the schism, or preventing it from growing wider by a National Synod, and thought it proper that the ordinary Deputies should use their endeavours to that end, with the States of *Holland*, to dispose them to enter into the same measures ; but they did not judge it necessary, to send extraordinary Deputies to concert the time with those of other Provinces.

Those of *Tholen*, were for conforming to the aforesaid advice of the Deputies of *Ter Goose*, after a summary representation of matters as before, saving only that they declared for sending Deputies, out of each Member one, with the like instructions as the former, which if necessary, might be enlarged ; the matter being of such importance, and the same having been done at other times, in things of lesser moment.

It was likewise represented on the part of *Flushing*, that the troubles lately arisen were of such a nature, as to require the application of a remedy forthwith, and without delay ; and that, since these mischiefs were not confined to *Holland* alone, though mostly there, but had spread themselves in some measure into other parts, they therefore know of no better remedy than the holding of a National Synod ; for which purpose, all possible instances should be made to the States of *Holland*, to dispose them thereto ; but that in case this could not be obtained, then the said Synod should be held with other Provinces, and such as were for coming into those measures ; and that it should be promoted by extraordinary Deputies.

Those of *ter Veere*, after the like representation and deduction, finally advised the holding a National Synod, after making all the previous efforts before suggested, agreeably to what those of *Flushing* insisted on.

Then there appeared in the Assembly, being thereto requested, the Heer *John van Duvenvorde*, Lord of *Duvenvorde*, *Voorschoten*, &c. and Master *Hugo Grotius*, Doctor of Laws, Senator and Pensionary of *Rotterdam*, both of them Members of the Committee of the States of *Holland*, and the thanks of the Assembly were given them for the Answer they had brought, with other usual complements ; and both of them were intreated, that they would help to dispose their Principals, with whom their credit was so great, to agree to the holding a National Synod for terminating these Ecclesiastical differences ; since they, the States of *Zeland*, had not yet been able to find out any more proper means to extricate the Provinces from these inconveniences.

Then the said *Grotius* related the Reasons which had hitherto hindered the Nobles of *Holland* and most of the Towns from consenting to a National Synod, for the determination of the controverted points, alledging several instances of the ancient Churches, and even some very late examples of those of *Saxony*, serving

The Deputies of Holland are dismissed.

AN^o DOM. 1617. to demonstrate, that such determinations had been of no effect, but that the whole matter ought to be laid before an Universal or General Council, forasmuch as all *Christendom* was interested in those disputes: adding, that till this could be done, all parties should be ordered to exercise a Mutual Toleration; and for the rest, referring himself to the Declaration of his Principals: After which the said Deputies took their leave.

AUGUST 19, 1617.

The Consideration of the Advices resumed.

THE Debates being resumed about the advices of the several Members of the States relating to the first point of the summons for considering the affairs of the Church; and particularly, whether, if the States of *Holland* could not be moved, after all endeavours, to agree to a National Synod, they should not, in concert with other provinces that had already declared for it, and others who should join them, proceed to call the same: The Heer *van Malderee* agreed thereto, on the part of the first Noble; as those of *Zieriksee*, *Flushing*, and *Veer*, had already done. The Deputies for *Middelburg* communicated the reasons of their former opinion, declaring that they had no other instructions from their Principals as yet. Those of *Zieriksee* persisted in their former sentiments. Those of *Ter Goose* insisted, that their opinion should be registred in the very manner they had before delivered it. But afterwards they resolved to make a report to their Principals about deputing to a National Synod, with the rest of the provinces; for which purpose they would send a Gentleman from among themselves. Those of *Tbolen* were for reporting upon the same matter, and would do their endeavours in like manner. And they of *Flushing*, and *Ter Veere*, renewed and adhered to the advices they had before delivered on behalf of their Principals.

AUGUST 22, 1617.

Some of the Members are dissatisfied with the Conduct of their Deputies while in Holland.

THE Deputies of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen* being called upon to make their report, upon the first article of the summons; the former declared, that their Principals had resolved, before they entered upon the consideration of the second branch of the said article, to hear the verbal report of the Deputies who were lately sent to *Holland* to treat about the Ecclesiastical disputes there on foot; as likewise to learn from the said Deputies the reason why they made no mention in the proposal they delivered to the States of *Holland* and *West Freefland*, of the first point of their instructions, namely, the dissuading them from schisms and divisions in the Church, and the erecting different Consistories, which was a case that had happened already and might happen hereafter.—— This report, as also their excuse in writing being laid before their Principals, and maturely considered, the said Principals did not find to be of any weight. On which account they could not rest satisfied, being of opinion, that such an egregious omission ought not to have been made without further directions from the States of *Zeland*, and accordingly hoping that nothing of this nature would be done for the future; of which advice their Principals desired, that an entry might be made in the books for their discharge.

The Deputies of *Tbolen* likewise declared, that they had given an account of the State of the affairs to their Principals, who were by no means satisfied with the excuse of the Deputies, for some reasons especially which they related at length; nor could they as yet, agree to the calling of a Synod in concert with the Provinces that had already shown themselves disposed to it, nor with those towns and churches that would join with them; but adhered to the methods of inducing and perswading, formerly suggested by them: at the same time recommending it to be considered, whether in these troublesome times, it might not be proper to order a General Fast?

In the Afternoon.

THE Deputies of *Ter Goose*, have put off the declaring their opinion till to morrow, when it shall be entered into the Journal.

AUGUST

AUGUST 23, 1617.

AN^o DOM.
1617.

PRayers being done, and bufinefs begun, the faid Gentlemen of *Ter Goofe* were defired to open the advice of their Principals touching the fecond branch of the firft point of fummons: Who thereupon declared, that their faid Principals having ferioufly confidered the fame, could not find how things could be otherwife terminated, than by an Ecclefiaftical Affembly, or Synod; and therefore were of opinion that all poffible inftances ought to be made, to induce the States of *Holland* and *West-Freeſland*, to come into thoſe meaſures; but that they could not think the holding of ſuch an affembly without the conſent of the faid States, and of thoſe who do not yet approve the fame, would be fufficient to put an end to the diffentions, becauſe it was probable that they the faid States would forbid the Clergy of their Province to appear at it, which would ſtill give freſh occaſions of diſcord. They likewiſe thought, that endeavours ſhould be uſed with thoſe of *Amſterdam* and others, to induce them to conſent to the reſolutions which had been taken by the Nobles of *Holland*, and moſt of the Towns, with reſpect to the Placards againſt thoſe who ſlandered the Government and his Excellency, thereby to ſoften mens minds, and to bring them nearer to each other. The faid Deputies of *Ter Goofe* offered it likewiſe to conſideration, whether ſuch Placards ought not to be made here againſt thoſe who publiſh ſcandalous libels: And the whole matter being again put to the queſtion;

The Advices relating to the National Synod reſumed.

Thoſe of Ter Goofe are of opinion that a Synod holden without the Conſent of the States of Holland will rather increaſe than abate the differences.

The Heer *van Maldaree*, Deputy of the firſt Noble, declared himſelf of the mind of thoſe of *Zierikſee*, as abovementioned.

The Queſtion put concerning the ſeveral Advices.

They of *Middelburg*, after having repeated their opinion mentioned above at large, ſaid, that in order to adjust the diversity of votes, the Deputies ſhould be authorized finally to acquaint the States of *Holland*, together with thoſe of *Utrecht* and *Over-yſſel*, if they continued to ſtand out, after all poffible efforts had been made to bring them in, that they, the States of *Zeland*, ſhould find themſelves obliged to proceed to the holding a Synod, or Ecclefiaftical Affembly, for preventing all further miſunderſtandings in their own province; and that the aforeſaid Deputies, with the knowledge and conſent of his Excellency, ſhould agree upon the neceſſary ſcheme for ſuch a Synod in concert with thoſe provinces that are diſpoſed thereto, in which they ſhould fix the time and place of holding it, and ſome of the faid Deputies ſhould come and make report of the premiſes to the faid States of *Zeland*, in order to their being ratified by them.

Thoſe of *Zierikſee* were for authorizing the Deputies to agree to a Synod, if the other provinces beforementioned could not be perſwaded to it, as alſo to fix a time and place, and, after communication and advice, as above, to draw up a ſcheme thereof, and report the whole to the States of *Zeland*, in order to receive their further directions.

Thoſe of *Ter Goofe*, after hearing the further advice of *Middelburg* which was likewiſe read, deſired time to conſider of it till to morrow.

Thoſe of *Tholen* repeating their former opinion, and declaring that this was their utmoſt order as to inductions and perſwaſions, thought that the province of *Holland* would be the more exaſperated if we proceeded to the holding of a Synod without them, and would conſequently be yet leſs inclined to hearken to any arguments.

They of *Fluſhing* adhered to their former advice, to wit, that the Deputies ſhould be impowered to call a National Synod, and to appoint time and place; declaring that they were alſo contented that the project thereof ſhould be prepared and reported to this Affembly, in order to be ratified, though they foreſaw that it might occaſion freſh diſputes.

Thoſe of *Ter Veere* were pritty much of the ſame opinion with the *Fluſhing*ers, to the end that matters might be the better accommodated.

Afternoon

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Afternoon of the same Day.

Further Trans-
actions relating
to the Conduct
of the Deputies
of Zeland
while in Hol-
land.

‘ THERE was read a certain plan prepared for adjusting the different opinions about the remedies to be used for putting a stop to the ecclesiastical dissensions ; but the further consideration thereof was adjourned till to morrow.

‘ It was agreed to write to his Excellency, that this Assembly being informed of the arrival of the extraordinary Deputies of the provinces of *Gelerland* and *Freef-land*, in order to treat about the troubles of the Church, would likewise take care to send their own Deputies within a few days ; and that the Heer *Joachim* should be ordered to inform the said extraordinary Deputies thereof, to the end that they might not think it tedious to wait a few days longer.

‘ The Deputies who had been last in *Holland*, upon the business of the ecclesiastical differences, having heard the advices of the Gentlemen of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen*, which were resumed this afternoon, desired likewise to hear the advices and opinions of the other Members. Accordingly the Heer *van Malderee* declared, that it appeared by letters from his Principal, that he was satisfied with the former negotiation, and required him to further the same as much as possible.

‘ They of *Middelburg* said also, that their Principals were contented with what the said Deputies of the States had done in the matters before-mentioned.

‘ Those of *Zieriksee* said, they could have wished that no entry had been made of the foregoing advices, being of opinion, that it would have tended more to mutual peace and tranquillity ; but that their Principals having perused the instructions of the aforesaid Deputies, together with the proposals made by them, were fully satisfied with their transactions.

‘ Those of *Ter Goose*, as also of *Tbolen*, said, they would explain themselves more largely to morrow.

‘ They of *Flushing* signified, that they had rather there had been no notice taken of these matters on the books, because it was not like to promote mutual peace among them ; they were of opinion therefore, that the whole should be omitted, otherwise they would further declare themselves to morrow.

‘ They of *Ter Veere* said, that having made their report of all these matters to their Principals, they had declared themselves entirely satisfied with the conduct of the Deputies.

AUGUST 24, 1617.

Further Deliberations on the
Affair of a Na-
tional Synod.

‘ PRayers being done, and business begun, those of *Flushing* explained themselves further upon the transactions of the Deputies lately sent to *Holland*, about the quarrels of the Clergy, and said they could willingly have seen that no Minutes had been taken, for the reasons they alledged yesterday ; yet being informed by the Deputies of the towns of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen*, that they had received no other instruction ; they declared that their Principals (after weighing the whole matter) were satisfied that the Deputies aforementioned had complied with their orders, and accordingly, that their said Principals were contented with what had been done by the said Deputies.

‘ After this the consideration of the first article of the summons was resumed, upon which ensued several debates and questions, together with a repetition of the opinions of the respective members, and the arguments used by each of them ; and particularly that it would be highly necessary, that all the Members should meet one another, or come as near as possible, to the end that they might be unanimous in their opinions about the means to be used for the cure of these evils ; which would conciliate the more authority to the States, and have the greater influence on those to whom their advice was given.

‘ But after all endeavours, they could prevail no further than to persuade the Deputies of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen* (whom they intreated to conform provisionally to the opinion of *Middelburg*, in order to try whether the rest of the Members could be brought to do same) to declare, that if the rest of the Members would go no further, they should make no great difficulty of going so far. But the other

other Members being several times asked and pressed to it, still adhered to their former opinions and reasons: so that nothing could as yet be unanimously resolved upon. AN^O D^O M. 1617.

As to what was proposed by them of the town of *Tholen*, viz. that a letter should be writ to the Gentlemen deputed by this Province to the *Generality*, to desire them to promote with all their power, a day of publick fasting and praying, to deprecate the evils wherewith the land is threatened in these troublesome times, it was agreed to.

Afternoon the same Day.

THE grand affair being very seriously debated again, and a certain letter communicated to the Assembly from his Excellency of the 21st instant, importing, that the extraordinary Deputies of the other Provinces at the *Hague*, had been attending for several days, the arrival of those of *Zeland*, together with the instructions they were to bring along with them, with respect to the holding a Synod: The Gentlemen of *Ter Goose* and *Tholen*, were pressed to explain themselves further; whereupon they came into the opinion of those of *Middelburg*, on condition their Principals should approve of their so doing, which opinion they had before communicated to their said Principals; insisting however, that time and place should be inserted in the scheme relating to the Synod: But the question being again put to the other Members, they still persisted in their scruples.

Whereas the Assembly was informed, that the States of *Holland* were not assembled, and possibly might not meet yet a good while, because the Advocate of that Province was gone with the Deputies of *Utrecht*, it was proposed, whether upon using all efforts with the Committee there, or with such other persons as should be thought proper, we might not proceed in concert with the rest of the Provinces that are of the same mind, at least to the drawing up a scheme? But the general opinion was, first to try, whether the principal matters of it could be agreed upon.

AUGUST 25, 1617.

THE consideration of the respective opinions on the first article of the summons was resumed, and the Members repeated their several advices in the same manner they had formerly declared them; saying, that the Deputies of *Middelburg* made a more ample and further declaration; to wit, That having reported to their Principals the various sentiments of the Members of the States, and the reasons by them produced, their opinion was, That in a matter of so great moment as this is, the resolutions of the Assembly ought to be uniform and unanimous; and that, in order to shew the good disposition of their said Principals, they were further ready to declare and to deliver it in writing as their Resolution, That in case the States of *Holland*, after all the instances made to that end, could not be induced to the holding of a National Synod, they the Deputies would declare that they were obliged to agree to the holding the Synod, and to proceed to the drawing up a Plan of it, in concert with the other consenting Provinces, in order to report it to their Principals; adding at the same time, that in the case aforementioned, their sincere and plain intentions were effectually to hold the said Synod with the aforesaid consenting Provinces and Members.

The consideration of the advices resumed.

And the other four Members, that is to say, the Deputies of the first Noble, and the towns of *Zieriksee*, *Flushing* and *Veere*, having shown themselves of the same opinion (especially upon hearing his Excellencies letter to the Heer *van Mallerde*) and on the other hand, those of *Ter Goose* and *Tholen*, declaring, that they had no other directions than what they had lately produced from their Principals, and that there was no appearance that their said Principals would change their mind; these were nevertheless prevailed upon at the pressing instances of the Deputies of *Flushing* and *Veere*, to make a further report to their said Principals of what had been suggested by his Excellency, and of the further opinion of those of *Middelburg*; and

AN^O D O M. 1617. and for that purpose they consented to return home to morrow very early, in order to be back here on *Monday* morning.

A Committee appointed to prepare Instructions for certain extraordinary Deputies to be sent to Holland. In the mean while it was agreed, that there should be a Committee appointed to prepare a draught of instructions for the persons who were to be deputed about this matter, with respect to those points in which the Members were pretty unanimous. Accordingly the Heer Pensionary *Symon van Beaumonde*, the Senator *Steengracht*, and the Pensionary *Porrenar* were named for the said purpose.

Deliberations on the Contents of a Letter from the Heer Joachim. Afterwards a Letter from the Heer *Joachim*, of the 9th instant, was read and considered again, which had been writ to the Assembly some days before, containing among other things, that by reason of the dissensions which daily increase in those parts, as well among the Members of the States as the Clergy themselves, matters are in a very dangerous condition throughout the whole Province; recommending therefore to think of proper means for preventing its utter ruin, and to apply them in time before the flames break out beyond extinguishing, which might easily happen upon the least disturbance among the people, who are very uneasy in many places. This being debated, and the information appearing too general, insomuch that the Assembly could come to no special resolution thereupon, though they were very sensible of the mischief in the main; it was nevertheless agreed by all, that the best and nearest remedy would be, forthwith to obviate the ecclesiastical differences, which were unanimously allowed to be the source of all those troubles, and that therefore no stone should be left unturned for that purpose: To this it was very pertinently added, by those of *Zieriksee*, that being informed, that the States of *Holland* had tied up the hands of the ordinary Courts of Justice, care should be taken to put them on the ancient foot. And by those of *Ter Veere*, that the Government ought to remain on the old basis, without any innovation.

Afternoon the same Day.

Notice having been given to His Excellency, and the Deputies of this State at the *Hague*, that this Province would forthwith dispatch some persons thither, about the business of the ecclesiastical disputes, and that it was resolved to use endeavours, in order to induce the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* to give their consent to the holding a National Synod; it was proposed whether it might not be necessary to move his said Excellency, in conjunction with the Deputies of *Zeland* there present, to press the grand Committee to do their endeavours with the said States of *Holland*, to the end they might assemble as soon as possible; that so the persons whom this Province shall send thither on this account, may not be longer detained there than is absolutely necessary; and that the Deputies of the other Provinces, who have been there so long already, may not be tired with waiting so long in vain; all which being considered, it was generally resolved to write after this manner; only those of *Ter Goose* said it was irregular, yet agreed to take it into consideration till *Monday* next.

AUGUST 28, 1617.

Further Deliberations concerning the Ecclesiastical Differences, and the holding of a Synod.

THEN was again considered the first Article of the summons relating to the Church-dissensions, and the Gentlemen of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen* being called upon to give their further opinion upon the same; those for the former town declared that their Principals having heard the report of their Deputies that were here last, and having maturely considered the letter from his Excellency, and all the arguments made use of by the respective Members, could not as yet depart from their own opinion, as judging it to be attended with the fewest inconveniences. Those of *Tbolen* gave in a Declaration in writing, by order from their Principals, of the following tenor:

The Deputies of the town of *Tbolen* declare, they have faithfully reported to their Principals all that has passed in this Assembly touching the Civil and Ecclesiastical differences, and particularly the debates that have arisen upon the advices of the first Noble, and of the towns of *Zieriksee*, *Veere*, and *Flushing*, about voting in concert with the assenting Provinces for holding a National Synod, in case that all efforts to be made with the States of *Holland* shall happen to be in vain and

without success; as also the contents of a certain letter from his Excellency to the Heer van Maldaree, notifying the arrival of the Deputies of Gelderland, Freeſland, of the town of Groningen and the Ommelands, with positive orders, in the case abovementioned, to concur with the rest of the consenting Provinces in holding a National Synod; and that their Principals having seriously considered the whole affair directed them to embrace the middle way which had been advised in writing by those of Middelburg; adding some further declarations, to wit, that in case they should find that all their attempts were fruitless, they, the said Deputies should be empowered to declare to the States of Holland, Utrecht, and Over Yssel, that the States of Zeland would be obliged to join with the consenting Provinces in holding a National Synod; and consequently to consider with the Deputies of the said Provinces about a plan for settling time, place, and the manner of such a Synod; all which was to be done with the knowledge, consent, and direction of his Excellency, of which one or two of the Deputies should make a report (without interrupting the Assembly of the assenting Provinces) in order to come to such resolutions as the defence and preservation of the Christian Religion and of the nation might require; declaring nevertheless, that their Principals could as yet discover no other means to that end, but sincerely, and without any longer delay, to agree upon and appoint the holding of a National Synod, in case all endeavours with the States of Holland should prove ineffectual.

After all these matters were debated, and all the instances made, the respective Members adhered to their former opinion. And those of Ter Goose and Tholen being intreated by the others to conform themselves at least to the opinion of the Deputies of Middelburg; they declared, that their instructions would not bear them out, and so could come to no further resolution.

The opinion of those of Ter Goose being asked, whether his Excellency should not be desired, and the Deputies of Zeland writ to, to the end they should insist with the Committee of Holland, to assemble the States of that Province, as was generally agreed by the other Members on Friday last, they gave their consent accordingly.

In the Afternoon of the same Day.

THE debates of the respective Members being resumed upon the principal article touching the ecclesiastical dissensions, and the arguments offered on all sides for an accommodation being also recapitulated, which as yet had been without any effect; and it being represented how advantageous a conformity of opinions would be, as well for the preserving unity among our selves, as for helping to adjust matters among our neighbours; the Deputies of Middelburg were intreated by four of the Members who agreed in one opinion, to join with them from whom they differed so little; and those of Ter Goose and Tholen to advance at least as far as the Gentlemen of Middelburg in order to try whether by this means they could hit upon some middle way of accommodation; but they could not be brought to any further declaration; and finally nothing was resolved upon, but those of Middelburg, Flushing, and Veere, were once more intreated to report these matters to their Principals, in order to come to a conclusion the day following.

The Deliberations continued

Then the plan of instructions to be given to those deputed for Holland, relating to the Church-differences and their dependances, was read.

AUGUST 29, 1617.

Prayers being ended, and business begun, the questions were again put about the principal points relating to the ecclesiastical differences and the respective advices upon the instructions that were to be given to the Deputies, it being of the last importance (if practicable) that the resolutions taken upon these points should be unanimous. Whereupon those of Middelburg signified, that they had again made report to their Principals of the debates that happened yesterday upon these points; and that they were still charged to represent how much it concerned them all to be unanimous in their resolutions, to which unanimity their advice was the best adapted; and that their said Principals were contented, in order to make

A new Proposal of those of Middelburg.

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‘ matters

AN^O D O M.

1617.

‘ matters more easy, that the Deputies should declare, that they were inclined to
 ‘ hold a fynodical Assembly, in case the provinces of *Holland*, *Utrecht*, and *Over-*
 ‘ *ysfel*, should absolutely reject all their instances : and that to this end the plan for
 ‘ holding such a Synod might be formed ; which being done, those Deputies should send
 ‘ some of their own number (without any interruption of other affairs) to make re-
 ‘ port to the States of this Province, that so a resolution might be taken accordingly.
 ‘ This being further considered by the Members, though it differed from the opi-
 ‘ nions of the Deputies of the first Noble, and the towns of *Zieriksee*, *Flushing*, and
 ‘ *Veere*, yet they reflecting upon the great importance of unity in this affair did
 ‘ conform and submit thereto, notwithstanding that they thought their own advice
 ‘ sufficiently adapted to the obviating the aforementioned dissensions ; in hopes that
 ‘ the Gentlemen of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen*, upon duly weighing the same matter
 ‘ would act accordingly. But they declaring that they had gone to the utmost li-
 ‘ mits of their commission, and that they must report this new proposal to their Prin-
 ‘ cipals, before they could proceed further, and several debates arising, in order to
 ‘ come to a resolution, the Deputies of the last mentioned towns were desired, for
 ‘ the preservation of unity as much as possible, to report these matters to their Prin-
 ‘ cipals, and to use their endeavours to move them to come into the measures of the
 ‘ rest of the members. This the said Deputies promised, adding, that they would
 ‘ return their answer to the Assembly, on *Friday* next.

Afternoon the same Day.

‘ THE minutes taken this morning of the advice of those of *Middelburg* being
 ‘ read, touching the instructions that were to be given to the Deputies, and it being
 ‘ drawn up in due form, the first Noble, and the towns of *Zieriksee*, *Flushing*, and
 ‘ *Veere*, declared their concurrence, in hopes that the other members would do the
 ‘ same, who thereupon desired copies thereof, in order to report the matter to their
 ‘ Principals, as they had said this morning.

‘ After this, the plan of instructions for the aforementioned Deputies was read, and
 ‘ approved by the first Noble, and the towns of *Zieriksee*, *Flushing*, and *Veere*, but
 ‘ those of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen* desired copies thereof for the satisfaction of their
 ‘ Principals.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1617.

*Further Deli-
 berations.*

‘ PRayers being done, and business begun, the Deputies of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen*
 ‘ (who, upon the 29th of the last month, had promised to report to their Prin-
 ‘ cipals the opinions of the rest of the members with respect to a Synod, &c.) being
 ‘ called upon to deliver their respective advices ; they of *Ter Goose* declared, that their
 ‘ Principals, after mature deliberation upon the premises, were, notwithstanding the
 ‘ fresh proposal of those of *Middelburg*, resolved to adhere to their former opinion,
 ‘ viz. that the deliberations about holding a Synod, might be continued till a re-
 ‘ port should be made of what had been transacted, not only as to the matter and
 ‘ form, but also with respect to the whole affair. The Gentlemen of *Tbolen*
 ‘ said, that having made a report to their Principals, they insisted upon a further ex-
 ‘ planation of the following expressions in the new advice of those of *Middelburg*,
 ‘ to wit, *That they were inclined and resolved to hold a Synod* ; whether they meant
 ‘ by that, as their Principals believed they did, that the same should be obligatory ;
 ‘ in such case they were to abide by their former opinion ; otherwise they were in-
 ‘ structed to agree to the advice of those of *Middelburg*, as the other four members
 ‘ had done, provided the following clause might be added, viz. that the proposal of
 ‘ holding a National Synod, in concert with the other provinces, should be freely
 ‘ debated after the report made by the Deputies.

*It is delibera-
 ted whether the
 Debates should
 be concluded by
 a Majority of
 Votes.*

‘ This being considered, it was agreed, by most of the Members, that the words
 ‘ inserted in the advice of the Deputies of *Middelburg* wanted no further explanation,
 ‘ and that they would adhere to them. Whereupon those of *Tbolen* said, they were
 ‘ obliged to persist in their former opinion. And after it had been debated, whether
 ‘ they should come to a conclusion by a majority of votes, the Deputy of the first
 ‘ Noble declared, that he had rather have seen an uniform and unanimous resolution
 ‘ in

in this matter, but it having already taken up so much time, there must be some end made of it by a majority, since all other attempts had been unsuccessful. AN^o DOM. 1617.

Those of *Middelburg* said, that the concluding by a majority was liable to ill consequences, though they could not be against making some end of the business, provided it might not become a precedent.

They of *Zieriksee* voted as the first Noble.

Those of *Ter Goose* and *Tholen* declared, that a majority of votes ought not to take place here.

Those of *Flushing* and *Veere*, that there ought to be some end made of it. Against this the Deputies of *Ter Goose* entered the following Protestation.

THE Burgomasters and Schepens of the town of *Ter Goose*, having been several times informed, both by word of mouth and in writing, by their Deputies, that it had been proposed by some of the Members of the States of *Zeland*, that in order to put a stop to the ecclesiastical dissensions now reigning in *Holland*, it was necessary to use all kind of methods to induce and persuade the States of that and other Provinces which scrupled at the holding a National Synod, to give their consent thereto; and that in case all endeavours for that purpose should prove vain, a Synod ought to be called by those provinces which approved thereof, together with those particular churches of *Holland* and other dissenting Provinces that should be disposed to join with them: And having seriously considered of that proposal, they could not upon any account agree to the same; because, as they thought, instead of reaping those advantages that were expected, it would happen quite contrary. However, to show how desirous they were, that whatever resolutions were taken, in a matter of such moment, might be uniform, and agreed to by all the Members of these States, they had conformed to the opinion of those of *Middelburg*, who were for authorizing the Deputies (after all endeavours had been used for the unanimous holding a National Synod) to declare that they should be obliged to consult about holding a Synod composed of Deputies out of such provinces as were consenting, together with such other churches as should be inclined to join in it; and that a Scheme should be drawn up (with the advice of his Excellency) for the holding such a Synod, which should be laid before the States of *Zeland*, to the end it might be considered by them, and such resolutions taken thereupon, as should be thought most beneficial for the country: to which opinion they still adhere, without judging it convenient to give any other directions to their Deputies, notwithstanding they have been informed that some other provinces have approved the former proposal. And in case the rest of the Members of the States of *Zeland*, shall think fit to come to a conclusion of this affair by plurality of voices (as they hope not) they, the said Burgomasters and Schepens of the town of *Ter Goose* do solemnly protest against the validity of all that shall be further done by the Deputies of the said States; being of opinion, that in such weighty matters as these no over-voting ought to have place; and the rather because this proposal does not come originally from the Committee of the States of *Zeland*, to whom the management of publick matters is intrusted during the recess of the said States; besides, that the said proposal is new and never before practised, from whence might easily proceed a total dissolution of the Government of these Provinces both in Church and State. All which being considered, no precipitation ought to be used in such important matters. Of this Protestation they insist that an entry be made in the books for their justification.

A Protest of the Deputies of Ter Goose entered against concluding by a Majority of Votes.

Done at a Meeting of the said Burgomasters and Schepens this
Twenty fourth Day of *August*, 1617.

And Lower; Witnesses

CORNELIUS BRUNE.

This being put to the question, the Members declared, that they could have wished they had not proceeded after this manner; but however they did not pretend to hinder them.

Z z 2

Afterwards

A^N° D^O M.
1617.

Debates upon
the plan of in-
structions to be
given to the
Deputies.

‘ Afterwards, the Plan of the instructions to be given to the Deputies, which had been before read in the assembly being debated, and the objections of some of the Members against the expressions about *preventing further divisions, adhering to the ancient form of Government and opposing innovations*, being likewise considered; it was finally resolved to abide by the said Plan of instructions, with the addition only of the principal resolutions agreed upon this day; and the executing the same was referred to the Heer *van Malderee*, Burgomaster *Brewer*, Pensionary *Pottey*, and Pensionary *Young*, in conjunction with the present Deputies at the *Hague*, the Heers *Magnus* and *Joachim*.

‘ It was moved by those of *Middelburg*, and agreed to by the rest of the Members, that the above instructions should be kept secret for the honour and service of the land. And by them of *Ter Goose*, that the Deputies should conform themselves punctually thereto.

‘ Upon resuming the consideration of the instructions, the Gentlemen of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen* declared, that they did not agree to the same any further, than as they were consistent with their respective advices.

OCTOBER 26, 1617.

Deliberations
on the articles
to be inserted
in the sum-
mons for a
National
Synod.

‘ THE Assembly entered upon the consideration of the first point contained in the report of the Deputies lately returned from *Holland*, with respect to the holding a *National Synod*, and the articles that were to be inserted in the summons for the same &c. and after the State of this affair had been summarily related, and the question put about the approving the aforementioned articles, the same as they were drawn up, were agreed to by the Deputies of the first Noble, and of the towns of *Middelburg*, *Zieriksee*, *Flushing* and *Ulloe*, but those of *Middelburg* subjoined, that in the handling the five controverted Points, endeavours should be used to propose them in the most convenient manner, but however by retaining the purity of the faith.

‘ Those of *Zieriksee*, offered it to the consideration of the Assembly, whether it might not be brought about, that seeing there are but four Classes in *Zeland*; instead of six, there should be eight persons deputed from thence; and that *Geneva* might be joined to the rest of the foreign churches, conforming themselves however to the said Plan in other matters.

‘ Those of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen*, said, that the articles ought to be read again, to the end that each of them might be severally debated, forasmuch as they had certain remarks both general and particular to offer about them; which was agreed to, and put off till the afternoon.

Afternoon of the same day.

‘ THE Assembly entered upon the consideration of the plan of articles and instructions about the holding a *National Synod*, and the same being read, the opinions of the Members were delivered on each of them in manner following:

‘ The first, about keeping a *General Fast*, was found both useful and necessary.

‘ As to the second, it was declared by those of *Ter Goose*, with respect to the *Gravamina* exclusively of the *Five disputed Points*, which ought to be considered by the Provincial Synod, in order to be laid before the *National Synod*, that the same ought first to be read according to ancient custom, to the end that no new scruples might afterwards be raised: and this motion was likewise approved by the other Members.

‘ As to the third, the Gentlemen of *Ter Goose* were of opinion, that the persons who are to be deputed to the Provisional Synod, ought to be presented first to the States, to see whether they be agreeable to them; and if not, that others should be sent to the Synod in their room.

‘ The fourth point, about summoning the *Walloon* churches, was approved in general; but that about inviting the dissenting or separated churches was not judged convenient.

The result of
those delibera-
tions upon each
of the articles
in particular.

‘ As to the *fifth*, which related to the calling of the foreign churches, some made mention of the Church of *Geneva*; and others asked whether the King of *Sweden* should not have notice, but it was not insisted on; for it was said by those of *Ter Goofe*, that in case any thing should be started about discipline or ceremonies, in such case it ought to be well considered, whether the Deputies of foreign churches, some of which differed from ours in many points, should be allowed to concern themselves therein. It was moreover declared, that in case some of them did not appear, the Synod might however proceed upon business.

AN^o D^o M.
1617.

‘ Upon the *sixth* article, about summoning the Professors of Divinity, it was agreed on all hands, that if they appeared under that character only, and without being deputed by any Church, they ought not to have a decisive vote.

‘ The *seventh* and *eighth* articles were generally approved.

‘ Upon the *ninth*, concerning the handling the *Five* controverted *Points*, it was earnestly recommended to the Gentlemen, to whom that matter was referred, that all might be done with moderation and decency as far as possible consistently with the orthodox faith.

‘ In relation to the *tenth*, it was alledged by those of *Ter Goofe*, that the Ministers, or other Deputies having taken the oath therein mentioned, in case any resolution might be passed contrary to their advice they ought not to be called in question but supported as formerly by the States and Magistrates.

‘ The *eleventh* was generally approved, provided all possible means should be previously used for obtaining consent.

‘ The *twelfth*, relating to the recess, being debated, the Deputies of *Ter Goofe* said, that there ought to be a time fixt, to the end that the Synod might not continue too long.

‘ As to the *thirteenth* and *fourteenth*, about the time of holding the National Synod, as well as the preceding Provincial one, it was generally referred to the plurality of voices, and well enough approved, as it stood in the Plan.

‘ The *fifteenth* was left to the pleasure of the Deputies themselves, in relation to the choice of a place where the Synod should be holden.

‘ As to the *sixteenth*, about the Lay Deputies who were to be sent thither, it was the opinion of most, that two should be deputed from each Province, but that their voices should be only deliberative.

‘ Those of *Ter Goofe*, were for allowing them to vote definitively; or at least, to act upon the same foot as has always been the practice here in *Zeland*.

‘ As to the *seventeenth* and last, it was generally approved; but those of *Ter Goofe* said, That though the Lay Deputies should be allowed definitive voices, yet the points relating to doctrine ought not to be examined a-new.

OCTOBER 27, 1617.

‘ PRayers being ended, and the opinions and observations upon the Plan for holding a *National Synod* (which was for the most part, and by most voices approved as it was yesterday read) being again debated, it was resolved, that without prejudice to the same, endeavours should be used for obtaining the following points; to wit, That none of the Clergy shall be liable to future censures or troubles, on account of their advices or opinions, though the same happen to be contrary to what may be afterwards resolved in the Synod, but be supported and protected by their respective Magistrates, provided they submit to the Decrees of the Synod.

Certain points
to be insisted on
with relation
to the National
Synod.

‘ As to the votes of the Lay Deputies, since it is hoped that all things will pass with fair deliberations and unanimous resolutions, there does not appear any necessity of ordering any thing about it.

‘ As for what relates to the publishing the Acts of the Synod, it is agreed to insist that the said Acts be first communicated to the States of *Zeland* by their Deputies in the Generality, in order to be specially considered by the said States.

‘ As for the *Gravamina*, exclusive of the *Five Points* in question, and all things relating thereto, that they be laid before the States by the Provincial Synod to be holden here in *Zeland*, in order to their knowing the mind of the said States.

‘ Further

AN^O D O M.

1617.

Further, that the States be informed of the persons who are to be sent to the Synod.

That the Sessions of the Synod be not spun out into too great a length, by treating of any other matters, but such as relate to doctrine and the ordinary discipline of the Church.

It was further resolved, that all these considerations, and some others already mentioned, should be moved when the aforesaid plan was adjusted, but not so as to retard the finishing of the same.

It is debated whether a National Synod should be holden together with the consenting Provinces contrary to the opinion of those of Holland.

It being further considered, whether, in case the Provinces that have not yet agreed to the holding a National Synod, should still scruple to do it, they should not proceed in concert with the four consenting provinces, and such Members and Towns as would join with them in the calling and holding the said National Synod in the name of the generality; it was agreed, that the most pressing instances should be made on the part of the consenting provinces, with the Deputies of the dissenting, and particularly with the States of *Holland*, if assembled, to induce them by all possible means to come in, and join with the rest; but that nevertheless the Deputies should be authorized to agree with the consenting provinces about the summoning the Synod.

Those of *Ter Goose* approved of using all endeavours, and agreed likewise to the settling a plan; but at the same time declared, that their Principals apprehending that the desired fruits of unity were hardly to be expected from such a procedure, but rather divisions, (which would be thereby justified) and further misunderstandings among the provinces, they could not yet consent that the National Synod should be summoned after this manner. And that it was their opinion further, that according to the custom of this Assembly, no plurality of votes ought to obtain. But they were intreated to conform themselves to the rest of the members, for which purpose the final conclusion of that affair was adjourned to the next day.

Deliberations in the Affair of the Warders.

Then the second point arising from the report of the Deputies who lately came from *Holland* being debated, to wit, the enrolling of Warders at *Utrecht*, and in some of the towns of *Holland*, in order to consider of proper means for discharging the same, and for obviating other inconveniences, to the end that the diffidences and misunderstandings resulting from thence might be terminated, it being otherwise to be feared, that at last, by such proceedings, the country would be brought to utter ruin; the opinion of the first Noble was, that, in order to prevent further mischief and trouble, there should be a discretionary power given the Gentlemen deputed hence to the Generality, to propose and resolve upon what they thought would chiefly tend to the peace and tranquillity of the land.

Those of *Middelburg* thought all the proper and convenient methods of persuasion should be made use of, to induce those provinces, that had begun to raise Warders, to break and discharge the same; and in particular that the said Deputies should apply themselves to those of *Holland* for the same purpose, but all with the advice of his Excellency.

They of *Zieriksee* were likewise for persuasive methods, as also for deputing to the towns in which Warders had been raised; but left it finally to the Deputies to act (with the advice of his Excellency) as they thought best for the good of the country.

They of *Ter Goose*, thought that all possible arguments and motives might be used, provided that care were taken not to violate the rights and privileges of the provinces and towns; and that particular application ought to be made to the *Hollanders* to induce them to agree to the breaking the said Warders, by representing to them the inconveniences that might ensue.

Those of *Tboelen* were likewise for all possible means of persuasion, agreeing also with the *Middelburghers*, as to the advising with his Excellency, and the Committee of the States-General, and applying to those of *Holland*.

The Deputies of *Flushing* were of the same opinion as the first Noble, provided that persuasive means were first tried.

Those of *Veere* agreed with the Deputies of *Zieriksee*. But nothing could be finally resolved by reason of the diversity of opinions.

OCTOBER

OCTOBER 28, 1617.

AN^O DOM.
1617.

AFTER Prayers, the consideration of the several opinions being resumed, and first those concerning the holding of the Synod, that point was finally determined by plurality of voices, and the Deputies were instructed conformably to the foregoing resolutions.

But they of *Ter Goose* desired it might be recorded, that they had protested against, and were innocent of all the evils that might some time or other be felt from this method of over-voting.

They of *Tbolen* declared, that they looked upon the same method as liable to objection, but that they would not however hinder the progress of publick business; they further desired that their advices and opinions should be entered in the books as they had drawn them up in the following manner:

That the persons deputed to the Assembly of the States-General, should be authorized, in concurrence with the assenting, to over-vote the dissenting provinces, and resolve upon the holding a National Synod, and consequently to assist in establishing and confirming the plan for such a Synod. But that the said Deputies should forbear putting this order in execution, till all amicable motives and arguments had been used by them with the States of *Holland*, pursuant to their instructions, that is, in case the said States should speedily be assembled; otherwise that the execution of the principal Resolution should not be retarded on that account.

After this, the business of discharging the Warders being again entered upon, the Deputies of the first Noble, and of the towns of *Zieriksee*, *Flushing*, and *Veere*, declared their adherence to their former opinions, on condition that no force or violence should be used without further authority.

Those of *Middelburg* said, they had made a further report of the matter to their Principals, and that they were of opinion, as before, that all methods of inducement and perswasion should be used, and that other proposals might be both made and received by the said Deputies, provided they were particularly reported to the States of *Zeland*.

Those of *Ter Goose* and *Tbolen* adhered to their former opinions.

During these transactions and debates in *Zeland*, a Request was delivered at the *Hague* in the end of *August*, by the hand of the Heer *Joachim*, to desire that certain Gentlemen of *Zeland* might enter into a conference with some of *Holland*, about the differences in the Church; and that in case it was agreed to, notice might be given of the time. But on the 9th of *September* there appeared at the meeting of the Committee of the States of *Holland*, the Heers *Jacob van Maldaree*, *William Brewer*, *Jacob Magnus*, *Albertus Joachim*, *Enoch Pottey*, and *Bonifacius Young*, acquainting them that they were sent by the States of *Zeland* to those of *Holland*, in order to make some overtures to them of the instructions they had received from their Principals, with respect to the ecclesiastical quarrels and disputes; and intreating them, both by word of mouth and in writing, that the States might be called together as soon as possible. After which, appearing again on the 14th of the same month, they desired an answer. Now in the Journals of the States and their Committee, we find these words: *The Deputies of the States of Zeland received for answer in writing, as follows:* but there follows nothing after but two blank pages, so that we cannot give an account of the said Answer. On the same day, the Deputies of *Amsterdam*, *Enkbusen*, *Edam*, and *Purmerent*, appearing in the said Committee, asserted, that the States of *Holland* ought to be assembled, as had been requested by those of *Zeland*; but, as I take it, the Committee insisted, that the Gentlemen of *Zeland* should first open the contents of those articles which they designed to propose to the States of *Holland*; which they refusing to do, the others declined summoning the States before the usual time, which was not till the 8th of *December*; but the Gentlemen of *Zeland* did not think fit to stay till then, but betaking themselves in the month of *September* to the meeting of the Generality, they joined with the other three provinces in hurrying on a National Synod, as shall be shown in the proper place.

^a See the Journal of the States of *Holland* and their Committee, *August* 31. *Sept.* 9, 14, 15, and 23.

AN^O D^O M.
1617.

‘ About the same time of the deputation to the States of *Zeland* abovementioned, the Deputies, who were the Heer *van Duvenvorde* and the Pensionary *Grotius*, were instructed to make a proposal to the town of *Dort*, in order to bring them over to the States side, or rather to that of the Nobles and the majority of the towns. *Grotius* has left behind him some short notes about it, but they are not very legible: Only from some of the expressions, I think it may be observed, that it was represented in the Proposal, that the States of *Holland* never intended to make any alterations in the business of religion: that they were no favourers of *Papery* or *Socinianism*; that they never endeavoured to oppress the *Contraremonstrants*; that they had not turned out any man on account of his opinions; that they would fain have put a stop to the schism; and that for the same purpose, several equitable advances had been made by several towns, and particularly by that of *Rotterdam*. It then represented the intemperance and extravagancies of some people; with the reasons why it could not be prevented: then it exposed the tumults and riots excited against some of the Magistrates, the plundering at *Amsterdam*, the Placard, Letter and Plan of a Synod, as abovementioned, and lastly, the jealousies occasioned by the meeting of several of the towns. The Proposal concluded with the offer of all good offices, and a further request that they would concur with the rest of the Members for the support of the publick authority and restoration of the common tranquillity.’ But nothing was effected by this Proposal.

Those of *Dort*
declare against
the Resolution
of the 4th of
August.

‘ On the 29th of *August*, the Deputies of *Dort* acquainted the Committee at their meeting; That the Magistrates of their town, having heard the report of the Gentlemen whom they sent last to the Assembly of the States, together with the Proposals made by the Heers *Duvenvorde* and *Grotius*, on the part of the States Committee, and having maturely considered of the whole, could not as yet come into the Resolution taken the 4th of *August* by the Nobles and the greatest part of the Towns, but were obliged to reject the same, ² not only because that Resolution was past by over-voting, and had been privately concerted, without any preceding commission in due manner and form, and because the Deputies of their town of *Dort* and some others had been excluded; but also because it was not sufficient to remove the present grievances. — And they further requested, that nothing might be done by virtue of this Resolution; since otherwise they should be necessitated to oppose it vigorously and in such manner as they thought most proper. Thus spoke the Deputies of that town at the *Hague*, in the words of their Principals. And the people of the town had shown great uneasiness on that occasion.

The Deputies of
Holland in
danger upon
their return
from *Zeland*.

We find in some memoirs of the Deacon *Kittestein*, that the common people hearing that the Heer *Duvenvorde* and the Pensionary *Grotius* were at *Dort*, made a great tumult, and cried publicly: *What do these Arminians want here?* Besides, when the Magistrates conducted them to the gates, no body would vouchsafe to shew them any respect; and it was with great difficulty that they prevailed with a man to take these Deputies into his boat. He adds, that in their return from *Zeland*, after having executed their commissions to the States there, being arrived at *Veere*, they ran a great risk of being ill used in that town, the mob rising upon some bold words spoken by the Skipper who carried them in his Yacht; and crying, that the Skipper had spoken against his Excellency, upon which there followed such a tumult, that the Magistrates fearing least they should force the man out of the Yacht, and commit other insolencies, took him into custody, and caused the Bailly and some of the publick officers to see the Deputies safe on board a Ship, through a crowd of murmuring people, who followed them with bitter invectives. All this happened in the forementioned deputation to *Zeland*, and is only mentioned here, for an instance of the disposition of mens minds at that juncture.

‘ Not long after, one of the Deputies the Heer *van Duvenvorde*, terrified by this treatment, as is thought, and moved by other reasons, was seen to abandon the States of *Holland*, and join with the party that had opposed the majority of the Members: he also carried off some of his fellow Nobles with him, whereby the divisions were still more increased.

About

¹ See the Journal of the States, 29 Aug. and Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 63. ² See the justification of the States Resolution, p. 7, 8. and Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 93. ³ Trigl. p. 1087, and Uitenb. p. 804.

About the same time, when the *Contraremonstrants* of the *Hague* had seized upon, A N^o DOM^o and met separately in the Cloister church, and when some of the most eminent among the *Remonstrants* (being Ministers that belonged to *Utrecht*, *Leyden* and other places) preached occasionally there, (chiefly to assist *Uitenbogart* and *la Faille*, upon whom the burden lay too heavy, after the suspension of *Rosæus*) it was likewise thought proper to invite *Episcopius* to that service. This Gentleman having preached one Sunday in the great church, and the Tuesday following, in the Court chappel, was afterwards informed by the Heer *vander Myle*, who invited him and *Uitenbogart* to dinner, that Prince *Maurice* had said to his Brother Prince *Henry*, *I hear Episcopius has preached in the Hague, I am glad of it, because I understand he has not engaged in the controversy publickly, but is a very peaceable man, and besides very learned: adding, That he should be glad to talk with him a little, to try if he could not suggest some expedient for peace.* This was told by Prince *Henry*, to the Heer *Vander Myle*, and they had some discourse about it in the presence of the Advocate of *Holland*, who was of opinion, that the Professor should talk with his Excellency. It was asked how that could be brought about? He replied, by way of paying his duty to him. Prince *Henry*, was likewise heard to say, that his Brother would be glad to send for him, but did not think it proper at that time, for fear of offending some of the violent people. However, when *Episcopius* and *Uitenbogart* made some difficulty of going to him, it was thought convenient to consult Prince *Henry* once again about it. He most earnestly advised the interview in order to confer about some means for peace. The others answered, that the *Remonstrants* had already done all that lay in them, to put an end to the differences: and that they could think of no other means than a *Mutual Forbearance*. Prince *Henry* replied, I know it very well, but still a Conference can do no harm. After this they went to the Advocate, who exhorted them to act as Prince *Henry* advised: adding, that his Excellency Prince *Maurice* had a strong imagination, that the design of the *Remonstrants* was to supplant their adversaries: and that the Conference ought to turn upon this subject. Next day, *Episcopius* desired an audience of Prince *Maurice*, which was granted, and a very kind and friendly reception given him; his Excellency offering his hand to the Professor, and telling him; *I am glad to see you, I longed to talk with you.* *Episcopius* made answer, that being come to the *Hague*, he could not go away without first paying his duty to his Excellency, and then speaking bare headed, the Prince said, he was not used to talk with people so, and obliged him to be covered; and presently entering upon matters. 'I should be glad, said he, to discourse you about these unhappy differences in religion; what do you think of them? Could you not suggest some expedient for removing the evil? I am suspected, as if I had deeper views, and played one side against the other in order to oppress it. Far be that from me: I am resolved to protect and defend them both: but I must own, that I chiefly incline to those whom I take to be defenders of the old religion.'

This was the introduction to the Conference, but the sequel is not to be found in the memoirs from whence I have borrowed this; so that it is not in my power to oblige the reader with it.

* From the Memoirs of Uitenb. and Epif.

The end of the twenty seventh Book.



A a

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN and ABOUT the
LOW-COUNTRIES.
BOOK XXVIII.

AN^O D O M.
1617.

The Cities of
Amsterdam,
and certain
others, oppose
the States of
their Province.



IN the mean time the jealousies and distrusts were observed daily to increase in the Province of *Holland*, and new fuel was continually added to the fire of discord: Whatever the States of that Province, or the majority of their Members, resolved, protested, or attempted, with respect to the unhappy differences, was publicly opposed and contradicted, even in print, by the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, in conjunction either with all, or some of the frequently mentioned Towns. What the States, or the Nobility and Majority of the towns voted for, they were sure to vote against; ¹ when the States published any declaration, they made a counter one: ² They rejected the Answer of the States to those of *Zeland*, *Gelderland*, *Freeiland*, *Groninghen*, and the *Ommelands*; drew up another which they signed the 30th of *August*, and delivered it on the 14th of *September* to the Deputies of the abovementioned provinces, and at the same time to the Assembly of the grand Committee of the States of *Holland*. In these papers they laid the whole blame upon the *Remonstrants*, and vehemently pressed for a National Synod, pursuant to the scheme of the *Contramonstrants*. The Deputies of *Amsterdam*, *Enkhusen*, *Edam*, and *Purmerent*, at the meeting of the grand Committee, on the 12th of *September*, presented a Memorial, containing the objections of their Principals against lifting the Warders at the charge of the publick; whereas (they said) they found it hard enough to pay the standing forces. ³ *Grotius* says, 'That the Magistrates of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, and a few others, being unable to contest the right of the towns ' to take care of their own security and preservation, yet scrupled to consent that the ' whole Province of *Holland* should contribute to the charge of paying them (though ' the Watch of *Amsterdam*, and of the northern towns was so supported) but adds, ' that the Advocate of *Holland* proposed as an expedient, that the Towns which ' were concerned in this matter should ease each other by a loan of their Warders, or ' in some other proper way.' But nothing was resolved upon it. *Grotius* is likewise of opinion, that the charges which the whole Province of *Utrecht*, and some of the towns of *Holland*, were put to for about the space of one year, on that account, did

¹ Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 63.

² Ibid p. 50,—60.

³ See the Journal of the States, 12 Sept. 1617.
Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 231.

did not amount to the sum of 200,000 Gilders. ¹ He says further, that at the same time there were several messages or dispatches sent to other towns in *Holland*, to stir them up against the States and their resolutions. ² The Deputies of *Amsterdam*, and those of three or four towns that adhered to them, had long before (as the said *Grotius* writes) held separate meetings, in which they agreed jointly to contradict and oppose the proceedings of the States; whereupon several other towns gave their Deputies instructions to confer with each other, not with design to enter into any plot or combination, but only to defend and maintain such resolutions as the States should take, by the united force of arguments, as also to consider how far they might comply with the dissenting members, without prejudice to the Province or Towns. *He subjoins* : That the causes and designs of such associations rendered them either good or bad; and that those ought to be esteemed good, the motives of which were to support the publick Authority, and the Rights and Privileges of the Land.

³ But in the mean while the Nobles, and most of the Towns, thought nothing was more unreasonable, than that those very men who were for carrying all points at home, by over-voting their fellow-Magistrates, and obliging them to submit to the majority, and who brought to the Assembly of the States the instructions of their respective towns obtained after such a manner, yet would not allow their fellow-Members in that Assembly to use the same privilege against them, as they did against others. Thus they expressed themselves in the *Justification*, drawn up in the name of the States, which was transmitted to the respective Senates, and afterwards published by eight towns of *Holland*, to wit, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Gouda*, *Rotterdam*, the *Brill*, *Schoonhoven*, *Alkmaer*, and *Horn*. It would have been in some manner excusable (they said) in the members who had been over-voted, if they had only protested that the Resolution taken by the majority of the Members at the Assembly of the States, should not be put in execution within the places under their respective jurisdictions; as had been formerly declared on the part of the City of *Amsterdam*, in opposition to the Resolution of the year 1594, and allowed of by other Members. But these went further, and would not so much as suffer the consenting Members, and others that were satisfied with the States resolutions, to act according to them (and this not only in ecclesiastical matters, but likewise in all other things relating to the liberties and privileges of the Land, and of the Towns, as also to the preservation of the lawful authority of the States;) which they thought was by no means to be endured, since the inevitable consequence of it would be a meer Anarchy and Confusion, or at least a tyrannical Domination of those Towns which were fewest in number, over all the rest of the Towns, and the whole Province too; or a translation of the Government to other Colleges or Societies which could dispatch their affairs by a majority of voices; all which, most of the Members of the States of *Holland* declared they would never agree to, so long as God should furnish them with the means of hindring it. Some were of opinion at that time, that the Gentlemen of *Amsterdam* treated the other Members of the States the more haughtily, because they depended on the great power, reputation, and merits of their City. But some of the Magistrates of that City made the following remarks upon it, *viz.* 'That tho' *Amsterdam* ought to be particularly distinguished from the rest of the Towns, yet since, according to the constitution of the Province, the votes were to be numbered without any distinction, as well in that City as in the Assembly of the States, it was to be feared, that in case a new method should be introduced, and the votes of the Nobles and Towns be allowed to weigh according to their power and grandeur, it would be expected in the particular Governments of Towns, that every vote should have its weight too according to the wealth and influence of each person; which would be of dangerous consequence. They likewise thought, that it was not reasonable to abuse the blessings which God had granted the City, to the prejudice of other members of the Province, and much less to the diminution of the authority of the States: For, at the beginning of the former troubles, especially when the Prince of *Orange* and the Heer *van Brederode* fled, the principal inhabitants of *Amsterdam*, who had exerted themselves the most zealously for the liberties of their country, and who, by the nature of their trade, and situation of

AN^o DOM.
1617.

This opposition is much resented by the States and the grounds of it declared unreasonable.

Remarks on the Conduct of those of Amsterdam

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their

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 283, &c.

Apol. Lib. VIII. p. 85.

² Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 39 Trigl. p. 958. Grot. ³ Ibid. p. 73. Lib. XIX. p. 218. Baud. Trig. ibid.

A^N° D^O M.
1617.

their city, had more hopes of supporting themselves abroad, than the inhabitants of the neighbouring places, sheltered themselves accordingly in foreign countries, where like *Jonas*, as they termed it, they might observe from far how it was like to fare with *Nineveh*. Whereas the good Patriots of the neighbouring places, remaining for the most part at home, did afterwards by their united endeavours, though not without great danger, both find and improve the opportunity of throwing off the yoke of *Spain*; but *Amsterdam* on the contrary, through the absence of the best patriots, and for want of help, remained to the very last in subjection to the government of the *Spaniards*, to the great hurt of themselves, as well as of their neighbours. At last indeed when the other Members of the Province had, by their utmost diligence, and the use of all possible means, reduced that City to the greatest straits, it was obliged to join with the others; by which good deed all the Refugees and Exiles that remained, together with their children, obtained the privilege of returning. Now that these very men who sat so long under the Gourd, and who like a posthumous and untimely birth entered last of all into the union of the other Members of *Holland*, should, through abuse of the great mercy which God had shewn them, and which he was able to deprive them of again, that these should so far forget themselves, as to accuse the other Members of the Province (who had born the greatest heat of the day, had sustained the most cruel sieges and other dangers, and had even promoted the deliverance of *Amsterdam*) of unfaithfulness, of desertion, or the like crimes, or to prescribe laws to them, appeared (they said) to the most moderate of the inhabitants, as the most unreasonable thing in the world.

Reasons alleged by the Amsterdammers and others, against the Resolutions of the States with reference to Church-matters.

The Declaration of the States thereupon.

What notion the States had of the Reformed Religion.

Among the arguments used by the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, and the other Towns that adhered to them, against the resolutions of the States of *Holland*, with reference to religious differences, the following were the chief, to wit, ' That endeavours had been used to establish and impose the *Five Points* of the *Remonstrants*, without a previous synodical and lawful examination, which was not just; that under covert of the said *Five Points*, there had been strange and heterodox opinions propagated, and too great opposition made against the received doctrines, which had given an occasion to schisms. But the States, or the majority of their Members, declared, That they never attempted to impose the *Five Points* upon any man, and that it was no less unjust to condemn those points, without such an examination as their adversaries demanded, and thereupon to set up separate meetings: That the aforesaid resolutions were calculated for the prevention of these disorderly schisms; but that the Government, whilst it avoided the countenancing such unseemly divisions, could not but take pity upon persons that did not penetrate into matters as they ought, and therefore suffered them to hold private meetings, either within the places of their habitation, or, if the publick peace and tranquillity could not admit of it, and the numbers of the dissenters were inconsiderable, then in such other places where they could most conveniently serve God according to their consciences. The States likewise expressly declared, that Liberty of Conscience was not appropriated to the established Church in this country; moreover, the said States, or the major part of them, declared, that they would yield to none of the other Members in defending and maintaining the true Christian Reformed Religion; but at the same time they did not believe, that the said religion consisted just in the asserting or espousing the notions of some private Doctors touching the business of *Predestination*, and the points relating to it, about which many learned and godly men entertained different opinions; but rather in defending those articles which had been unanimously received from the Word of God, by the primitive Christian Churches, and in opposing the Papal Tyranny, Idolatry, and Superstition; and besides, in promoting sincere holiness and amendment of life; nor had the States of the Province, or the Rulers of the Towns, ever obliged themselves to the maintaining the one opinion about *Predestination* preferably to the other. They therefore judged it very unreasonable to break the bands of unity, whilst the aforesaid differences continued unexamined with moderation and impartiality; forasmuch as those bands being once broken, could not easily be renewed; that differences should arise in the Church, and objections and scruples about the established doctrine was, they said, no new nor strange thing; the obscurity of the several points that were taught, and the weakness of human understanding were frequently attended

attended with such inconveniences; but that a remedy should be attempted by a Provisional Schism, was ever disapproved, both in the Primitive and Reformed churches, whose constant opinion it was, that provided the foundation remained (which is *Christ*) many other infirmities and mistakes, as well in the Pastors themselves as in their flocks, might, and ought to be tolerated; and that a separation was the last remedy, to which men should not proceed, but only when they were satisfied in their consciences that they neither could, nor ought to maintain unity any longer; in which case likewise, the proper steps of admonitions and solemn declarations were necessary to be observed. If any one in advancing strange opinions, or raising scruples in the minds of others who differed from him, should exceed all bounds, he ought to be censured by the Consistory, or by the Classis to which he belonged, which should therefore be called together by those that were scandalized; but those Ecclesiastical Assemblies (they said) had lost their authority by the schism.

Whilst the States, or the major part of their body, spoke this language, the Stadtholder took upon him to do something which occasioned great speculations; We shall relate that transaction in the words of the Heer *Hugo Grotius*. 'After the Gentlemen of the Consistory of the *Brill*, who were of the *Contraremonstrant* party, had presented a Petition to the sovereign Court of Justice, which in effect contained a threatening; *That they would try whose fists were hardest*; and after many other irregularities had been committed, the Magistrates of that town had it under deliberation to do one of these two things; either to raise Warders as others had done, or to try if they could procure some such companies of soldiers, who should be agreeable to them, and would engage to defend them and the publick places against all violence. Whilst these considerations were depending (or, as some relate it, 'after the Committee of the States had already taken measures to prevent any tumults or disorders) his Excellency, without saying any thing to the said Committee, went, the last of *September*, suddenly and in the night, to the *Brill*, and notwithstanding the Magistrates earnest intreaties to proceed no further, threw two companies of soldiers into the town, one of which was very unacceptable to the Magistrates, for several reasons: And having been before requested, that those companies should, instead of an oath, promise to obey the Magistrates, and particularly to assist in opposing all violent proceedings, his Excellency would not consent, but only told them, *He should take care*; declaring that he would not leave the town till the companies were settled in their quarters.' Thus was this town, the key of *Holland*, subdued by the States own General, or secured for that party which he intended to support, and the way moreover paved for greater changes. ² Some say, there was a rumour spread among the people, that the *Spaniards* were out at sea, and that if it had not been for his Excellency's great vigilance, the town would have fallen into their hands, by the contrivance of *Barnevelt* and his party. It was also given out, that *Flushing* was left quite naked on one side, by the counsels of the said *Barnevelt*, to the end that the *Spaniards*, who had their eye upon it, might come at it the more easily. By these reports the cry of Treachery was strengthened; but the Prince pretended nothing more, but that the Magistrates of the *Brill* were going to hire Warders, which, he judging it improper and unnecessary, had a mind to prevent.

The Advocate of *Holland*, against whom many (upon seeing his interest decline) began now to discover themselves, had been a while at *Utrecht*, about his own domestick affairs, or, as some say, in order to promote the business of the Warders, and to increase the City-watch. He fell sick there, and continued so for several weeks; and it is thought his concern for the daily troubles, and particularly the business of the *Brill*, very much impaired his health; however, he put a good face upon the matter, notwithstanding the impending evil, as appears by a letter which he writ to one of his friends who was concerned for him, the date of which letter was the 3d of *October*, and the substance as follows:

—*I hope, by the Grace of God, to persevere to the end, and to the utmost of my power in advancing his Honour and Glory, and at the same time the rights and privileges and liberties of our country; and to join in taking care that none be injured*

AN^o D^o M.
1617.

Prince Maurice brings
Troops into the
Brill.

A Letter of the
Heer Olden-
barnevelt.

in

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 246. Uitenb. 817.
Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 67.

² From certain Memoirs of J. Uitenbogart.

AN^O DOM. 1617. *in Body or Goods.* ¹ The Somnus hinted at in your letter, is a bitter paper, like many of all kinds. As long as these, and such seditious libels are allowed of, and the transgressors remain unpunished, I cannot but apprehend that factions, tumults, and dissensions, are designedly fomented: But the Grace of God concurring with our own impartial conduct and constancy will enable us to be conquerors, and through his help, we may expect a good issue. This is what I pray for, and what I recommend to your prayers; trusting that in the mean while every one will exert his talent.

² He accordingly endeavoured to obviate the evils, which through his great experience in affairs he foresaw, by serving the States with his best advices, in order to prevent things from falling into confusion. Having therefore observed that the Prince encouraged by his own presence the Meeting of the Separatists in the Cloister-church, which was now called by many the *Prince's Church*, he considered how this might be done, with as little prejudice to the State as possible; for which purpose he proposed, to give the name of a foreign church to the church of the Separatists, as was usual in other kingdoms and nations, as at *London*, for instance, where there were *Dutch*, *French*, and *Italian* churches, all following their particular rules and discipline. But his counsel was not followed.

His Proposal of tolerating the separate Meeting under the notion of a foreign Church.

Four of the Provinces endeavour to promote the holding of a National before a Provincial Synod.

In the aforesaid Defence, or Justification, (which we have had occasion so often to refer to) drawn up in the name of the States, or most of their Members, and which is to be seen in *Baudart's* Memoirs, it is said, that whilst they were busy in preparing matters for the holding a provincial Synod in the first place, four provinces, *Gelderland*, *Freeiland*, *Groninghen*, and the *Ommelands*, were excited by private management, and encouraged by those of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, *Edam*, and *Purmerent*, to resolve upon holding a National, before a Provincial Synod, which tended to subject the right of convoking, directing, and approving, ecclesiastical meetings (which in all matters relating to the churches of *Holland*, belonged to the States of that Province) to the other States of the abovementioned provinces; and to make a Provincial Synod nothing else but a Committee to a National one contrary to all the rules of good policy, as well as to the practice of the church; and this National Synod was to consist for the most part of persons who had already declared themselves so publickly in the aforesaid differences, that the Clergy, who stickled so much for it, were sure of carrying things to their own mind. The States of *Holland* were of opinion that they ought not to be forced by the over-voting of other provinces to agree to the calling such a Synod, in order to a final determination of matters, and especially not by those provinces that were less subjected to the disputes about *Predestination* in their own churches; forasmuch as each province had, even after the Union, preserved its own sovereignty free and inviolate, as well in ecclesiastical as civil matters. Of the like mind were those of *Utrecht* and *Over-Yssel*, and some of the chief branches of the province of *Gelderland*. But when nevertheless the greatest part of the last mentioned province, together with those of *Zeland*, *Freeiland*, *Groninghen*, and the *Ommelands*, notwithstanding the many representations and intreaties of that of *Holland* against the insisting on a National Synod, went on with their deputing persons for settling the preliminaries of the said Synod, a solemn protestation was made against it, on the behalf of the States of *Holland*, *Utrecht*, and *Over-Yssel*, both by word of mouth and in writing, by which they declared void and null, whatever their confederates should resolve upon in that matter by way of over-voting, as tending to break the Union of *Utrecht*; and that they should look upon the said four provinces as authors of all the inconveniences and mischiefs that might result from such a Synod.

The three other Provinces protest against it.

The four Provinces make a Counter-protest in the Assembly of the States-General.

Hereupon the towns of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, *Eukhusen*, *Edam*, and *Purmerent*, made a Counter-protestation at the meeting of the Generality, tho' it was maintained by the other Members of *Holland*, that none of the towns, nor particular Members of provinces, were qualified to declare their opinions in the Assembly of the States-General; as was afterwards maintained by the States of *Over-Yssel* too, on the like occasion. Thus the Deputies of *Amsterdam*, and those of the other towns which held with them, pretended that the States of *Holland*, or the major part of their body, ought to submit to the plurality of voices at the meeting of the Generality, (even in a business which they the said States conceived to impair the sovereignty of their province) and yet at the same time they themselves

¹ A Pasquil writ against the Government in those times.
² See his Letter to Prince Maurice, April 24, 1618. and Uitenb. p. 245, 943.

³ See the Journal of the States of Holland, Sept. 29. Octob. 12, 1617. Trigl. p. 977.

themselves relying upon, and making their advantage of the small majority of votes AN^O D^O M. in their own Senate, refused to comply with the resolutions that were passed in the 1617. Assembly of *Holland* by so great a majority. Thus (as some of the members of that Province complained) did some few, who pushed on this matter, presume to erect a State within a State. Many thought it strange, that those of *Gelderland* should determine matters by a majority of voices, and not these of *Holland*; forasmuch as the Deputies of *Gelderland* being divided in their opinions at the Assembly of the States-General, three of them were obliged to submit to the other four, in order to bring in the vote of the said Province; whereas at the same time, four or five of the towns of *Holland* refused to comply with the whole *Ridderschap* or Nobility, and thirteen towns, against whom those few were supported in their obstinate resistance.

It was likewise thought no less strange by some, that the Gentlemen of *Amsterdam*, and of the towns which adhered to them should now acknowledge so great an authority in the other Provinces, or the Generality, whereas in all their disputes with the Nobles, and other Members of *Holland*, about the management of Church-affairs, they had never once allowed, that the cognizance of those matters belonged to the Generality, exclusive of the States of *Holland*. ² And even some of the Gentlemen deputed by the province of *Gelderland* to the meeting of the States General, declared plainly, and caused it to be entered upon the books of the said States in the month of *November*, that they could not proceed on the business of a National Synod by majority of votes; the Heer *Christopher Beesman*, Burgomaster of *Nimeguen*, declaring in his own name, and in that of the Heer *Peeks*: 'That they could not agree that any resolution should be taken in behalf of their Principals, the States of *Gelderland*, tending towards a violation of the Union, and the making a division among the Provinces (unless all the Provinces could be persuaded to consent to it) without positive orders from a full Assembly of those States.

A Declaration of some of the Deputies of Gelderland.

Nay the Heer *Henry van Brienon*, deputed by the Nobility belonging to the district of *Arnhem* to the Assembly of the States, made a Declaration, which he caused to be entered on the 15th, 'That he never thought, nor could be persuaded to think, that the instructions of the Deputies of *Gelderland* imported any thing else than that they should agree to the holding a National Synod, by the unanimous consent of all the provinces, at the most proper time, in order to the healing, but not increasing, the unhappy schism. — He said further, That he was not ordered to oppose the Protestation of those of *Holland*, *Utrecht*, and *Over-Yssel*, on occasion of the forming the plan of a National Synod, nor the Request of those of *Holland* in particular desiring them to join in supporting the publick authority, by virtue of the Union, in opposition to popular commotions; nor could he undertake that the Deputies of *Gelderland* might add their votes to the three other provinces, in order to increase the divisions, and to form, as it were, a separate Generality, and this without positive directions from all their Principals met together as the States of the province, whose authority, and no other, was sufficient (*he said*) to justify them in so doing: adding, that the States of that Province had been so far from giving him, and the other Deputies any such instructions, that they, the said States, had not met at all since the last disputes among the Provinces.

³ Nevertheless the scheme or project for holding a National Synod, was approved by the Deputies of the several Provinces of *Zealand*, *Freeiland*, *Groninghen*, and the *Ommelands*, and by the major part of those of *Gelderland*: 'This was the more easily brought about, on account of the divisions which reigned among the States of *Holland*; which were the cause that so little consideration was had of that Province, notwithstanding the great efforts they had made for promoting the publick good, and the expence of such great sums of money with which they had been burdened, that the Deputies of the other Provinces (according to the report of some of the principal Members of *Holland*) would not allow them the respite but of one day, in order to consider of so important a matter, though they requested it; besides other indignities, which (they said) it would be too tedious to relate: all which were occasioned by the obstinacy of the Deputies of the towns, who by their presence and importunity, encouraged those of the four Provinces to oppose the Resolutions

The Scheme for holding a National Synod is approved in the Assembly of the States-General.

¹ See Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 250.

² See Uitenb. p. 863. and the authentick Pieces at the end of the Historical Relation of the National Synod, Printed 1623.

³ Uitenb. p. 865.

A^N° D^O M. 1617. Resolutions of the States of *Holland*; which opposition was so much to the prejudice of the Province of *Holland*, that perhaps they who gave the first handle to it might in a short time, be the first who would repent of it.

It is likewise related, that the Advocate of *Holland*, through his great foresight in affairs of State, signified to the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* even then; that, *they would probably be the first who would change their mind when it was too late, and when they could not help themselves.*

The greater part of the Members of *Holland* complained likewise, that little care was taken of the Civil authority of each Province, in the scheme that was prepared for holding a National Synod.

The City of Dort, appointed for the place of the Synods meeting.

Soon after, to wit, on the 20th of *November*, all the Provinces, Towns, and other Members that were for the Synod, appointed the town of *Dort* for the place of meeting; against the will of *Holland*, *Utrecht* and *Over Yssel*. But as at this time the towns of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, *Eukbusen*, *Edam* and *Purmerent*, opposed their own Province, or the majority of its Members, so on the contrary, the aforesaid two Deputies of *Gelderland*, one of whom represented the district of *Nimmeghen*, and the other the Nobility of the *Vetuw*, caused an entry to be made in the books, signifying, that they had not the least direction either to oppose the Province of *Holland*, or entirely to conclude the projected articles of a National Synod, which they had not agreed to otherwise, than in case they should be acceptable to their Principals the States of *Gelderland* when met together in form; but that hitherto they had not met in such a manner.

A Declaration of two of the Deputies of Gelderland.

On the 22d of the same month, it was proposed at the meeting of the *Generality*, that since the holding of a National Synod was resolved upon, and the place where it should meet appointed, the Provinces should each of them depute one person to draw up the form of a summons for that purpose. — Those of *Gelderland*, *Zeland*, *Free-land*, *Groninghen* and the *Ommelands* agreed to this; but were of opinion that the summons should not be sent away before the first of *January* or *February*, to the end it might in the mean while, be seen whether those of *Holland* and the rest of the dissenting Provinces would agree to the calling of the National Synod, to which they were civilly intreated. But the Deputies of *Holland*, *Utrecht*, and *Over-Yssel*, shewed each of them their dissatisfaction at the proceedings, with relation to the said Synod. There were, however, several circular letters drawn up for the appointing, summoning and holding this Synod, in order to be sent to the King of *Great Britain*, the Deputies of the *Reformed* churches in *France*, the Elector *Palatine*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, the *Walloon* churches in these Provinces, the towns of *Embsen* and *Bremen*, together with those of *Zurich*, *Bern*, and *Basel* in *Switzerland* — as likewise to each of the United Provinces of the *Low-Countries*.

Many of the Members of the States General, upon reading the draughts of the circular letters for appointing and summoning the National Synod, rise up and leave the Assembly.

The forms of these letters were brought the 24th of *November*, to the meeting of the *Generality*, but when they were about to be read, all the Gentlemen of the Grand Committee of *Holland* (excepting the Heer *Gerrit Jacob Witsz*) all the Deputies of *Utrecht*, and *Over-Yssel*, as well as the Heer *Brienen*, rose up and left the Assembly. The Burgomaster *Beefman* also, soon after they began to read the said letters, observing that those Gentlemen were gone, went out too. Yet they proceeded to read the draughts of the letters, and approved them, upon condition that the sending them should be adjourned to the last of *January*, 1618. What happened thereupon the next day, may appear from the minutes as they stand on the Journals of the States General, which run *verbatim* as follows:

Saturday, NOVEMBER 25, 1617.

A Declaration of the Deputies of Holland at the meeting of the States General.

THE Committee of the States of *Holland* and *West-Free-land* adhering to their former protestations, declarations, and representations, do further declare and protest, in the name of their Principals, against all that was yesterday transacted with reference to matters of religion, without the consent of *Holland* and *West-Free-land*, holding the same as null and illegal, and the order given thereupon in the name of the States-General as untrue; and they are ready to produce their reasons for the satisfaction of the other provinces.

I

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‘ The said Committee of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* declare in the A^N^O D^OM, name of their Principals, that the towns of the said Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* have no right to vote in this Meeting of the States-General; and for what relates to the Committee of Council of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, they have no power, in consequence of their instructions, to do or declare any thing contrary to the Resolutions of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, or against whatever has been approved in the College by a majority of voices; of which also they are ready to offer their reasons, for the information of other Provinces.

‘ In opposition to the aforesaid declarations, the Heers *Wittens* of *Dort* and *Amsterdam*, did on the behalf of the said towns, and those of *Enkbusen*, *Edam* and *Purmerent* adhere to, and abide by their former counter protestations.

‘ The Heer *Brienen*, for himself, and in the name of the Heer *Beefman*, who was absent, declared, that he adhered to, and persisted in his foregoing declaration, and was willing to give his reasons for so doing in writing.

‘ The Deputies of *Utrecht* said likewise, that they adhered to their former protestation, and would abide by the same; as also by what those of *Holland* had further declared against the transactions of yesterday.

‘ The same did also those of *Over-Yssel*.

A Declaration of the two Geldrian Deputies.

A Declaration of the Deputies of Utrecht and of Over-Yssel.

There was likewise a division among the States of that Province. The town of *Deventer* dissented from the other Members, and pressed for the calling of a National Synod, strengthening themselves with the little towns of *Hasselt* and *Follenhoven*, though they were no Members of the States; but the said States deputed at the same time, the Heers *Herman Ripparda* of *Boxbergen*, *Zweder Scheele* of *Welvelde* and *Rudolph Sloot*, together with *Casper ter Borghorst*, Burgomaster of the town of *Kampen*, and *Henry ter Kulen*, Burgomaster of the town of *Swol*, to the States General, to complain about this matter, and to request that they might be supported in their rights. The representation which the said Deputies delivered in writing on the 25th of the aforesaid month, was of the following tenor:

High and Mighty Lords,

‘ **T**HE Nobility and the Towns of the Province of *Over-Yssel*, have commissioned and instructed us extraordinarily to repair to the Assembly of your High Mightinesses, and there, after having exhibited our Credentials, and made a tender of our best offices, together with our wishes of a happy lasting, and peaceable Government, and that your Lordships may be instrumental in removing these deplorable differences and uncharitable misunderstandings which rage at present in the Church, by some good means and expedients, and by mutual unity and toleration, consistently with God’s Holy word and Honour, with the authority of the Government, the peace and welfare of the land, and the prevention of schism: most reverently to represent to your High Mightinesses, that the said Nobility and Towns have with sorrow been informed of the very irregular methods of proceeding, made use of by the Magistrates of the town of *Deventer*, only with the intention of subverting and defeating a certain resolution past by a very considerable majority of votes in the meeting of the said Nobility and Towns, on the 11th of *June*, O. S. concerning the desired National Synod (which the Honourable the States of *Holland* were of opinion, should not be called at this unhappy juncture of affairs) for which end the said Magistrates have separated themselves from the rest of the Members of the Province of *Over-Yssel*, and have likewise stirred up the little town of *Hasselt* and *Follenhoven*, which are not properly Members, but Subjects of the said Province, and have no vote either in civil or religious matters, much less a right of opposing their Honours Resolutions.

‘ The Deputies of the said town of *Deventer*, strengthened with other Deputies and Letters from the said little towns (slighting the Nobility and the rest of the Towns) did on the 4th of *October*, O. S. apply themselves to your High Mightinesses, and by the Proposals and Declarations which they made in your presence the same day, they contradicted and set themselves against the resolutions of the

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‘ afore-

* See Trigl. p. 976, and Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 280.

AN^o D^o M.^o 1617. *without any grounds, and directly contrary to the sovereignty, custom, and form of Government that has till now obtained in the Province of Over-IJssel, as also contrary to the frequently renewed alliances and confederacies between the three chief towns of that Province, which three chief towns, together with the Nobility (and no other towns in Over-IJssel) are alone and wholly possess of the Government: And since for these reasons, the aforesaid declaration which they have delivered to your High Mightinesses, against the Resolutions of the 11th of June aforesaid, ought not to be considered any otherwise, than as a factious and rebellious opposition of subjects against their lawful Sovereigns: Moreover, since your Lordships are obliged by virtue of the first article of the further union, to support, maintain and defend the States of the respective Provinces in all their prerogatives, rights, and usages, against all persons whatsoever: We therefore find our selves obliged on the part of our Principals, and in consequence of the instructions we have received from them, to remonstrate against the irregular proceedings of the said towns of Deventer, Hasselt, and Follenhoven; and to desire that your Lordships would be pleased to take no notice of whatever they have done, or may further do against the Resolutions of our said Principals, without their consent, but to look upon it as null and void, and reject it as irregular, and refer them to the Nobility and Towns; and that you would further secure the aforesaid Nobility and Towns (which represent the States and the Sovereign Powers of the Province of Over-IJssel) in the free exercise of their Sovereignty, pursuant to the aforesaid Union and Alliance established between the Provinces; begging your Lordships to cause this our Protestation and Claim to be registered, and to return us such an equitable answer as your High Mightinesses shall find most fit and reasonable, in order to the maintaining the authority and dominion of the said Province of Over-IJssel, as well as most conducive to their repose and tranquillity.'*

Signed,

HERMAN RIPPARD.
CASPAR TER BRK HORST.
HENRY TER KULEN.

This Memorial was registered according to the desire of the Deputies, in the journals of the States General; and upon considering the same, the other Provinces entered the following Minute:

A Declaration and petition of several of the Provinces.

'The Deputies of Gelderland, Zeland, Freeiland, the town of Groningen, and the Ommelands, declare; That they could wish that the protestations formerly made by the Deputies of Holland, Utrecht, and Over-IJssel, on the part of the States of the said Provinces, their Principals had been wholly omitted. But since it has happened otherwise, they are content they should be entered on the books. Nevertheless they kindly intreat the said Provinces, to comply with the other four, for the sake of unity and a good understanding, which they particularly request of the States of Holland, at their approaching Assembly.

A Memorial and Petition of the Council of Holland, presented to the States General.

Afterwards, in the beginning of December, there was a long Memorial presented to the Generality, by the Council of Holland, whereby they declared and maintained, that it was an infraction of the Union, and a violation of the privileges of every Province, to press and force the calling of a National Synod on the Province of Holland; requesting withal, 'That the States of each Province might be assembled within the space of four months, in order to deliberate and advise about the most proper methods for uniting consistently with their general liberties; and that at the same time there might be Synods holden in every Province, which should be ordered to draw up a plain and full account of those doctrines in which all parties agreed: and as for such others as were controverted, to offer their opinion, how to come into such a reasonable toleration, as might be put in practice without prejudice to truth, or burdening mens consciences.'

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¹ From the Journal of the States General. See Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 74.

¹ Of the same mind were likewise the States of *Utrecht* and *Over-Yffel*; but the Deputies of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, and the other three dissenting towns adhered to their former declarations and counter-protestations.

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At the same time there was published a particular paper, by or in the name of the States of *Holland*, setting forth the great and irreparable prejudice that would be occasioned to the countries of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, by the designed usurpation in imposing a National Synod upon them, by an over-bearing majority of voices, without the general and unanimous consent of all the Provinces, Towns, and Members, therein concerned. But it was all in vain; by which means all hopes of accommodation vanished, and the grief and concern of all wise and good men were increased.

A Declaration
published by the
States of Hol-
land.

² Among the *Remonstrants*, the Minister *Uitenbogat* was so sensible of the ill consequences of the reigning disputes, that, in *April* before, he begged the Advocate of *Holland* so to dispose matters, as that a Synod might be called in what manner soever it was desired. To which the said Advocate replied, *If you are for sacrificing the rights of your country, I am not.* But *Uitenbogat* was of opinion, that the *Contraremonstrants*, and they who supported them, were resolved to carry their point about a Synod, though it were purchased by an entire revolution in the Government, from which also the ruin of the *Remonstrants* was inseparable: but that however, if the Government stood, they might still hope for some protection, though they should be condemned by the Clergy; for a Government cannot always hinder what they may afterwards redress. ³ With the same view this prudent man again advised his brethren, the other *Remonstrant* Divines, with great earnestness, simply to desire a Synod; but they turned a deaf ear to these counsels, pleading their consciences, which would not allow them, as they said, to join in promoting what they believed would tend to suppress Truth.

The prudent
Counsel of Ui-
tenbogat.

⁴ In the mean while, the party that insisted upon the holding of a Synod was very much strengthened by Sir *Dudley Carlton*, the King of *Great Britain*'s Envoy, who, in a speech which he made on the 6th of *October*, at the meeting of the States-General, entirely condemned the *Remonstrants*, and recommended the National Synod, blaming the States of *Holland*, on account of the means they had employed for accommodating the differences in the Church, and introducing a Toleration. This gave occasion to the said States to return him a long and free Answer, in which they maintained against what he had advanced: 'That the war into which these Provinces entered against *Spain* was not founded upon religion, but was begun for the recovery of their liberties, rights, and privileges, among which it was not the least, that every province had the power of ordering matters relating to the church, (which yet they did not desire to extend further than what was practised by other reformed Governments) in which was likewise comprehended the right of putting a stop to all unlawful censures, as also the patronage of benefices, and the collation, or appointing of Pastors, into which last they had admitted the Clergy, in consequence of the Church-establishment of the year 1594; which establishment some of the said Clergy had insolently opposed. They added, that it was their opinion, that schismatical and turbulent Ministers ought to be deprived or deposed. Then they declared their right of securing themselves against both foreign force and domestick troubles, affirming that no Courts of Justice ought to put a stop to the execution of any orders of the States, and giving an account of the situation of the Church-differences, and the meaning of those resolutions which they took thereupon conformably to the advice of the King of *Great Britain*, as might appear by his own letters; not forgetting the pains they had taken to prevent the schism, together with the resolution of the year 1614, which had been much applauded by many; for which cause they did not think it necessary to suffer these matters to be determined by a National Synod, which it was not just (they said) that other provinces should force upon them. However, they declared themselves disposed to make use of their authority, in order to find out some expedient for restoring the peace of the Church, pro-

A Proposal of
the English
Envoy Carlton

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vided

¹ Uitenb. p. 877.

² Uitenb. Hist. p. 881. Life p. 87. and Journal on the 9th of April. See also Baud. Mem. Lib. X. p. 55. Trigl. p. 1044.

³ See above, Lib. XXV.

⁴ Trigl. p. 977. Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 69. Uitenb. p. 829,—859.

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A Pamphlet called the Balance is published in opposition to the proposal of the said Envoy.

A Declaration and Petition of those of Holland, Utrecht and Over-Yssel.

Upon the printing the aforesaid Harangue of the *Sieur Carlton*, a certain pamphlet was published against it in *November*, without the name of the author, under the title of the *Balance*, or *Scales*, as prepared to weigh that writing, which whilst it defended the *Remonstrants*, handled the *English* Envoy so freely, and was so highly resented by him, that after much importunity he prevailed upon the *States-General* not only to forbid it by a *Placard*, but also to promise a reward of a thousand *Gilders* to any that should discover and convict the Author, and six hundred for discovery of the Printer, and also pardon to the Printer himself, if, within 14 days after the publication of the *Placard*, he would discover the person that had writ the said pamphlet. But before this *Placard* was published, the *Deputies of Holland* (who had likewise given directions to suppress the aforesaid pamphlet) declared to the *Generality*: That their *Principals* had caused the pamphlet to be examined * and compared with the offers that had been made, in order to see whether it was so criminal as to deserve the promise of such a reward for the discovery of the Author and Printer; and at the same time prayed, that they would suspend the publication of the *Placard*.

The *Deputies of Utrecht* and *Over-Yssel* made the same declaration and request: After this the said three provinces, finding that the *States-General* were resolved to go on with the *Placard*, further declared, That since they, the said *Provinces*, did not consent to the publishing the said *Placard*, it ought not to be done in the name of the *Generality*. And what was yet more, the *States of Holland* forbade the Printer, *Hillebrandt Jacobson van Wou*, to print the said *Placard*, and then, in conjunction with those of *Utrecht* and *Over-Yssel*, renewed their Declaration and Request to the *Generality* for stopping it. But the other four *Provinces* observing that the Printer scrupled to print it against the will of the *Hollanders*, resolved at last, that copies of the said *Placard* should be written and signed by the *Griffier*, or *Secretary* of their Assembly, and sent to their respective countries; with their desire that it might be there printed, published, and distributed, as should be found adviseable. They also communicated a copy to the *Envoy Carlton*. But the *Deputies of Holland, Utrecht, and Over-Yssel*, declared again, That the *Placard* ought not to be published, nor sent to the *Provinces* in the name of the *States-General*. This opposition of the *Hollanders* was the cause that some towns would take no notice of the *Placard* against the above-mentioned pamphlet. That piece was translated into *French*, and read the more greedily by those who thought it strongly penn'd, and full of cogent arguments; which afforded fresh matter of complaint to *Sir Dudley Carlton*. Some took great pains to discover the Author, (who was *Jacobus Taurinus*, a Minister of *Utrecht*) but at that time in vain; for such inquiries have seldom any success, when they are made against the will of the *Magistrates* and so great a part of the *Community*.

On the 3d of *November* the *Sieur Benjamin Aubert*, Lord of *Maurier*, Envoy from the King of *France* to the *States of the United Netherlands*, made a certain proposal to them at their meeting, by which, after treating of other matters, he exhorted them to unity in the following words:

My Lords,

The French Envoy Maurier exhorts the States-General to Unity.

HIS Majesty has commanded me to acquaint your Lordships with how much grief he has learned by common fame, that very great dissensions are risen in your Government, whereby that harmony to which you owe your safety is in some measure disturbed: For his Majesty having always an eye to your welfare and security, most earnestly wishes, that all that combustible matter which threatens you, in what manner soever, with a general conflagration, may be speedily extinguished.

I shall not take upon me to trace the evil to its original or fountain-head, as pretending to discover it to your Lordships, because I doubt not but your Lordships have

* Uitenb. p. 859. Trigl. p. 1018. Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 72.

* Uitenb. p. 934. Trigl. p. 1020. Baud. Lib. X. p. 21.

* By the Pensionaries of Harlem, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the Secretary of Enkhusen, Members of their own Body.

‘ have more knowlede of it than any body else : neither do I presume to prescribe a
 ‘ remedy, since your own wisdom, and the love you bear your country, will sug-
 ‘ gest it to you far better. I shall therefore content my self with exhorting you, in
 ‘ the King’s name, to use your best endeavours to free your country from that con-
 ‘ tempt and danger, to which it is now exposed : and to employ your earliest care, to
 ‘ the end that religion, which ought to be the means of reconciling the greatest of
 ‘ enmities among mankind, may not be made use of to dissolve among you the strict-
 ‘ est and most necessary friendship.

‘ If you would but lay aside all heats and passions, his Majesty makes no doubt but
 ‘ that obliging your selves mutually by the bands of piety and charity, you would
 ‘ apply all your cares to find out the most proper methods for promoting the honour
 ‘ and interests of your Republick, which he entirely espoufes with equal inclinations:

‘ He therefore most heartily exhorts your Lordships to that which he expects from
 ‘ your wise conduct, to wit, that you would, as soon as possible, seek among your
 ‘ selves a remedy for this evil, which ought to be stifled in its birth. And he would
 ‘ have you be convinced, that the most effectual means to that end, may be found
 ‘ again in your first Union, and in the good correspondence of the parts with the
 ‘ whole, and of the whole with each of its parts. Order, which has been so hap-
 ‘ pily preserved among your Lordships hitherto, ought to be so much the dearer to
 ‘ you, as it is the very soul of your State, and the only cement of that Liberty,
 ‘ which you have purchased and obtained at the price of so much danger, sweat, and
 ‘ blood.

‘ Certainly, my Lords, the very name of your Provinces, which is known all over
 ‘ the world by that glorious title of *United*, and your *Lyon* with the sheaf of *Arrows*,
 ‘ which he grasps so fast, together with the Motto upon your Coin, importing that
 ‘ *Small things increase by concord*, do sufficiently give your Lordships to under-
 ‘ stand, that it is much more your interest to explain the design of those Arrows by
 ‘ your close unions than by picture, and devices : in order to which you ought dili-
 ‘ gently to conform your selves to his Majesty’s wholesome counsels, who has no-
 ‘ thing else in view but to prevent the growth of a most destructive schism among
 ‘ you, together with the subversion of the ancient Constitution of these Provinces,
 ‘ which would be unavoidably attended with a diminution of that power which
 ‘ Unanimity and Concord had caused so greatly to flourish.

‘ The King foreseeing the pernicious consequences of that evil, finds himself moved,
 ‘ by his friendship for your Lordships, to proceed yet further, and to assure you,
 ‘ that whatever the one or the other party could perswade themselves to yield in
 ‘ these violent disputes and quarrels, would be abundantly compensated to them by
 ‘ the great advantages they would reap from thence, not only in general, but in par-
 ‘ ticular too. And the first and most valuable good that will result from it, will be
 ‘ the re-establishment of your reputation, which by reason of the rumours that have
 ‘ been artfully spread concerning all these disputes and little squabbles, has suffered
 ‘ extremely among other nations.

‘ If your Lordships stay till these wounds fester, (which God forbid) undoubtedly
 ‘ all who envy your happiness, and they only, will reap the benefit of that revo-
 ‘ lution of your affairs from good to bad, which will certainly follow.

‘ And who knows better, or has had greater experience than your Lordships, how
 ‘ much these people surpass all others in a dextrous application of other mens
 ‘ mistakes to their own advantage, and that they never let slip any such oppor-
 ‘ tunities.

‘ In case your Lordships would guard in time against this by your prudence, (as
 ‘ his Majesty once more exhorts and intreats you to do) the great advantages which
 ‘ would redound to you from it, would be very agreeable and satisfactory to him,
 ‘ as to one who heartily desires your welfare and safety.

‘ This is what I am commanded to say to you from his Majesty, trusting that
 ‘ you will take his counsel in good part, as he gives it you with hearty affection,
 ‘ since he aims at nothing else by it, but the preservation and welfare of the Re-
 ‘ publick.

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AN^O DOM.

1617.

The *Sieur Du Pleffis* is invited to come into Holland to be Mediator of the differences.

About the same time, or a little later, there was a meeting of the Great Men of the kingdom appointed at *Roan*, by the King of *France*, among whom was the *Sieur Du Pleffis*. The opportunity of his easy passage from thence to *Holland* was improved. Some eminent persons, as well of the *Remonstrant* as *Contraremonstrant* party, desired that Gentleman to come over to them, that they might make use of his advice and interposition for putting some end to their differences. And as he could not make such a step without the knowledge of the King, they applied to his Majesty, both by letters of his Envoy *Maurier* in *Holland*, and by the Heer *Langarak*, the States Envoy in *France*, to the end that the said Gentleman might be sent hither with the character of Extraordinary Ambassador; and matters were brought so far, that the *Sieur Jeannin*, one of the King's principal Ministers, was ordered to propose it to him. But his answer was: *That the disease was so inveterate, that he feared it was too late to apply any remedy. But however, he would do his utmost to give his Majesty this proof of his zeal for his service, when it should be thought necessary, knowing how much he was interested in the preservation of this Republick.*

But here the business stuck, the King doing nothing more in it; whether it was because some of the Clergy or others of his Majesty's Council (who even began to contrive the reducing the power of the Protestants in *France*) opposed the sending him, imagining that whilst the dissensions continued in *Holland*, they should more easily attain their ends; or whether some other obstacles intervened, is uncertain. At the same time also the Lady *Louisa de Coligny*, Princess Dowager of *Orange*, and Mother of Prince *Frederick-Henry*, testified her great concern and zeal for the welfare of our Church and State, by writing to the *Sieur Du Pleffis* the following Letter, to induce him to take a journey hither.

Sir,

A Letter of the Princess Dowager of *Orange*, to the *Sieur Du Pleffis*.

I Perceive by a letter which *Monf. de Villebon* has writ me, that I have still the good luck to be in your thoughts; and I assure you, you cannot admit any one into them that honours and esteems you more highly than I do. But I am not the only person here that would gladly see you in these parts for a few days, in order to convince you of the respect we have for you. It is certain, Sir, that we stand in the utmost need here of your wise and prudent counsels; and I verily believe that the one party as well as the other will hearken more to yours, than to any other man's whatever. Sir, It is not only about Religion that our quarrels are, our Country is likewise at stake if some care be not speedily taken. You are one of those who assisted my Lord and Husband to lay the foundations of this State, come now to the help of his children, and keep them from burying themselves in its ruins. If the dead had any knowledge of what passes upon the earth, I am sure he would conjure you to it in his own name, and by his ashes. Sir, I beg it of you most heartily. I know that in order to be qualified for this, you must come with a Commission; but I know too, that if you be but disposed, it will not be hard for you to procure such a commission. For God's sake, Sir, do not stand upon punctilio's. We are straitened in time, and since you are now at *Roan*, it will be much more easy for you to take this journey, than when you shall be returned to *Paris* or *Saumur*. I beseech God to inspire you with the best resolutions, and I entreat you to continue the honour of your friendship to her who will remain, all her life,

Your Humble, and very Affectionate,

Hague, Dec. 28,

1617.

The Princess Dowager of *Orange*.

This Princess, the writer of this Letter, which she sent all in vain, (a worthy daughter of *Gaspar de Coligny* the Great Admiral of *France*, who, according to the testimony of the aforementioned *du Pleffis*, had few equals in merit at that time) declared herself openly on the side of the *Remonstrants*, and of those that maintained church-communion with them; and accordingly at *Christmas*, this year, received the sacrament of the Lord's-Supper from the hands of *Uitenbogart* in the French church

at

¹ Life of *Monf. Du Pleffis*, Lib. IV. p. 481.

² From the Memoirs of *Monf. Du Pleffis*, p. 1207.

at the *Hague*, together with her son Prince *Frederick Henry*, with the Advocate of *Holland*, the Heer *Oldenbarnevelt*, the Heers *van Asperen*, *van Veenbusen*, *van der Myle*, and *van Groonevelt*; the Yonkers *van Sevonder*, and *van Liere*, the Heers *Hugens*, *Melander*, *Martini*, and other persons of condition. But most followed his Excellency Prince *Maurice* to the Cloister-church, and among them a great number of men of Quality, Ministers of State, and Military persons, and divers of the Counsellors of both the Courts, who, as they leaned before to the party of the *Contraremonstrants*, were now wholly embarked with them, and by countenancing the Separation through their own examples, openly opposed the States Resolution about *Mutual Forbearance*.

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The Heer *Hugo Grotius* says in a certain treatise, that it was a sad spectacle in those times, to see some of the principal Officers in the Government, abandoning the established Church, and frequenting the Conventicle of the *Separatists*, which was set up in spite of the Government, and by unlawful methods.

The Courts of Justice likewise gave a great deal of trouble to the States about this time; for they daily granted provisions of appeal, contrary to the Resolutions of the States with respect to religious matters, and the dissentions of the Clergy, and against those rights and privileges which the respective towns conceived to belong to them, conformably to which rights the Magistrates of each place had a power in cases which concerned the publick peace, and which required an immediate remedy, to expel persons out of their respective towns, or to inflict other kinds of punishment on them, without form of process, or being obliged to justify themselves before the High Court of Justice.

Some disputes
with the Gen-
tlemen of the
Courts of
Justice.

This they affirmed to be an ancient right and custom of the towns, and which had been practised frequently even by the towns of *Amsterdam* and *Enkbusen*, as much as they now appeared against it. The States of *Holland* endeavouring to preserve their prerogative in these matters, and having several times tied up the hands of the Courts in relation to it, did in the month of *March* last, send the following letter upon the same account to the Counsellors of the High Court of Justice.

Honourable, Learned, Wise, Prudent, Dear, and our especial good Friends,

WE have been informed at our meeting, first by the complaints of several towns, and afterwards by some of your own Society or College, that at the request of certain of the Ministers, Burghers and Inhabitants of the respective towns, complaining of the Edicts or Ordinances of their Burgomasters, Magistrates, and Senates, made for the preservation of peace, unity, and good government (the care and direction whereof is committed to them) and for preventing unreasonable and pernicious separations, and the holding prohibited Conventicles; as also for appointing fines and penalties to be inflicted upon the persons who disobey the said ordinances, either by discharging the Clergy from their Ministry, and requiring them to leave the town, or by disfranchising, or proceeding after any other manner against the Lay inhabitants; you have granted provisions of justice by sealed Letters, Mandates, Suspensions and the like: all which, the Deputies of the towns affirm to be incompatible with their rights and privileges, which have been confirmed by several Resolutions which we past between the years 1572 and 1596, and have accordingly been practised not only with respect to cities, but likewise with regard to the lesser towns, in which some have endeavoured to disturb the publick peace and tranquillity by their unlawful and unreasonable proceedings, giving out that when the Clergy or other persons complain against the sentences of the ordinary Civil Magistrate, the complaint is virtually made to us, or during our recesses, to our standing Committee, to whom we have referred the superintendency and preservation of the ecclesiastical polity and matters belonging thereto; and that when by corruption or importunate sollicitation the Colleges of Justice have granted any provisions, the said provisions have been without effect, and that we, or our Committee, have taken cognizance of those things our selves. Now though we allow that the reasons alledged by your Deputies at our meeting in defence of such provisions are of some moment, and that they may be put in practice upon proper occasions, and when it shall be of service to the country; yet can we by no means,

A Letter of the
States of Hol-
land, to the
Gentlemen of
the High Court
of Justice.

grant

See Grot. *Præf. to his Apol.* p. 8. and *Apol. Lib.* XII. p. 128. *Lib. XIX.* p. 225. &c. And justification of *Resol.* 4 Aug. p. 14. Baud. *Mem. Lib. IX.* p. 43. Uitenb. *Hist.* p. 820. And the States of Hol. *Ans.* to Sir D. C. *Ibid.* 848.

AN^O D^O M. 1617. grant that you should exercise any jurisdiction contrary to the rights and privileges which we have reserved to our selves, and in our absence, to the said Committee, for the good and security of the Province and the Towns, and which have been constantly practised ever since the said year 1572, in these and other cases. Wherefore our peremptory resolution is, that the provisions which you have granted in the cases abovementioned, and all proceedings that followed thereupon, shall be holden as null and void, and that for the future, you shall forbear to grant any more such provisions in the like cases against the Magistrates of the respective towns, but that you shall refer the petitioners for such provisions to us or our Committee, till we shall think fit to order otherwise, and shall again admit you to the cognizance of such matters. And forasmuch as we, after mature deliberation, past an Order in the year 1591, for regulating your proceedings, in granting provisions against any of the towns of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, in such matters as ordinarily appertain to your Court of Judicature: And whereas many towns complain that you do not pursue the directions of the said order, but transgress the bounds thereof, by making explanations contrary thereto, and by acting otherwise; we think fit to inform you, that notwithstanding the aforesaid explanations or contrary practice, our positive will and pleasure is, that you shall conform your selves to the aforesaid orders and resolutions; and that whatever you shall do in opposition thereto, shall be esteemed as null and void.

As for other matters which are properly under your jurisdiction and cognizance, in conformity with our aforesaid resolutions, we shall according to our good affection towards you, support and countenance you in the just administration of the same. And so, *honourable, learned, wise, prudent, and our dear and special good Friends*, we recommend you to the Divine protection. Given at the *Hague*, the 23d of *March*, 1617.

Below was added: *By order of the States of Holland and West-Friesland.*

And it was signed by,

A. DUKE.

But this Missive had little success, as appeared plainly enough from the sequel of the divisions at *Harlem*.

The sequel of the divisions at Harlem, on account of the Ecclesiastical constitution of the year 1591.

The dispute which occasioned a schism in that town, was (not as we observed above) on account of doctrine, but of the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the year 91, and yet was continued with great obstinacy. The Malecontents endeavoured to make use of the authority of the Classis; for which reason the Magistrates thought it proper, to watch over the proceedings of the Classis assembly by their Commissioners, according to the directions of the aforesaid Constitution. But the Classis refused to admit them, and met secretly in certain villages, particularly that of *Beverwick*, which was afterwards forbidden by the States, who declared, that in case they continued their meetings, all their transactions should be esteemed null and void.

Afterwards the Classis sent two Ministers to the Assembly of the States, to pray that they might be excused from receiving the Commissioners of the Magistrates at their meetings, till such time as it should be generally approved of by the Synod of North *Holland*, under whose jurisdiction their Classis was; that so they might be upon an equal foot with the other Classes. The States gave them this answer: That they were surprized at such a Request, seeing this very thing had been formerly desired by the churches in general; but that however they would further consider of their Petition, and the reasons they alledged for it; and that in the mean while they would do well to return to their families, and to their churches, and expect what the Government should think fit to do in this, and other ecclesiastical matters, in which they were occupied at present, and of which they should speedily be informed.

¹ Trigl. p. 828.

² See our 23d Book.

There was likewise a certain long Memorial drawn up at *Harlem*, among the Members of the church, which was subscribed by above two thousand persons; in which they plainly declared, that there were above two thousand souls who found themselves obliged to absent themselves from the Communion, and prayed that all changes being laid aside, they might make their elections to ecclesiastical offices upon the old foot. The Magistrates were much displeased at this petition, and the manner of it, and returned it to them, but kept the names of the subscribers, and gave an account of the matter to the States, who sent to *Harlem* some Commissioners from among themselves to inquire into the proceedings. Upon this, four of these Malecontents repaired to the *Hague*, taking upon them the title of Deputies of the Church, and of the old Consistory, and endeavouring to justify the proceedings of their accomplices before the States; alledging what had been formerly done in the business of presenting several requests and petitions, during the persecution in the times of the Emperor *Charles V.* *Philip II.* of *Spain*, and *Henry III.* of *France*; and finally praying that their said petition, by the effectual intercession of the States, might be received by the Magistrates, and a satisfactory answer returned, to the end, as they said, that upon the compliance of the Magistrates, all further troubles, uneasinesses, and dissatisfaction might be prevented. What the States of *Holland* did further about it at their meeting on the 27th of *April*, will appear from the following entry upon their books:

A^N° D^OM
1617.
A Request of
the Malecon-
tents there.

THERE having appeared four persons, who assumed to themselves the stile and title of the Deputies of the Church, and old Consistory of *Harlem*, they presented a certain paper, in the nature of a memorial, containing the grievances of the said church, and at the same time an excuse of what had passed in the business of subscribing at *Harlem*; and the said Memorial being read, and the said persons asked whether they had any thing more to offer, and they answering in the negative, after some debate they were told, That their Memorial had been read and considered, and that the States had thereupon thought fit to require them to return home forthwith, and there to apply themselves to the Commissioners of the said States, and to the Magistrates, and excuse themselves in such manner to them who were appointed to hear them, as might be to their satisfaction; and to lay aside the title of the *Old Consistory*, which they said the Church had obliged them to assume; moreover to exhort their accomplices who were at *Harlem*, and who made use of the same title, to behave themselves quietly and peaceably for the future, and to contribute all that was in their power, to the end that the town of *Harlem* might continue in peace, religion in a flourishing state, the publick authority in safety, and the good people in love and unity. This Answer of the States was likewise ordered to be communicated to their Commissioners at *Harlem*, who are to be required to do every thing that may conduce to the re-establishment of the publick peace, and to cause all those upon whom the Church has conferred the title of the *Old Consistory*, to lay aside the same, and to make no further use thereof.

The Answer
given to their
Deputies who
presented the
Request.

After this the States commanded the Malecontents, upon their returning to the *Hague*, and testifying their sorrow for having subscribed the abovementioned Petition, to concur in restoring unity and peace among the people, to avoid schism, and to behave themselves according to what had been stipulated in the agreement made and confirmed by the *Classis*.

A Charge given
to them.

This they promised to do, to the utmost of their power; but when they returned to *Harlem*, there was little prospect of peace. They applied themselves to the late Deacons, who refused to do any thing, pretending it was not in their power to treat with the present Consistory about an accommodation of these troubles. But the Magistrates observing that the divisions and discontents increased, endeavoured to secure the peace of their town, by inlisting Warders, and requiring an oath of fidelity from those of the Militia that had not yet been sworn, and by obliging the rest to take the old oath. Some refused to do it, whose names were thereupon struck out of the roll by the Burgomasters for contumacy, and they were obliged to pay a monthly Fine. Among these was one *Elias Christianson* a Weaver, a zealous Contraremon-
C c c strant.

Warders inli-
sted at *Har-*
lem.

A N^o DOM. *frant.* This fellow refused to pay the Fine, which was 30 Styvers, or half a Crown, every month; and notwithstanding many warnings and perswasions, chose rather to let his goods be distrained, and used seditious language. Upon this, the Magistrates apprehensive of the ill consequences, if they let him escape unpunished, thought fit to proceed against him after an extraordinary manner, and without the usual forms banished him for the space of 12 years out of the town of *Harlem* and its dependencies.

1617.
Elias Christia-
nson and A-
braham de
Blok are ba-
nished the City.

One *Abraham de Blok* gave them likewise a deal of trouble. This man, as the said Magistrates since declared in print, had the confidence to accuse one of the Council, a ruling Schepen, and Deacon of the church, of several crimes, and among others, that he had been seen in a disorderly house out of town with two ill women: whereas it afterwards appeared upon enquiry, that it was not the Schepen, but one of the familiar friends of that very *Blok*, and one of those who made such an outcry about conscience in religious matters, that had been in the said house. The Burgomasters and Magistrates resented this business very much, as a thing that might be attended with bad consequences at this quarrellous time, and conduce to defame and render them odious to the people. They therefore summoned several of those who reported the story before them; who being examined, declared, that they heard it from the mouth of this *Blok*; upon which being admonished not to believe, nor spread such scandal so lightly, they were dismissed. Then *Blok* was asked upon what authority he had reported this story, whether he had seen the thing himself, or heard it from any body else, as the rest had done? But he, without contradicting what the others had said of him, refused to return any further answer, saying: *That if the said Schepen had any thing to say against him, he was ready to answer him in the proper place.*

This was looked upon as a premeditated design to affront the Magistrates, and to engage the Schepen in a tedious law-suit of slander and defamation. Therefore, after several warnings, they required him more than once to answer to the point, to purge himself, and to name his author. But he stood firm, and refused to return any other answer. Upon which they at last resolved to banish him out of the town and the liberties, for the space of 12 years, upon pain of forfeiting one hundred pounds, *Flemish*, every time he should return. The exiled persons immediately betook themselves to the Courts of Justice of *Holland*; the Judges of the Provincial Court received their Petition, but granted them no more, after having transmitted it to the Magistrates of *Harlem*, and received their answer, than a Writ of Error, by virtue of which the said Magistrates were called before their Court, but without forbidding the execution of the sentence against the two abovementioned Burghers. But this not satisfying those two Petitioners, they had recourse to the High Court of Justice, and obtained there a Provision of Appeal, by which the aforesaid Magistrates, without any hearing, were not only cited to appear before that Court, but likewise required to suspend the execution of their sentence.

The High Court
of Justice
grants the two
Exiles what
was called Pro-
vision of Ap-
peal.

Troubles on that
account.

Upon this, one of them, *Abraham de Blok*, returned to the town on a Fast-day, shewed himself publickly at the door of his house, and appeared likewise at the church among the people, hearing the Sermon both before and after noon. The same night there was search made for him at his house, but he was gone before. Then the Burgomasters and the rest of the Magistrates, declared that by returning into the town he had incurred the forfeiture of the hundred pounds *Flemish*, and they proceeded accordingly to the execution of the penalty, sending first a summons to his house. But against this the High Court of Justice granted him a penal Mandate in bar of any attempt or execution, on the part of the Magistrates during the Appeal, with a certain penalty therein expressed, and they were further required to indemnify the Petitioner of what damage he had suffered, or charges he had been at in this affair.

A Resolution
of the Commit-
tee of the States
of Holland
and West-
Friesland.

A day having been appointed for this, and for the Appeal, the Magistrates of *Harlem* thought fit upon this occasion to write a long letter about the matter, earnestly and friendly intreating them not to meddle any further in it, and to revoke and suppress the Provisions and Mandates which they had granted. — The said Magistrates applied also, by their Pensionary *John de Haen*, to the Committee of the States, praying them to second their abovementioned letter. The Committee having considered their request, agreed, by a majority of votes, to comply with it, and at the same time to answer the Missive of the High Court of Justice, wherein they

hey had complained of the transmitting the Resolutions and Order about the Fast; AN^o D^o M. 1617. as also to send a certain letter to the Provincial Court, upon the subject of transmitting the said Resolutions, also concerning the proceedings of that Court in a certain Case of *Newkop* and *Arlanderveen*, together with an account of what had been done by the Advocate-Fiscal, or Attorney-General, and a Copy of the Resolution or Direction given by the aforesaid Committee in that affair, But the Heers *Wittens* protested against those proceedings of the Committee. The Letter to the High Court of Justice was as follows :

To the Lord President, and the rest of the Members of the High Court of HOLLAND.

Honourable, Wise, Learned, Discreet, and our special Friends,

‘ HAVING seen your Rescript, bearing date the 23d of September; we must not omit, in consequence of our oaths and instructions, to acquaint you, that we cannot be otherwise perswaded, but that we, and all others who have taken an oath to our Lords the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, are bound to conform ourselves to their resolutions, without regarding any particular Members or Towns, which we likewise judge to be agreeable to the Convention of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* on the one side, and those of *Zeland* on the other, being part of your instructions; wherein it is stipulated by the States of the respective Provinces, that each of them may make what rules they please for the towns and places under their jurisdiction, with respect to the administration of Justice; as well by resolutions taken in their meetings as by ordinances of other kinds. Neither would it be difficult for us to prove, that you yourselves have formerly been of opinion, that in matters which only concerned the inhabitants of one Province, none ought to intermeddle but the States of the same Province. We are not for hindering you from representing to the Lords the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* at their meetings whatever you may judge to be defective or wanting in their previous oral or written deductions; though you may be assured there will not be wanting, on the contrary, solid reasons for defending and maintaining the pre-eminence and authority of the said States, in explaining and, as occasion offers, in changing also the commissions and instructions given by them, with respect to their own subjects, as also for defending the liberties and privileges of the towns, which have been formerly acknowledged by you, such as, for instance, the punishing of offences committed against the welfare and safety of the land, without the usual forms of tryal, and of such others which require the application of prompt remedies, pursuant to ancient usages confirmed both by former and late resolutions.

‘ * But as long as your further reasons have not been heard, and the States have not otherwise directed, we hold it for certain, that it is your duty to shew the same respect to their commands as you did formerly in the case of *John Simonson Blau-bulk*, in opposition to the Burgomasters and Magistrates of *Enkhusen*. Neither can we omit acquainting you, that it is with great concern that we hear you have lately granted a Provision against the Burgomasters and Magistrates of the town of *Harlem*, directly contrary to the Resolution of the year 1591, which was passed at the instance of one of the chief towns (*Amsterdam*;) and that even after the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* had maturely considered the matter; which resolution has not hitherto been contravened by any of the Members of that Province: and we cannot conceive that the said resolution, to which the States have hitherto adhered, has lost its force and efficacy, either by this your Rescript, or any particular precedents to the contrary. And since you may be plainly informed, by the inclosed letter from the Magistrates of *Harlem*, that it is not only for weighty reasons, but also by virtue of their ancient

C c c 2

‘ privileges

* These Reasons contained in several Letters and Memorials of the High and Provincial Courts of Justice, have been since answered by a certain large Narrative, published in favour of the States by Hugo Grotius; and may be seen in the second Volume of the third part of the Consultations; Printed at Rotterdam by J. Neranus, 1648. p. 617.

AN^o DOM.
1617.

‘ privileges and customs, that they have proceeded against those notorious Delinquents,
‘ and done all that they judged necessary for the preservation of the said town of
‘ *Harlem* in peace and tranquillity ; we trust you will not consent that a town which
‘ has deserved so well of the publick, and which is at present, troubled to such a degree
‘ by so many turbulent spirits, should be made more uneasy, or the authority of the
‘ Magistrates weakened ; at least we hope you will put a stop to all further pro-
‘ ceedings, till the States shall otherwise order, either generally or particu-
‘ larly.

‘ As for what concerns the ordaining of a publick Fast, we find that a mistake
‘ has happened without our knowledge, by your having been informed of it in an
‘ unusual manner. But this we know very well, that all the commands of the
‘ States General, in the absence of those of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, ought to be
‘ delivered to us, and are usually brought to us and to no other Colleges of the Pro-
‘ vince, to the end, that we who have the care of all affairs of State, might commu-
‘ nicate them to all other Colleges, by ordering and requiring them in the name of
‘ their High Mightinesses to conform thereto accordingly ; besides which, it is doubt-
‘ less well known to you, that the treaty concerning your Judicature, made between
‘ the States of *Holland* and *Zeland* says : That in all matters which relate to the
‘ Province of *Holland*, you shall ask the advice of the States thereof, or of their
‘ Committee ; from whence it appears, that in the absence of the said States, we sup-
‘ ply the place of the same. We therefore very kindly exhort you, not to give us
‘ cause to exert our selves with rigour and severity, in the defence of that authority
‘ which we are justly in possession of, by virtue of our commission and instructions,
‘ and which has been formerly acknowledged by you and others without scruple ;
‘ nor oblige us to trouble the States in these critical times with our complaints. And
‘ so, *honourable, wise, learned, prudent, and our especial good Friends*, we recom-
‘ mend you to the protection of God.’ Given at the *Hague*, the 4th of *October*.
1617.

Signed,

Your good friends the Committee of the States of Holland and West-Friesland:

And by their order,

A. D U I K.

The Letter to the Provincial Court ran thus :

*Another to those
of the Provinci-
al Court.*

Honourable, Learned, Wise, most Discreet, and our good Friends,
‘ **T**HOUGH we have sufficiently discharged our bounden duty, and general com-
‘ mission for executing the orders of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*,
‘ by having communicated to you the Resolutions lately past by the said States, your
‘ and our lawful Sovereigns, yet we could not omit declaring to you in the sincerest
‘ manner, that we cannot find the reasons alledged by you in your Rescript, bearing
‘ date the 29th of *September*, sufficient to justify you in granting any provisions
‘ contrary to the said resolutions and preceding directions. For that your objecti-
‘ ons and remarks (formerly made) have not as yet been communicated to the Coun-
‘ cils of the respective towns, proceeded from an apprehension that such a dispute
‘ would rather diminish than increase the respect which is due to justice : it being
‘ our settled opinion, that the States have an undoubted authority to limit and restrain
‘ (for weighty reasons) the commissions and instructions which relate to their own
‘ subjects, either by new promulgated ordinances, or by their resolutions duly
‘ notified to them : as also the several towns conceive they can plainly make appear
‘ that they are possess of a right to obviate (without the common forms of law) all
‘ attempts to disturb or indanger the publick peace, by virtue of their ancient and un-
‘ interrupted privileges, confirmed by divers resolutions of the said States, past both
‘ formerly and of late years ; examples of which, that have happened many years
‘ since, in some of the chiefest towns are not unknown to you. But whilst the con-
‘ sideration

‘ fideration of your reasons is depending, we hold it for certain, that you will do good AN^O D^O M.
1617.
‘ service to your country, by continuing to act according to custom, in obedience to
‘ the commands of your Sovereigns, as you have formerly done with great prudence
‘ and sagacity in matters relating to the differences among the Clergy. That all Reso-
‘ lutions should pass unanimously, is next to impossible; and many orders (much
‘ more the elections of Counsellors) are made by plurality of voices. Neither are
‘ your judgments or sentences less effectually executed, because past by a majority.
‘ And if in such cases nothing could be transacted but with an entire unanimity, the
‘ objection would lie as strong against your Court, as against the Assembly of the
‘ States themselves. And although the lesser number of the towns, should own your
‘ judicature in such matters as the greater number think unreasonable, yet in these
‘ countries (in which there is such a diversity in the privileges, customs and usages)
‘ it is neither strange nor absurd that there should be a difference in the administra-
‘ tion of justice, with respect to different towns.

‘ We have been lately informed, that you have granted provisions contrary to the
‘ aforesaid resolutions, upon the application of one *Jeremiah Richardson* an *English-*
‘ *man*, who lives at *Newkop*, with some of his associates; but we cannot omit tel-
‘ ling you in a friendly manner, that we have been informed that the said *Richard-*
‘ *son*, with six or seven of his consorts (who without any difficulty, might at any
‘ time have heard Ministers of their own persuasion, not far from the said place)
‘ have by their holding separate conventicles, without the least necessity, occasioned
‘ disturbances in that village, and brought themselves and others into great dangers;
‘ having also joined themselves to a few of the inhabitants of *Arlanderveen*, who fre-
‘ quent the same Conventicle, notwithstanding they could hear Ministers of their own
‘ opinion in places much nearer, and more conveniently; as you may be satisfied,
‘ if you desire it, from the mouth of the Advocate Fiscal himself. And forasmuch as
‘ we observe that troubles may arise from hence, especially since there is less order
‘ or authority in the open country than in towns, we have given such directions
‘ therein, for the discharge of our duty, as you will find by the inclosed paper. We
‘ therefore desire you, for prevention of all further troubles, not to proceed in this
‘ affair, but to suspend the whole, till the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* shall
‘ otherwise direct, either generally or particularly. And so, *honourable, learned,*
‘ *wise, very discreet, and special good Friends*, we recommend you to the grace of
‘ God.’ Given at the *Hague*, the 4th of *October*, 1617.

Your good Friends the COMMITTEE.

And by their order,

A. DU IK.

The Resolution relating to the differences at *Newkop*, which was inclosed in this letter from the Committee, though not agreed to by the Deputies of *Dort* and *Amsterdam*, was as follows:

‘ Upon the Representation of the Officers of Justice at *Newkop* and *Arlanderveen*, *A Resolution
of the Com-
mittee with
reference to a
certain dispute
at Newkop.*
‘ in conjunction with the Magistrates and Consistory, it was resolved, after some
‘ debate, by the majority as follows. The Committee having heard both sides, and
‘ not being able to bring them to any accommodation, declare, That being informed
‘ that the complainants may be easily served in the neighbouring churches which
‘ are of the same opinion; and that if this could be brought about, it would be less
‘ dangerous to the parties themselves, and that disturbances might also be avoided in
‘ the places where the case happens: Their Honours therefore exhort and command
‘ them to behave themselves peaceably, and to forbear their private meetings and
‘ preachings, till the States of the Province shall be assembled, and their Lordships
‘ shall have further deliberated upon the matter, or given other orders.

‘ In the mean while they charge the officers of *Newkop* to take care by the most
‘ proper and convenient methods, that these directions be complied with, and all in-
‘ conveniences obviated in the best manner possible; and they likewise ordain, that
‘ a letter be writ to the *Classis* of *Woerden*, acquainting them with what appears by
‘ the

AN^O DOM. 1617. the examination of the parties themselves, and the confession of the Minister of *Newkop*, to wit, the omission of the teaching of the Catechism, and an alteration made in the Formulary of *Woerden* in the administration of the Lord's-Supper; and desiring to know the reasons thereof, and whether it were not better to adhere still to the ancient practice, and to prevent the schism, and in the mean while to use all endeavours for promoting unity, and for propagating the true Christian Religion.'

The Committee of the States write a second time to those of the High Court of Justice, to put a stop to their proceedings.

But as the Gentlemen of the High Court of Justice took no notice of these applications, but went on with their proceedings against the Magistrates of *Harlem*, notice was given them, on the 17th of *November*, by a Letter from the Lords of the Committee, that they should put a stop to those proceedings till the approaching Assembly of the States—After which a letter was sent them by the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, dated the 22d of *December*, requiring them to take no further cognizance of this affair, but to refer the complainants to them, the said States. But since some of that Court did not scruple to say, that they intended to proceed forthwith to judgment, the Magistrates of *Harlem* returned to the States, informing them of what had been given out.

A Resolution of the States.

Upon this they came to the following Resolution, on the 21st of *February* of the next year: 'The Deputies of *Harlem* having been again heard, and the business of *Abraham de Blok* and *Elias Christianfon* (the Burghers lately banished from that town) having been again debated; it is the opinion of the States that this is a matter of policy, and relates to the preservation of the publick peace in the said town, and that it ought therefore to be determined in this Assembly; and the Gentlemen of the High Court of Justice are hereby required to transmit all the papers and documents concerning the same, to the end that this Assembly may act therein as they shall see meet.'

The High Court of Justice proceeds notwithstanding to pass Sentence.

The Resolution of the States thereupon.

But the said Court, instead of laying the papers before the States, proceeded to pass sentence against the Magistrates of *Harlem*; who applying again to the States, obtained the following Order, on the 14th of *March*:

'AS for the complaint of the Deputies of *Harlem* against the sentence which the Gentlemen of the High Court of Justice passed in the case of *Abraham de Blok* and *Elias Christianfon*, (the Burghers exiled from that town) it is agreed by the plurality of voices: That a letter be writ to the said Court in the name of this Assembly, signifying how much we are surprized, that they, notwithstanding the notice which had been given them that this Assembly would take the cognizance of the matter, had yet presumed to pass sentence about it; which we can look upon no otherwise than as done in contempt of our authority; and that therefore, after mature consideration of the premises, we declare their judgment to be null and void, as if no such had ever been made; and do strictly charge them not to put the same in execution; but according to former orders to transmit the evidence and papers of that affair to this Assembly, to the end, that after the said Magistrates have been heard, and what they have to object against it has been weighed by us, we may proceed with full cognizance of the cause as shall be thought just and reasonable.

But the Deputies of *Amsterdam* declared they could not agree to this Resolution, and desired that an entry might be made of their dissent. Such a letter however was writ in the name of the States according to the tenor of the abovesaid Resolution.

Nevertheless the said Court granted an execution of their Judgment, to wit, certain letters whereby one of their Messengers was authorized actually to execute their sentence.

Upon which the Gentlemen of *Harlem* published a Justification of their proceedings, on the 19th of *April* following; in the preamble of which they made use of these expressions.

Whereas

A N^o D O M.

1617.

*A Justification
of the Proce-
dures of the
Magistrates of
Harlem.*

‘ **W**Hereas many factious and turbulent persons are every where found, who have no other design, but, under the specious pretext and cloak of Justice, Conscience, and Religion, to introduce novelties and changes into the present laudable State and Government of these countries, under which we have hitherto lived with great ease and prosperity, and by the care and conduct of our Sovereigns, next to the assistance of Almighty God, after such a heavy and dangerous war against so powerful an enemy, have attained to so happy, honourable, and glorious an issue: Which persons, to compass their ends, have not scrupled to animate and excite the good community against their lawful Governours and Magistrates, and against the best and most faithful Patriots, (who from the very beginning of the war have given unquestionable proofs of their affection to their country, by word and deed, with life and fortune, and always acquitted themselves with courage and constancy, as well in adversity as in prosperity) publickly aspersing them with false and malicious reports, and endeavouring to render them odious to the said Community; in order, were it possible, to exclude them from any share in the publick administration, the more easily to bring about their own wicked purposes. And whereas our City, alas, is not entirely free from such ill-designing people; therefore the Burgomasters (in order seasonably to provide against their designs, and to preserve the Burghers and Inhabitants in peace, unity, and security, from such factious and seditious proceedings) have thought fit and necessary (besides inlisting of Warders) to tender the proper oath of fidelity to those of the Militia who have not taken the same, and besides, to require the same in general of all the rest of that body.

[Then they recited the cases of *Elias Christianson* and *Abraham de Blok*, together with their banishment from the City, setting forth the right of the Magistracy to treat after such a manner all turbulent and dangerous persons, and complaining at the same time of the injury which, as they conceived, the High Court of Justice had done them in that affair; according to what we have shown above. And then they concluded their Manifesto in the following terms:]

‘ ——— That they had therefore thought fit to print and publish their Apology, and, at the same time, to warn and desire the Gentlemen of the High Court of Justice, that in order to prevent further disputes concerning their authority, and to hinder justice (or the course of it) from sinking into greater disrespect and contempt, they would forbear to trouble themselves any further with these or the like affairs; forasmuch as they neither would nor could (consistently with the preservation of the authority of the States and the Magistrates, or with the security of the rights and privileges of their Town, together with the tranquillity, peace, and unity of the good Burghers and people) suffer those banished persons to return into the town of *Harlem*; and therefore they expressly and peremptorily forewarned all Officers and Messengers of the aforesaid Court, and all others whom it might concern, not to presume, by virtue of the aforesaid null and invalid sentence, to undertake or attempt any execution, or use other means against, and in prejudice of their proceedings, with respect to the aforesaid banishment. Neither (*added they*) shall the aforesaid *Abraham de Blok* and *Elias Christianson* in any wise presume or venture, under pretext of the aforesaid null and invalid sentence, to come back into the town, or attempt any other thing against our aforesaid sentence of banishment, or other proceedings, on pain of being treated as abettors of the aforesaid undutifulness and disobedience of those of the said High Court against the positive Resolutions, Commands, and Prohibitions of the States of this Province, their lawful Sovereigns; and of being made examples to others.

I was willing to join all these matters together, though mostly of a political or civil concern, partly because they were so nearly related to the differences that were crept into the Church, and partly to give my Reader some idea of the situation and circumstances of those times, and especially to show what a low ebb the authority of the States was sunk to, which frequently administered an occasion of rendering their orders, with regard to ecclesiastical persons and things, ineffectual.

But at the same time that the Courts of Judicature thus set themselves to oppose the States, their Members were not a little divided among themselves, particularly those

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those of the High or Supreme Court, where the divisions ran so high, that the Heer *Rombout Hogerbeets*, one of the Judges of the said Court, began to talk of laying down that office, as he actually did, some time after, when the Magistrates of *Leyden* called him to the employment of Pensionary of their town.

But the state of these differences may be best understood from certain memoirs, which the said Gentleman has left behind him, whose very words I chuse to make use of here, as well because of my knowledge of the writer, and of his character, as because I am pretty sure, that even some of the discreetest among the *Contraremonstrants* look upon him, (notwithstanding he publicly adhered to the opinions of the *Remonstrants*, and blamed the separation of the Cloister-church) not only as an eminent Lawyer, and a Judge without censure or blame, but also as a Gentleman of inviolable integrity.

In his Memoirs he addresses himself to his children in the following terms:

A Relation of
certain mat-
ters which
passed in the
High Court
of Justice,
taken from the
Memoirs of the
Heer Rom-
bout Hoo-
gerbeets.

‘ The reason why I quitted my post in the High Court of Justice, and engaged my self again in the service of the town of *Leyden*, (to which I was earnestly invited by the Magistrates) was, because I found myself daily treated very unhand-
‘ somely by the greater part of my Colleagues, for not joining with them against the
‘ resolution of the States of *Holland*, and for declaring my opinion to be, that, as ser-
‘ vants, we were obliged to obey their commands, or else, in case they should take
‘ any resolutions which were unreasonable, or prejudicial to the nation, humbly and
‘ respectfully to remonstrate against the same; and in case such Remonstrances pro-
‘ duced no change in their measures, that then it was our duty not to make any fur-
‘ ther opposition; but that if our consciences would not suffer us to submit to, or
‘ comply with their orders, we were at liberty to quit the service as was formerly
‘ practised; this being, in my opinion, all that our Court could do.

‘ Upon this there passed several debates, which lasted a long time, till the States
‘ came finally to the Resolution of the 4th of *August* 1617, and communicated the
‘ same to the aforesaid Court, whereby, among other things, it was ordered, That the
‘ Courts of Justice should neither grant any more Provisions, nor take any cognizance
‘ of what the Burgomasters, or Magistrates of any of the towns in *Holland*, should
‘ think fit to order, do, or execute, for preventing or opposing any riots or tumults;
‘ and that if any persons thought themselves aggrieved, and were inclined to appeal,
‘ they should carry their complaints to no other Court, but to the Assembly of the
‘ States, and that whatever should be done contrary thereto, either by the aforesaid
‘ Courts of Justice, or by any others, should be deemed void and of no effect.

‘ But against this Resolution the Deputies of *Amsterdam*, *Enkhusen*, *Edam*, and
‘ *Purmerent*, in the beginning of *September* following, declared in both those
‘ Courts, that the said Resolution was not passed unanimously, as it ought to
‘ have been; and that they were of opinion, that by this means the inhabitants of
‘ *Holland* were deprived of the right of appealing to the Courts of Justice, acknow-
‘ ledging however, that there were some cases in which no Appeal lay to the said
‘ Courts, according to the privileges and customs of the Towns.

‘ By these means the said Courts were, in my opinion, so animated and incou-
‘ raged in the opposition they made against the major part of the towns of *Holland*,
‘ and in the augmentation of their own authority by laying hold of this opportunity,
‘ that they maintained that the said Resolution was not valid, because it was not pass-
‘ ed with an entire unanimity; and besides, that it was the duty of the Colleges or
‘ Courts of Justice, to take care that the rights which belonged to the subject by
‘ virtue of antient grants, should be preserved to them inviolate; offering other argu-
‘ ments of the like nature in defense of those provisions, which they had already
‘ granted to some banished persons against the Magistrates of *Harlem*, contrary to
‘ the aforesaid Resolution. And forasmuch as I, and some few of my Colleagues re-
‘ fused our consent, and since the rest of the Judges were apprehensive of being hin-
‘ dered in their designs by us, whom they could not bring over to themselves, by
‘ the strength of the said arguments, because we insisted, that in the Assembly of the
‘ States, the resolutions had always passed by a majority of votes, excepting only in the
‘ business of the taxes, and alteration of Government, *que exceptio in ceteris confirmat*
‘ *regulam*; and that it did not belong to the said Colleges, to take care that the peo-
‘ ples rights should be maintained inviolably; since there was nothing more com-

mitted

mitted to them, than to do justice between man and man; whereas it appertained to the States of the Province, to take care for the preservation of the common rights of the subjects, who alone represented the said subjects, and who likewise had the sole right of enlarging or restraining the instructions and commissions of the Courts according as they found it most for the benefit of the people, without any contravention of their privileges; and also because the aforesaid Resolution of the States does only affect those cases which relate to the publick tranquillity, wherein the Magistrates of old, frequently proceeded in their own towns by way of correction, from which in those times, no appeal to the Colleges of Justice was ever allowed, but only to the States themselves; as has been decreed by several former resolutions; particularly in the famous case of the Yonkers *Cornelius* and *John vander Myle*, against the Magistrates of the town of *Dort*; they therefore finding they could not prevail by all the arguments above mentioned, tried to bring us to their devotion by another method, and accordingly they agreed and obtained, without my knowledge, that the Prince, accompanied by the Gentlemen of the Provincial Court, should come to the chamber of the High Court of Justice, to the end that they might jointly consider of the Resolution of the States, and then draw up a counter Order; which my conscience not permitting me to approve, as being a thing never practised since the establishment of such a Court; I said to his Excellency: *That I could not be present with a safe conscience, where people took upon them to question the power and authority of the States of Holland, whom I acknowledged for my Sovereigns, and to whom I had sworn allegiance and subjection.* His Excellency thereupon returned me the following answer: *That he likewise owned the States for such, but for all that, people might hear one another;* desiring I would sit down in my place. In the meanwhile, the Heers Presidents *Veenbusen* and *Rukebaver*, together with the Heers *Rosendale*, *Schoterbos*, *Berkhout* and *Brederode*, declared their desire, that for the same reasons which I had alledged, they might have leave to depart too. But upon the pressing instances of the Prince, that we would only sit down and hear the reasons of other Gentlemen, in order to try whether we could be convinced, we suffered our selves to be perswaded, and so staid till past noon in the Assembly, where the Magistrates of *Harlem* (before they were heard at all in their own defence) were accused of having acted arbitrarily and tyrannically against their Burghers, and told that the condemned persons having made their application to the Courts of Justice, the ordinary provision of appeal could not be denied them: just as if the States themselves had neither the power, nor ability of administering justice and equity, but that it belonged to the aforesaid Courts, exclusively of their Sovereigns. And after having used many arguments against the aforesaid Resolution of the States, they desired we would likewise deliver our opinions in the case. Upon which I, being asked, said: *I had not as yet, heard any reasons capable of convincing me that I ought not to obey the repeated commands of our Sovereigns, and that it was enough for me that the aforesaid Resolution was solemnly transmitted to us by our said Sovereigns the States, with orders to conform our selves to it, which I designed to comply with.* The rest of the Gentlemen, who were of my opinion, did in effect declare the same thing; and so the Assembly broke up without coming to any conclusion.

The next day, the Gentlemen of the High Court met by themselves; and notwithstanding that I declared I could not vote with them, and that there were but six of the Judges (whereas according to their rules, they could do nothing unless seven were present) they agreed, that a letter should be writ to the Committee of the States, to signify that they could not comply with the Resolution of the 4th of *August*, but were resolved to go on with their proceedings against the Magistrates of *Harlem*, and that a Memorial should be drawn up and transmitted to the Senate or Council of every town, setting forth their reasons against the aforesaid Resolution. From all which observing how hard it would be for me to live well with my colleagues for the future, I began to meditate a resignation of my office, and a silent retreat for my old age. Whilst I was considering these matters, I was surprised with an unexpected visit of the Heer *Francis van Torenfleet*, one of the Burgo-masters of *Leyden*, who came from thence to the *Hague*, to propose to me, and

A^N D O M. earnestly to press me † to accept once again the office of Pensionary of that town, for the good of the publick, in the stead of the Heer *Nicolas Zeyft*, lately deceased.

The Magistrates of Leyden take a Resolution for their security.

He proceeds to inform us in his Memoirs, that he took some time to consider of it, and at last promised the said Magistrates of *Leyden*, that he would accept of the office for the space of 9 years. That being afterwards invited to the annual feast of the said Magistrates on the 26th of *November*, and desired to assist them that week, in order to propose to the great Council the articles of the summons, and to take minutes of the things that should be then agreed upon, he went to *Leyden* at the appointed time. That he was hardly arrived there, when he was called up at midnight by one of the town Messengers, and desired to attend the Burgomasters at the Stadthouse. When he came thither, he says, he found the occasion to be, that they had received notice from the *Hague* (by the means of the Advocate, as it was thought) that his Excellency would leave the place that night, and that it was rumored that he designed to go directly to *Leyden*, which was a very great surprize to the Burgomasters who had not been warned of his coming, as had been the custom at other times; and they suspected that his coming might be intended to bring privately into the town a new Garrison of Soldiers, as had been lately done at the *Bril*; or at least to discharge their new Warders; on which proceedings they feared, tumults and bloodshed might easily ensue. For these reasons they thought it proper to assemble the Militia without beat of Drum, and as privately as possible, as also to forbid ringing the morning bell, and to keep the gates shut a little longer than usually; to the end that no Soldiers might be admitted without their knowledge and consent. They likewise resolved, that upon further notice of his Excellency's coming, some Commissioners should go and meet him, and acquaint him with their fears and apprehensions, and earnestly intreat him, that for avoiding all occasions of disturbances in these dangerous times, he would be pleased to forbear visiting the town of *Leyden* for the present. And they further agreed, that notice should be given to the towns of *Harlem*, *Gouda* and *Woerden* (as neighbours) of the sudden departure of his Excellency from the *Hague*, to the end that they might be likewise on their guard, in case any design were formed against them.

All this was resolved in the presence of the Heer *Hogerbeets*; tho' before he was actually sworn into the service of the town. But his Excellency taking his journey at that time to *Delft*, *Schiedam* and southward, the Trained Bands were dismissed in the morning, and the gates opened, without the peoples knowing why they had been raised.

Prince Maurice comes to Delft. His Proposal.

In the Memoirs of *William Kittenstein*, one of the Deacons of *Delft*, and a *Contraremonstrant*, it is related, that his Excellency on the 26th of this month, had given notice to the Magistrates to summon a meeting of the Council of XL. against the next day: that he was introduced by the Militia then in arms, and coming to the Stadthouse, gave his hand to each of them, and then made his proposal tending to the calling a National Synod: saying, *That he had taken an oath to defend the true Christian Reformed Religion, concerning which, many disputes had arisen: That he knew not the meaning of it: That these matters ought to be discusst in a Provincial and National Synod, which he earnestly recommended to them, to the end that he might know how he was to behave himself on such an occasion.* What answer was returned him, does not appear: But in the afternoon he went from *Delft* to *Schiedam*, where he lay the same night; the following day to *Rotterdam*, and from thence to *Dort* and *Gornichem*, at all which places his Excellency exhorted the Magistrates to agree to a Synod.

From other Memoirs it may be observed, that his Excellency likewise made mention to the several Senates of the towns through which he passed, of the differences between the Courts of Justice and most of the towns, and seemed to favour the former. He spoke also about the Warders, and said they ought to be discharged. For the same purposes the following letter was calculated, which he writ to the Senates of the towns of *Holland*, or at least to some of them.

† He had served there in the same station from the month of November, 1590, to June 1596. ¹ Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 97.

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Maurice Prince of Orange, Count of Nassaw and Meurs;
and Marquiss of Ter Veere.

Honourable, Wise, Discreet, Dear, and Particular,

‘ **H**OW deplorable and dangerous the State of this Country is at present, by reason of the disputes about religion, and others resulting from thence, is so notorious, that it must needs be perfectly known to all you Gentlemen, whom it so nearly concerns. And since we judge nothing more necessary, than whilst there is yet time to use our utmost diligence, to the end that all misunderstandings may be obviated in the most convenient manner, the usual peace and tranquillity restored, and the State re-established in its pristine lustre; and being greatly apprehensive that endeavours may be used to proceed according to the Resolution of the 4th of *August*, without the unanimous concurrence of the mutually disagreeing Members (which would doubtless be the occasion of making things worse, instead of better) and that (which God forbid!) our divisions and animosities may administer an occasion to the common enemy, to invade our country thus distracted and divided, and to render themselves masters of it: we could not therefore, in consistence with our duty, forbear in the most solemn manner, to recommend to your care the peace and unity of your State, and to exhort you to direct all your zeal and all your counsels, so as that all matters may be settled with due circumspection and moderation, and that it may appear, that your chiefest view is the repose and tranquillity of your country. It is for this purpose, that we earnestly exhort you to take care that your Deputies may not come to any resolution or determination upon such matters as will be laid before them at the next Assembly, till you, their Principals, shall be fully informed and apprized of the same; to the end that all remonstrances and deductions being first duly weighed and resolved upon by the respective Senates or Councils, they, the Deputies, may receive from them such orders and instructions as shall be judged necessary for the welfare and preservation of the land; especially since the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, or their Committee, have been frequently intreated by most of the other Provinces in the Assembly of the States General, to consent to the holding a National Synod, upon condition that a Provincial Synod should first meet here, as well as in other Provinces, according to the Resolution of the greater part of them at the Assembly of the States General. We therefore think it adviseable, that your Deputies should come to the next meeting of the States of *Holland*, with instructions to consent at once to the holding the said National Synod, and a previous Provincial one, and to help to promote them upon the same foot as has been formerly practised in this and other Provinces. For there never was any more proper method found among Christians of all countries, for accommodating controversies in religion, than by such ecclesiastical meetings; especially such as are held under the direction of the Civil Magistrate. And accordingly it is our opinion, that no better method can be thought of, or put in practice in this country, than that abovementioned, for preventing those pernicious disputes, without prejudice or diminution either of the common or peculiar authority and rights of the Provinces, and for maintaining an universal harmony in matters of religion.

A Letter of his Excellency Prince Maurice to the Senates of some of the Cities of Holland.

‘ And since next to Religion, Justice is the chief foundation of all States and Commonwealths, and cannot be denied to the subjects upon any pretence whatever, without a manifest violation of their rights and privileges; and since the administration of justice is the reason why the ordinary Colleges or Courts are erected, it follows, that it ought not to be diverted, retarded or obstructed; especially since, by its interposition, peace; and unity may be the better established. For it is not to be doubted, but the said Colleges will use all the lenity and moderation that is consistent with justice, with respect to the present quarrels about religion and such other disputes as are intermixed.

‘ And whereas the raising or levying Wardens, has not only been found to burden the country with unnecessary charges, but likewise to give occasion to greater troubles

AN^o DOM. 1617. *bles among the good people of the towns, by which means confusions in the State, and jealousies against the Magistrates, daily increase ; it is therefore the more necessary to promote the service and welfare of the land, by the discharge of that kind of Militia, in consequence of some seasonable resolution upon that head.*

And since the new oaths and engagements which are designed to be tendered to Officers and Soldiers, and which the garrisons in some places have been already forced to submit to, are liable to great objections, and are very grievous to our own person, we doubt not but you will use such prudence and discretion in this matter, as that the proper and necessary respect which has been, and still ought to be, paid us by the Army, may not be impaired, to the lessening us before all the world, as indeed, on account of our fidelity, and the services we have rendered to these Provinces, we have never deserved, nor given occasion for such treatment ; being likewise resolved to persevere in the same to the utmost. And so, Honourable, Wise, Discreet, Dear, and Particular, we recommend you to God. Given at the Hague, November 1617.

Your Good Friend,

MAURICE of N A S S A W.

Proposals made and resolved upon in the Senate of Leyden.

At *Leyden*, where the Heer *Hogerbeets* had taken the oaths, as Burgher and Pensionary of the town on the 29th of this month, the Council, or Senate, assembled the day following. Here the Articles of the Summons were proposed, which with several other pieces had been transmitted to them, and among the rest, the Defence of the Resolution of the 4th of *August*, which was read and approved in all its branches. There was likewise read at the same time a certain letter of his Excellency, (doubtless that we just now mentioned) and resolutions taken thereupon conformably to the minutes which the Deputies carried with them to the Assembly. But the consideration of the pieces sent to the respective Councils, or Senates, by the Colleges of Justice, contrary to the usual manner (which is, that all such pieces be immediately addressed to the Committee of the States, who then resolve, whether, and when, the same shall be communicated to the Towns) was adjourned to another time ; because the said Council of *Leyden* were desirous to see whether other Councils received the same, and came to any resolutions thereupon, or not ; and further, because the Members of this Council were of opinion, that Courts of Justice ought first to show their own obedience, and put a stop to their proceedings, which they had begun to execute against the Resolution of the 4th of *August*, before any attention was given to their Remonstrances. —

At this Assembly, the proposal of calling a National Synod was again rejected, and it was declared, that the other Provinces had no right to impose the same upon this of *Holland*. The aforesaid Heer *Hogerbeets*, who was present when this Resolution was taken, says, in his Memoirs, that being but newly come among them, and not knowing how matters had passed before, he did not offer any reasons to induce the Council to take the said resolution ; and that at the same Assembly, those orders and instructions were all adjusted and concluded, conformably to which, he and his fellow Deputies ever after regulated themselves at all meetings of the States, which to the day of his imprisonment (of which we shall make mention) were nothing but recesses and adjournments upon the articles abovementioned ; and he adds, that he never did, nor said any thing but what he was charged to do or say, or what he was obliged to by his office and profession.

With these resolutions he and four more Gentlemen were deputed to the Assembly of the States, on the part of *Leyden*, but before his appearance there, his Collegues gave an account, by the mouth of the Advocate of *Holland*, of the engagement he had entered into with the said town, for the space of nine years, and prayed that he might be released from the office of Judge, or Counsellor, of the High Court of Justice for that time, upon condition that if, the nine years being elapsed, he should quit the place of Pensionary with the leave of the States and the Magistrates, he might then resume the same station he formerly enjoyed in that Court. This was agreed to by the States. But before we go on to give an account of the proceedings of this Assembly,

bly, it will be necessary to say something of a dispute that happened among some of AN^O DOM. the Members about the articles of the summons.

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The Deputies of *Amsterdam, Enkbusen, Edam, and Purmerent*, appeared at the meeting of the Committee of the States, where they presented some articles, in order to be inserted in the summons; among which articles, there was one that related to the dispute between some of the Towns and the Colleges of Justice; another regarded the business of the Warders, and others, the controversies of religion, in which it was affirmed, 'That the exercise of the *Reformed* religion was obstructed in several places, and that the matter ought to be more maturely considered, and such provisional methods embraced as might be most edifying and practicable, according to the present constitution of the Provinces and Churches; and that the advices and schemes which were proposed to the States-General about it, should be notified and transmitted to the Members of the Province of *Holland*, to the end they might come to a resolution.

But the Deputies of the eight towns of *Harlem, Leyden, Gouda, Rotterdam, Schonehoven, the Brill, Alkmaer, and Horn*, appearing afterwards at the said meeting of the Committee, desired copies of these propositions made by the other four towns, in order to lay them before their Principals, and prayed, that the drawing up the articles of summons might be suspended during the deliberation. Being returned, they refused to consent that these articles, which in their opinion were incompatible with the rights and privileges of the land, and with the authority of the States, should be inserted among the articles of summons, till they had offered their remarks upon them.

The Deputies of *Dort* joined themselves to the abovementioned four towns, and earnestly insisted upon gratifying their request. Hereupon happened a debate. The eight towns drew up an account of their reasons, which they desired might be circulated, together with the articles of the four towns. At the first, most of the Members of the Committee were against transmitting either the reasons or articles; but they came at last to a different resolution, as will appear by the following Letter:

Honourable, Wise, Prudent, and most Discreet,

BEFORE the drawing up of those articles, which are to be the subject of the consideration of the Nobles and Towns, at their meeting in quality of the States of *Holland*, on the 4th of *December*, there were offered to us, in the name of the towns of *Amsterdam, Enkbusen, Edam, and Purmerent*, the articles which we send you herewith, indorsed No. I. of which several Towns having been informed they sent their Deputies, who desired us, among other things, that the articles delivered by the four towns might not be inserted in the summons, till after they had offered their remarks. Upon which the summons was at first put off by us for some days; and afterwards having further considered of the present state and circumstances of the country and towns, we thought it would be most for the service of the Province, that neither the articles offered by the four towns, nor what the others objected against them, should be communicated at all, in hopes that the Nobles and Towns would, upon seriously considering matters, dispose themselves (as they are exhorted by the first article of the summons) to unity and harmony in their resolutions; and that if they did so, there would be no occasion to enter into any examination of the reasons produced by either party, and that consequently all handles to further pernicious controversies might be cut off.

But since we are informed, that his Excellency has proposed, and in effect recommended the aforementioned articles of the four towns, both by word of mouth, and by writing in some places, and in others by circular letters, we have found it necessary, in order to prevent the dissatisfaction of the other towns, and all delay of affairs, to transmit likewise herewith, the reasons and arguments of these last towns, as you will find them in No. II. at the same time intreating you in the most friendly manner, carefully to consider of the present state of the land, maturely to weigh all these matters among yourselves, and fully to instruct your Deputies

AN^o DOM. 1617. puties how to act therein. And so, *Honourable, Wise, Prudent, and most Dis-*
creeet, we recommend you to the Grace of God. *Given at the Hague, the 30th*
of November, 1617.

By Order of the Committee of the States.

Signed,

A. DUKE.

The deduction, or account of the reasons and views of the eight towns, to which the above Letters refer, never fell into my hands.

On the 8th of *December* the States of *Holland* came together, and the Advocate on the 13th giving an account of his services, age, and infirmities, prayed that he might be discharged, or at least excused from attending, till his health were in some measure recruited; but the Assembly were of opinion that they could not spare him.

On the 15th of the same month Monsieur *de Maurier*, Envoy from the King of *France*, came to the Assembly, where he made the following speech, containing several arguments and exhortations to mutual peace among the Members:

My Lords,

*A Speech of the
French Envoy
Maurier made
in the Assembly
of the States of
Holland.*

THE Province of *Holland*, which is represented by this Assembly, is so considerable a Member of the body of the States-General, (which two days after my return hither, I had the honour of saluting in the name of the King my Master) that having discharged my duty to all the Provinces collectively, I may by consequence be reputed to have done it to this so noble a part. But this Province being in so great reputation, his Majesty has been pleased to order me, on his behalf, to wait upon your Lordships in particular at your meeting, not only as an eye-witness to acquaint you with the continuation of his health and the prosperous success of his affairs, but also to give you fresh assurances of his friendship, which is now more capable than formerly of producing much good to the *United Provinces*, and especially to that of *Holland*.

His Majesty knowing that this Province has always been well affected towards his service, even during the course of the troubles which formerly arose in his kingdom, and which were renewed since his accession to the throne, has commanded me to acquaint you how agreeable it is to him, and to desire you to continue the same good inclinations; promising that in all matters in which he shall be sensible of his ability to promote your welfare, he will do it with all his heart.

Of this he can give you no better proof for the present, than the testifying his concern which he feels for the unusual disorders which are observed among your Lordships; proceeding from certain differences which he cannot conceive to be of such importance as to deserve such warm debates, that are sufficient to dissolve the bands of unity.

And as his Majesty, during the disturbances in his own dominions, was rendered sensible of the gratitude of this State, by the kind offers of their assistance, which were made with such readiness as sometimes to prevent his desire of it in the midst of danger, so he is pleased of his own motion to discharge himself of the obligation in this emergency, by offering to assist you, with all his might, in order to put a speedy end to these your dangerous differences; being sensible, that they are so prejudicial to your affairs, that if you suffer them in the least degree to proceed, the effect will soon be a visible diminution of your strength, and a contempt of your dignity, the principal sinews of this and all other Governments.

This and the other Provinces have many years struggled with so much bravery for the recovery of their ancient liberties, and by their unanimity, and his Majesty's assistance, have had the good fortune to secure them in such manner, that your enemies cannot but observe with sorrow of heart, that all their plots for ruining you are miscarried. And can you, without the utmost regret, by means of your divisions on account of your different views and opinions, prevail with yourselves to revive in them the hopes of attaining their ends?

It

‘ It is not long, since all the world compared your Province to the Common-wealth AN^o DOM^o 1617.
of *Lacedemon*. Every body owned that they both resembled a numerous family
‘ united by a brotherly affection. But now, on the contrary, nothing but suspicions
‘ and jealousies reign among you, insomuch that the band of your brotherly union
‘ is dissolved by that very thing by which you ought to be more firmly united. It
‘ is certain, that the History of this Province, and many credible witnesses now
‘ living, relate to your great honour, that the free genius of the *Netherlands* first ex-
‘ erted its chiefest strength with success in this Province; which set a good example,
‘ and animated the neighbouring Provinces with the resolution of aspiring to the same
‘ happiness. This ought the more to induce you to preserve the Glory you have ac-
‘ quired by this noble action, and to take the greater care, that the same liberty
‘ which has, as it were, been born a-new among you, and which has hitherto main-
‘ tained its ground by your union and confederacy, may not meet with the occasion
‘ of its death in the same country, by the springing up of such fatal divisions.

‘ Your Lordships have experienced, with how much affection the late King *Henry*
‘ *the Great*, of immortal memory, and his Majesty now reigning, have been concerned
‘ for your welfare; insomuch, that they have lavished excessive sums for your pre-
‘ servation, in order to establish you in that happy condition which you now enjoy
‘ with so much satisfaction; and will you now occasion him that grief, and your
‘ selves that hurt, (now that nothing more remains than to preserve yourselves in the
‘ same state) as to be the contrivers of your own divisions and mischiefs, hazarding
‘ by these unseasonable disputes all the benefits you have formerly received from
‘ their Majesties, as well as the hopes of future ones, and every thing else that has
‘ ever been esteemed the most valuable.

‘ For to speak the truth, if you delay coming to a resolution any longer, what can
‘ you otherwise expect, than to involve yourselves in that ruin which follows you so
‘ close at your heels, and thereby also to deprive your friends both of the will and power
‘ of assisting you any longer? For they must needs think their endeavours of support-
‘ ing you very ill bestowed, if you yourselves either so rashly despise your own wel-
‘ fare, or despairing of your preservation, neglect the means of attaining it.

‘ It would therefore be the same thing in effect as betraying your Lordships, if
‘ one should dissemble or conceal from you, the mischiefs you are to fear, if you go
‘ on with these divisions; which are no less than the fulying your glory, and the
‘ subversion of the foundations upon which your Republick is built, which being
‘ once over-turned, will be re-established with greater difficulty than that with
‘ which it was raised to so great a height. Add to this, that the shame of not being
‘ able to preserve so great a blessing as this which you have acquired, will be much
‘ more than the dishonour of having never obtained it.

‘ From hence it is, that the inclination which his Majesty bears you (as it were)
‘ by inheritance, moves him to set these matters before your eyes, and to conjure
‘ you, as he does in the most serious manner, firmly to re-unite both hands and
‘ hearts, and to aim at one and the same mark, I mean your ancient concord, to the
‘ end that you may return by the shortest way to your former condition and govern-
‘ ment; which path will be very easily found by such who without attempting any
‘ innovation, shall not only be ready to curb their passions, but also to call found
‘ reason to their help, and submit themselves to its dictates in a matter of so great ne-
‘ cessity.

‘ I could wish with all my heart, that I were not obliged to tell you plainly, how
‘ much I am troubled, since my last return into these parts, to find the whole air
‘ echoing with numberless slanders and rumours artfully dispersed, and unhappily
‘ insinuated into the minds of your people by the help of factious titles, whereby
‘ they find themselves split into parties not unlike those of the *Guelphs* and *Gibeins* of
‘ old in *Italy*; and to see even publickly, wherever I go, a sort of dangerous rumours
‘ flying about, which seem to be industriously raised to animate those parties against
‘ each other, were it possible, to a greater degree. This is in effect the pouring of
‘ oyl into a fire that will consume you, unless you forthwith set all hands at work
‘ to extinguish it, and begin by strictly forbidding these things for the future, (since
‘ what is passed is no longer in your power) and by jointly taking effectual care that
‘ your commands be not transgressed.

‘ Thus,

A^N° DOM.

1617.

‘ Thus if you amicably bear with each other, and hearken to each other’s advice with patience, moderation, and temper, you will give an opportunity to the minds of men, which at present are too much heated, to cool by degrees, and so be better disposed to form good Resolutions for binding up and healing those wounds, which if you don’t take pity of yourselves, will undoubtedly cost you your best blood.

‘ To this, your own necessities may alone invite you, if you have not already quite forgot the temper of your enemies, who are as indefatigable in practising their old arts and stratagems, as dextrous in improving all opportunities given them for the invention of new treacheries. Do not then flatter yourselves, my Lords, as if *Carthage* were already destroyed, or indeed debilitated and grown weaker, since *Hanibal* is daily at your gates. And who can doubt but that he observing so many sparks of faction unextinguished, blows them up with all his might by the means of those whom he makes use of as his Emissaries, in order, if he can, to kindle several small tumults into so great a conflagration, as neither all the waters of the sea, nor even the tears of so many innocent souls who tremble at the approaching evils, will be sufficient to extinguish.

‘ Those who rightly judge of the nature of your distemper, compare it to a fire that easily catches hold of a house, and devours it with an incredible swiftness, if not prevented by the utmost diligence. And indeed the humours of the present age, like the roofs of some buildings, are but too much disposed to take fire, if timely care be not taken to hinder it.

‘ It therefore becomes the wisdom of your Lordships to secure them from it with so much circumspection and courage, that the ashes of your country may not have occasion to reproach you one day, that you were less solicitous for the good of her your common mother, than private persons usually are for their houses, where all their care terminates in preserving a few stones and timber.

‘ In short, my Lords, his Majesty seeing your distempers, and foreseeing their consequences, judges it very necessary that you should here firmly renew the union among yourselves, that so you may here join together in seeking some good antidote and preservative, which (he thinks) may be prepared from the proposals; of which it is hoped an overture will be made by some of the many wise heads who are called together for that purpose.

‘ In the mean while his Majesty is of opinion that in the midst of all these disturbances you ought to put in practice that old adage, which advises, *not to stir those things which are well whilst still*: for even the strongest and firmest edifice may be put in danger of falling, by the removing but of a single stone; so many secret combinations are there among all the parts of a great structure, how distant or independent soever they appear.

‘ This saying cannot be more properly applied than to the present circumstances of your State, which being built upon new foundations, might fall to pieces as soon as erected, if you should suffer any unseasonably to move or shake the least of those parts which have hitherto contributed to support its frame.

‘ As it would be very dangerous to stir all the humours of the natural body (since the peccant humours have generally more force than the good ones) in order to cure so trifling a thing as the itch; so it is likewise no less dangerous in the body politick, if you endeavour to conquer humours that are but too much stirred already, by medicines which move them still more, and which by consequence are more prejudicial to the patients than the disease itself.

‘ Therefore your Lordships, to whom both the care and the honour of such a cure belongs, ought not only to choose with judgment all kinds of medicines proper for the disease, and to temper them skilfully together, but you should endeavour to penetrate into the true causes of this Fever, in order to subdue it; and above all things to take care that your remedies may so well agree with the stomachs for which they are prepared, as that they may not cast them up again, but retain them till they shall have produced their effect, *viz.* the re-establishment of the Patient’s health.

‘ Build then, my Lords, upon this infallible maxim, That your remedies will be more pleasing to God, more conformable to the wishes of your best Allies, and more wholesome to yourselves, in proportion as your wisdom shall more signally

‘ nally appear in choosing such as are best adapted to the promoting his glory, and
‘ so well suited to the nature of your State, as not to shock the frame of the Govern-
‘ ment in which you have hitherto so much found your account. A^NO D^OM.
1617.

‘ But in order to arrive at such a necessary and desirable blessing, you must on
‘ all sides, first, depart from that pernicious custom which too commonly engages
‘ the minds of men almost always to adhere with obstinacy to what they have once
‘ embraced and maintained.

‘ The receding from this, will not be so difficult to persons who shall seriously
‘ consider that every one who in such differences as yours, which relate so much to
‘ the honour and welfare of your common country, is inclined to give proofs of the
‘ greatest affection for it, and do it the greatest service, will freely sacrifice his own
‘ opinions and private interest, and that such a resolution is always attended with the
‘ most glorious and advantageous success.

‘ This is briefly, my Lords, the faithful Council of his Majesty, with respect to
‘ the present situation of your affairs, which he wishes, with as much sincerity as
‘ any of your friends, may be prosperous to you. In the mean time his earnest de-
‘ sire is, that your Province by the happy issue of this present Assembly, may be
‘ again settled on the ancient foot of its laudable and mutual agreement, by reducing its
‘ principal Members to conformity and unanimity in their sentiments and designs for
‘ the common good; and that we may be able to say with truth, when you shall have
‘ recovered your former vigour, that you did not want for good advice, and that it
‘ was not given you in vain; and that your Lordships after having rid out so many
‘ furious storms and tempests, were able to weather this last too, and to render
‘ your selves invincible by the only means that was in your power; I mean by a
‘ speedy and lasting restoration of unity.’

The States of *Holland* having heard this harangue, returned their thanks to the
King for his care, and to the Envoy for his trouble, praying him to leave a copy of
it with them, to the end that being perused and considered by the Members, they
might proceed upon it, as should be thought proper.

‘ On the 19th of the same month of *December*, the following Proposal concerning
the holding of a Synod, was made by the five towns of *Dort, Amsterdam, Enkhusen,*
Edam and Purmerent. *A Proposal of
the Deputies of
Dort, Amster-
dam, Enkhu-
sen, Edam,
and Purme-
rent, relating
to the holding
of a Synod.*

‘ **F**Orasmuch as the disputes and troubles that have risen in the churches of this
land, cannot be better treated of, and removed than by means of a Synodical
‘ Assembly; it is necessary that their Lordships the States of *Holland* and *West-*
‘ *Free-land*, should be pleased to come to a Resolution, that a Provincial Synod com-
‘ posed of the churches of this Province, be holden out of hand, and that the sum-
‘ moning of a National Synod should at the same time be agreed upon jointly with
‘ the other Provinces, and a certain short term fixt for its assembling.

‘ And in order to proceed in the first place to the celebrating of a Provincial Synod,
‘ the Classes of *Holland* and *West-Free-land* should, according to the ancient usage,
‘ elect three Ministers and one Elder, or two Ministers and two Elders, by majo-
‘ rity of votes; but where the choice cannot be made by an agreement of two thirds
‘ the Members; the election should proceed by mutual accommodation.

‘ For which purpose, the Ministers of those Classes, among whom there have been
‘ schisms, may be prevailed on for this time, to meet and depute persons together;
‘ or if this cannot be conveniently brought to pass, then the divided Classes may de-
‘ pute separately.

‘ All the *Gravamina* that have not been liquidated in the respective Classes, should
‘ be brought to the said Provincial Synod, as also all the difficulties and scruples that
‘ any particular churches may have entertained, and especially those relating to the
‘ famous *Five Points*; or any others that are controverted.

‘ And endeavours should be used by means of christian and amicable conferences,
‘ instructions from the word of God and proper inquiries, for extinguishing, or di-
‘ minishing the depending differences, and particularly for coming, after a fair stating
‘ and discussion of the said *Five Points*, to an uniform understanding, with respect to

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‘ what

AN^o D O M. 1617. what shall remain in dispute; or else for concerting such a Mutual Forbearance in consistence with Gods word, as may be practised without burthening mens consciences.

‘ All those grievances, disputes, &c. which cannot be adjusted for want of time in the said Provincial Synod, or which relate to the Church in general, should be there digested and methodised, in order to be laid before the following National Synod, and there also it should be agreed, whom to depute to the said Synod with proper instructions and credentials, on the part of the churches of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*.

‘ And to the end that every thing may pass regularly and conformably to the good intentions of the said States, their Lordships might depute certain political persons, Members of their Assembly, professing the *Reformed* religion, and arm them with proper instructions and credentials for superintending and moderating in the said Synod.

‘ And as to the holding of a National Synod, the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* should resume the consideration of the scheme adjusted to that end; first in their own Assembly, and afterwards in that of the States General, and accordingly a good and reasonable project may be agreed upon for promoting the afore said National Synod, and what is resolved, may be put in execution.’

Another Proposal of the Nobles and the majority of the towns.

The Nobles and the greater part of the Towns of *Holland*, did, on the 21st of this month, lay before the Assembly another Proposal for calling together a Provincial Synod; which is to be seen in the Ecclesiastical Histories of *Uitenbogart* and *Triglandius*.

Their project was chiefly formed upon their first Proposals, which have been already mentioned, except that they declared their opinion, that the choice of persons and direction of things to be there debated, belonged to the States. The said project made mention likewise of endeavouring to put an end to the disputes by christian and friendly conferences, information from God’s word and proper inquiries; and of proposing such expedients, with regard to the remaining differences as might be received by both parties, at least provisionally, and without burthening weak consciences: but without insisting upon any decision in the said Provincial Synod, with respect to the *Five Points*, or any other points of doctrine that were never uniformly determined of old by the Primitive churches, or of late by any of the *Reformed*; but referring them to the General Synod, which in that case was to be called as soon possible.

It was likewise said in the last article: ‘ That the Synodical Acts should not be valid and conclusive, till they were seen and approved by the States.’

Afterwards the Proposals, not only of the Nobles and the greater part of the Towns, but also those of the five towns were referred to a Committee, who were to report their opinion concerning them to the States; but the parties could not be brought to any further agreement, than what will appear by the following extract from the journals of the said States, dated the 22^d of *December*, 1617.

An account of the report of the Committee appointed to consider of the several Proposals concerning a Synod, and a further Proposal which followed thereupon.

‘ HAVING heard the report of the Committee chosen from among the Nobles, and the Towns of *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Amsterdam*, *Alkmaer* and *Enkhusen*, to whom the Proposals of the Nobles, and majority of the Towns, were yesterday communicated on the one part, as likewise on the other part, the Proposals of the Deputies of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, *Enkhusen*, *Edam*, and *Purmerent*, in order to consult further about the holding of an Ecclesiastical or Synodical Assembly, by which, in the fear of God, and in conformity to the Holy Scriptures, the present religious differences with respect to the famous *Five Points*, might be tried and weighed, and endeavours might be used for bringing matters to a christian accommodation, for preserving truth and restoring unity among the Professors of the *Reformed* religion; and having understood that the said Committee broke up without proceeding any farther, because some of them (agreeably to the sentiments of the said Nobles and most of the Towns) were of opinion, that their business was only to deliberate about the order for holding a Provincial Synod of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*,

‘ whereas

whereas the others were at the same time for consenting to that of a National one ; A N^O D O M.
 it was finally proposed, after producing several arguments on both sides ; whether, 1617.
 in order to accommodate and unite the diversity of opinions, the holding of a
 Provincial Synod of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* (for the purposes abovementioned)
 might not be agreed to, upon the condition that letters should be sent from the
 States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, to the States of the respective Provinces, to
 inform them to what purpose, and at what place and time the aforesaid Provin-
 cial Synod of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* should meet ; and to the end that the
 said Synod might enjoy the benefit of the good correspondence, counsel, advice and
 assistance of the clergy in the neighbouring Provinces ; it was further proposed, to de-
 sire the said States to depute some pious, learned, and peaceable persons, with the con-
 sent of their respective Ecclesiastical Assemblies, to the said Synod of *Holland*, in order
 to help to labour, deliberate, advise, vote, and transact such an accommodation and
 union. And although the Deputies of the respective towns declared, that they could
 not go beyond their respective instructions, which they had communicated to
 the States, yet they all of them undertook to report this Proposal, together with
 there aforesaid schemes and projects to their respective Principals, to know their
 pleasure, and punctually to make a report thereof on the 10th of *January* to this
 Assembly, in order to come to such resolutions upon these and other articles of the
 summons, as may be most for the good and service of the land.

Done at the Hague, the 22d of
 December, 1617.

We shall now proceed to give an account of other transactions relating to church- Some account
of what hap-
pened in Gel-
derland.
 matters, which happened this year in the rest of the *United Provinces*. The num-
 ber of the *Remonstrants* increased very much in *Gelderland*. All the Clergy of
Nimwegen, *Tiel* and *Bomel*, and many others in the villages and forts of the districts
 of those towns, from *Scheakenschans* as far as *Heusden*, on the banks of the *Meuse*
 and the *Wael*, together with the whole *Betuwe*, excepting a few only, favoured and
 endeavoured to propagate the opinions of the *Remonstrants*. But they met with great
 opposition : For instead of concerting methods of peace, or agreeing upon some pro-
 per *interim*, pursuant to the solemn Resolutions of the States ; the Gentlemen of the
 Court, and some of the Deputies of the Province (at the instigation chiefly, as it is
 thought, of those of *Zutphen*, and the Classes of the same town and of the *Veluwe*,
 most of them *Contraremonstrants*) came to a certain Resolution, by which the Classes
 of *Nimwegen*, *Tiel* and *Bomel* (most of whom approved of the *Remonstrant* opi-
 nions, or at least tolerated one another) were much offended, being persuaded, that
 all they did, was designed for their prejudice, and to expose them to censure.
 Hereupon the Clergy of the district of *Nimwegen* complained, in a written Memo-
 rial to the States of the Province, setting forth their grievances, justifying themselves
 from the accusations of their enemies, and praying that the States would grant a tole-
 ration of the opinions relating to *Predestination* ; that the Resolution abovementioned
 might be so qualified, that none might take occasion from thence to condemn or slan-
 der them ; that the superintendency of their churches, and the defence and preserva-
 tion of their peace might remain intrusted and recommended to the Magistrates of
 their respective districts, or their Deputies, as being best acquainted with their life and
 doctrine ; and that the calls and examinations of Ministers might thenceforwards be
 made and settled according to the ancient usage of the Province of *Gelderland*. But A Resolution
of the States.
 the States resolved to maintain the Resolution, against which they complained, refer-
 ring them to the Gentlemen of the Court, and the mentioned Deputies of the Pro-
 vince. They likewise agreed at the same time, that their Deputies in the Assembly
 of the States General, should insist upon the calling of a National Synod, in order,
 as they phrased it, to establish the once received faith, and to prevent the schism.

After this, the Deputies of the Classes of *Nimwegen*, *Tiel* and *Bomel*, presented a A Declaration
of the Deputies
of the Classes
of Nimme-
gen, Tiel and
Bommel.
 certain Memorial to the Chancellor and Counsellors of the Court, and to the other
 Deputies of the Province, in which they declared : That they would rather be ac-
 counted

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A^N D^O M. counted no Pastors or Ministers of the Reformed Church, than admit of ten certain Positions, which others sought to obtrude upon them.

^{1617.} Those Ten Articles, afterwards known by the name of the Ten Gelderland Positions, are *verbatim* as follows :

Ten Positions
proposed by the
Deputies.

I. That God has reprobated the greater part of mankind from all eternity, and ordained them to inevitable damnation, without any regard to their unbelief or practical sins which they should commit, and even without considering the sin of Adam ; and for no other reason, but because he thought fit so to do, in order to delight himself in manifesting the glory of his power.

II. Or, that supposing he had regard, in such reprobation, to the sin of Adam, and to what Divines call Original sin, which was the consequence of it ; yet he had none to any actual sins, whereby such as were reprobated might deserve damnation more than others.

III. That among those reprobated persons, there are numberless children of believers, which dying in their infancy, without ever having committed actual sin, are snatched from their Mothers breasts and cast into Hell fire ; insomuch that it is of no kind of use or advantage to them, to have been received into the Church by the holy sacrament of Baptism, or to have been prayed for.

IV. That God has elected from all eternity, the lesser number of mankind, and ir-resistibly decreed them to salvation, without respect to their faith, as a condition of it ; and even without being moved by Christ as the meritorious cause of salvation ; only from the pleasure he takes in some persons, without regarding any qualifications ; so that Christ is no more than the executer of his Decree, and Faith a mere fruit of our election.

V. That God, for the execution of his eternal and irreversible Decree, has created the greater part of mankind for damnation, or with the intention that they should be damned.

VI. That God has necessitated men to sin, nay that he is a cause of sin.

VII. That God has indeed given his Son as a mediator for the fallen race of men, whose sacrifice might indeed have been a sufficient atonement for the sins of all men ; but it was by no means his design that Christ should die for all men, but only for a few ; and that the reprobated, when the Gospel is preached to them, are nevertheless obliged to believe that Christ died for them, and in case they do not believe it, are justly damned on that account.

VIII. That God sends his word to many of those that are reprobated, and invites them to his communion ; not that they should thereby be converted and believe in Christ, but with a peremptory intention to harden, and consequently to punish them the more severely : and yet that such reprobated persons are bound to own the aforesaid call and invitation of the Lord, made to them by his holy word, as an act of grace and mercy, for which they ought to thank him.

IX. That the elect are converted, and faith is infused into them by a force which cannot be withstood ; insomuch that they cannot help being converted, and believing in Christ ; which yet is impossible for the reprobated, whatever means they use to attain to faith, even though they should perform all the works of the Saints.

X. That those who have once believed in Christ, cannot lose their faith totally and finally, nor fall from grace through inadvertency or frailty, nor not through the most aggravated and deadly sins, such as adultery, murder and the like ; and that

' that in case they fall into the greatest sins they will necessarily be converted before
' their death by virtue of the aforesaid absolute and irresistible Decree.' —

A N^o DOM^o
1617.

To these Ten Articles, they subjoined their own opinion concerning *Predestina-
tion*, and prayed that their adversaries might be likewise obliged to declare theirs. They also prepared a kind of scheme tending to an accommodation or suppression of the differences with respect to doctrinal points; offering, that in case their Antagonists would listen to a mutual Forbearance, they would treat them with brotherly charity, and forgetting all indecent usage proceeding from passion, would join with them in holding Synodical and other Ecclesiastical meetings, to the end that they might with united forces oppose *Atheism, Socinianism, Pelagianism, Jesuitism*, and whatever else was unjustly laid to their charge. —

Their further
Declaration,
Petition, and
Proposal.

These articles were communicated to the Deputies of the Classes of *Zutphen* and the *Veluw*, who were required to deliver their opinion by way of advice thereupon. These Gentlemen made a declaration in writing, importing, that they had never maintained the aforesaid Ten Articles of doctrine, and that they did not allow them to be the doctrines of the *Reformed* churches; nay, that they did not so much as know that any particular Clergyman had ever taught the said articles as thus expressed. They added further, that the propagators of those Ten Points ought to be named, and that they had as great an abhorrence for such persons as any man whatever.

The Ten Positi-
ons are reject-
ed by the De-
puties of the
Classes of
Zutphen and
the Veluw.

As to the means of accommodation, which the others had proposed, they pass them over in silence, as not impowered or instructed by their Principals to treat of them, because, as they pretended, it was a matter which related in general to all the *Reformed* churches, both Foreign and Domestick, and they were in hopes to heal the schism by a National Synod. —

They moreover advanced certain Articles, Theses or Positions, which they consented to; and likewise certain *Antitheses* or counter positions which they rejected, and concerning which, they conceived their *Remonstrant* brethren were obliged to explain themselves.

Who advance
certain contra-
ry Positions.

1 Hereupon the *Remonstrants*, after having consulted among themselves, declared both by word of mouth and in writing, that they allowed of the Theses with some small variation, rejecting whatever was in any sort contrary to them. But as to the *Antitheses*, they said, they were such as they had not expected, and besides there were some of them which they did not hold to be *Antitheses*: for which reason, and because they had no instructions concerning them, they desired that some time might be granted them to consider, and to advise with their respective Classes about them, not doubting but they should be able to give full satisfaction. This was afterwards granted them, and besides it was resolved, that the disputes should be brought before the Provincial Synod of *Gelderland*, and that which could not be adjusted there, should be referred to the approaching National Synod.

A Declaration
of the Remon-
strants.

2 In *Utrecht* too, the contentions raged vehemently among the Clergy. The haunting of religious meetings without the Province, was continued with so much zeal by the *Contraremonstrants*, that the Magistrates fearing the consequences, thought fit to publish an order against it, on the last day of *March*, O. S. in which they declared; ' That those people, under pretence of exercising the *Reformed* religion, endeavoured to raise disturbances; forbidding them to set up or hold any conventicles or meetings; or to march out of the Province of *Utrecht* in Companies or Troops, to Sermons and Sacraments.'

An Order of the
Magistrates
of Utrecht,
prohibiting the
frequenting of
Conventicles
without the
City.

Some of the *Remonstrants*, being apprehensive that such a prohibition would appear odious to the world, and that they should be reproached with it some time or other, thought it necessary to intercede with the Government, and advise them to a connivance, but they received the following answer:

' That a Mutual Toleration and Forbearance, with respect to the controverted doctrines, had always been maintained in the Province of *Utrecht*, and but lately renewed and established by a general concurrence of the States and Clergy, so that none had reason to be dissatisfied with the publick Church, so far as related to those doctrines: that they were very sensible that those few who endeavoured to join in a faction, did not do it on account of religion, but to bring about a revolution

The answer
they gave to
some of the
Remon-
strants, who
were for con-
nivance at such
Assemblies.

in

A^N° D^OM.
1617.

in the State, which they had long meditated, being of apiece with those who had frequently, and particularly in the year 1610, been concerned in raising sedition; as was but too well known to the whole Province; and that they were now stirred up by the Clergy of *Holland*, and particularly by those of *Amsterdam*, in order to make a schism and faction in their City, as they had already done in several parts of the aforesaid Province, especially in the neighbouring town of *Oudewater*. To prevent which, it had been found necessary to make such a prohibition, without any intention however of strictly putting it in execution.

An extract
from certain
Memoirs of
John van Su-
len, Scout of
Utrecht.

I have likewise met with certain memoirs of the Scout of *Utrecht*, Yonker *John van Sulen vander Hare*, Lord of *Sevender*, which had been presented about 17 months before this, to the Court of Justice of that City, against some of these people whom he had cited before them, and in which it was said: 'That it could be plainly proved that some of them had been concerned in the former tumult; that they unjustly accused the Clergy of that City, of making alterations in some of the Articles of Faith, since it was well known, that the doctrines then professed by the said Clergy, had been always taught there from the very beginning of the Reformation: that the persons whom he had cited, had no just cause for deserting their lawful Pastors, and running out to other places, and by that means causing schism in the Church, and disturbances in the Commonwealth. The rather, because they were never required to subscribe or agree to all the opinions of the said Ministers, neither were they ever excluded from the Lord's Supper, notwithstanding their rigid notions about *Predestination* and its dependencies. To which the said Scout subjoined; That neither he, nor any of the Members belonging to the Courts of Justice, were ever for oppressing mens consciences, and that it was not only allowed to every man to worship God in his own house privately, after such manner as he in his conscience thought fit, but that they likewise connived at peoples going out of town to Sermons and Sacraments in other towns and villages, as long as no more than two or three of them went together for that purpose, without giving them any trouble on that account, (though every body knew long before who they were) till such time as they marched out in great numbers (and many of them unknown to him the said Scout) to hear a certain person who had not scrupled to do his utmost to disturb some of the neighbouring churches: all which had given but too much cause to suspect that something worse might be attempted by them, whenever they met with an opportunity. He concluded with saying, That the forbidding such running out of town was no new thing (as they gave out) since the Government of *Bern*, and other Towns and Magistrates professing the Reformed religion, had in order to prevent confusions on account of disagreements in doctrine, forbidden their Burghers to go to *Geneva*, or other places to the celebration of the Lord's Supper; which prohibition was mentioned and applauded by the famous *Beza*.'

In the aforesaid answer of the Magistrates, and Memorial of the Scout, there is a hint given of the tumult in the year 1610; and some think that the Zealots of those times, looked upon the Ministers of the town of *Utrecht* with an evil eye, because they neither could, nor would approve of that work; and that this was the principal cause and motive of the subsequent ecclesiastical differences in that town.

The remainder too of the old *Consistoriants* began to stir again, being of opinion, that the sect or party of St. *James's* (of which mention has been made in our former books) was revived by the Clergy of the Town. To confirm what has been said, I have seen a certain Letter, writ in the year 1610, and dated the 9th of May by *Everard Boot*, at that time one of the Ministers of *Utrecht* (and Father of the Heer *Cornelius Boot*, Burgomaster in our days of the said City) in which he describes the State of the Church affairs in the following terms:

'The old *Consistoriants* and Zealots (some of those who were commonly more ready to accuse and censure others, and to oblige them to submit to discipline, than to be subject to it themselves, though they sometimes deserved it most) are very angry with us; and some of them go to church as far as *Jutphaas*, where there is a Minister [*Cornelius Dunganus*] who affects to be a *Precisian*, and who was a promoter of the late tumult: who likewise fell upon me for having said in

‘ one of my sermons on the 17th chapter of *St. John*, that *Judas the son of perdition*, was decreed to perdition, on account of his sin; not that he was therefore lost because he was simply ordained to perdition (for as *St. Austin* says upon the 68th Psalm: if *Judas* had been converted, even after he had sold Christ, he would have been redeemed by that very blood which he sold) but only because having sinned, he never truly repented; in short, that his perdition was by no means owing either to the want of God’s love, or of Christ’s care, but only to his own wickedness. This is the man they run to hear; and some go even to *Westbrook*. But time, we hope, will produce a remedy, since the pretext of their separation is so groundless; the worst they can lay to our charge being, that we would not approve of the tumult. ”

A^NO D^OM.
1617.

But it fell out otherwise than this good man hoped; for the *Contraremonstrants* in *Holland* getting ground more and more upon the *Remonstrants*, were the more zealous to support their discontented brethren in *Utrecht* underhand, to encourage and strengthen their party, and to compleat their separation. And the passions of these people were come now to such a height, that the Ordinance of the Government against their practices, and the fines that were set upon them for contravening it, served only to animate some of them, and to make them exert themselves with the greater vigour. Nay, the zeal of some people ran so high, that many of the townsmen gave out, that in case his Excellency came thither, they were resolved to seize upon one of the churches, according to the account that the Secretary *Ledenbergh* gave of this matter to the States of *Utrecht* at their meeting in *September*, where he also proposed, whether it might not be proper to write to his Excellency, and pray him, that he would be pleased not to pass through their city. His motion was approved, and an open letter to that effect was put into the hands of one of the Gentlemen deputed by the province of *Utrecht* to the Assembly of the States General at the *Hague*, in order to be delivered to his Excellency before he set out. And letters were several times sent to the same purpose.

2 At *Deventer* in the Province of *Over-Yssel* there were four Ministers, to wit: *Thomas Rootbuisius*, *Assuerus Matthaeus*, *Jeremias Plancius*, and *Jacobus Revius*. *Matthaeus*, a Pupil of *Vorstius*, had, as he tells us himself in certain memoirs, always declared from the beginning of his ministry, that he was of the same opinion with the *Remonstrants*, and that it had been agreed by the Consistory, at the calling of *Plancius* and *Revius* (who were received there into the Ministry in his time) that they should promise to maintain a mutual forbearance with him as far as they were of different sentiments from him in the business of *Remonstrantism*. They were likewise charged not to meddle with the controversies which were reciprocally agitated in *Holland* and elsewhere, nor to fill the heads of the common people about those abstruse points. They bore with one another a good while, and said nothing of the differences till *Johannes Acronius*, formerly Minister of *Wesel*, happening to preach for some time in that city, ventured to speak of those matters, though required both by the Consistory and Magistrates to be silent; from whence many disputes arose among the people. This gave a handle, as it is thought, first to the Nobility and Towns of *Over-Yssel*, and afterwards to the Magistrates of *Deventer*, to come to their Resolutions for the preservation of peace and unity, mentioned in our XXVth Book.

The Origin of
the Disputes
at Deventer.

Matthaeus was of opinion, that the positions advanced by *Acronius* were unedifying; and upon his being called about the same time by the people of *Zwol* to their church, on condition (as he publickly affirmed since) that he should be at liberty to preach his own sentiments, he prayed the Senate or Council of *Deventer* to grant him his dismission, or at least allow him to reply to the scandalizing doctrines of *Acronius*; or in case they did not approve of this proposal, he desired they would equally enjoin both of them to make no mention of those controversies in the pulpit.

The Magistrates declined discharging *Matthaeus*, neither did they think it proper to allow him to preach against *Acronius*; but agreed however to command them both

2 From the Answers of *Yonker John van Renesse* Lord | ber, 1618.
of *Sulestein*, and the *Heer John de Goyer*, to several | 2 From several printed and MS. Memoirs of *Matthaeus*
Questions proposed to them upon Oath the 18th of Decem- | sius and others.

A^NO D^OM both to be silent as to those controverted points. *Matthiſius* further relates, that
 1617. the Magiſtrates of *Deventer* privately promiſed him the ſame liberty which had
 been offered him by thoſe of *Zwol*, in caſe his adverſaries ſhould uſe it on their
 part.

The Injunction of ſilence was complied with on one ſide for a while, but the Miniſters of the *Contraremonſtrant* perſwaſion, and particularly *Acronius*, ſpoke their ſentiments freely. And even the ſilence of *Matthiſius* rendered him obnoxious to ſome, as if he concealed groſs errors, and durſt not ſpeak of the points in difference, for fear of being diſcovered.

He was reported to hold three Points, which were very different from his No- tions; and which he therefore thought himſelf free to oppoſe from the pulpit: *First*, That God was as much the cauſe of evil, viz. *that of ſin*, as of good. *Secondly*, That he created the greateſt part of mankind for everlaſting damnation. *Thirdly*, That ſome of the children of believers dying in their infancy, were doomed from their mothers womb to the torments of Hell-fire. He ſpoke ſome- thing alſo about *Reſiſtible Grace*. But that which he thought himſelf obliged to do for the diſcharge of his conſcience, was ill received, and peoples diſlike to him increaſed apace. It was not long before the Jurats of the Community requested of the Magiſtracy that he might be compelled to conceal his notions entirely, upon very great Penalties if he tranſgreſſed. He fearing that this requeſt of his adverſaries would be granted, repreſented to the Magiſtrates and Senate: ‘ That if their Wor- ‘ ſhips were not diſpoſed, according to their promiſes and engagements, either to ob- ‘ lige both Parties to ſilence at the ſame time, or elſe to allow him to ſpeak as well ‘ as his adverſaries, he in ſuch caſe had much rather be diſmiſſed than give further ‘ opportunity of ſlandering his Miniſtry, to the diſhonour of God, by holding his ‘ peace.”

In the mean while, at the uſual change of the Conſiſtory, there were ſome per- ſons choſen to the office of Elders and Deacons who had already reſuſed to hear *Matthiſius* preach. There was likewiſe, as he tells us, application made to the Communicants, in order to know the number of thoſe who might be ſcrupulous of receiving the ſacrament at his hands; upon which it was agreed in the Con- ſiſtory by moſt voices, that he ſhould be ſuſpended from the adminiſtration and uſe of the Lord’s Supper, which it was his turn at that time to celebrate. He thereupon publickly declared, that he was obliged to defend himſelf againſt what he thought ſo unjuſt a judgment. This was underſtood as if he intended to do it in the pulpit; ſo that it was reſolved by the major part of the Conſiſtory, that he ſhould likewiſe forbear preaching for the future. This Reſolution was notified to the ruling Burgomaſters, who the next day called all the Magiſtrates together, by whom it was at laſt agreed, that he ſhould be totally diſcharged from their ſer- vice. This happened on the 17th of *April* of the current Year, according to the date of the Letter Dimiſſory, which was delivered to him at his own houſe by the Secretary of the town of *Deventer*, being of the following tenor.

The Letter
 Dimiſſory
 which was ſent
 to the Miniſter
Aſſuerus
Matthiſius
 by the Magi-
 ſtrates of *De-*
venter.

‘ **F**Orasmuch as D. *Aſſuerus Matthiſius*, being of a different opinion from his
 colleagues the Miniſters of the Goſpel in this town, namely, D. *Thomas Ro-*
thuiſius, *Jeremias Plancius*, and *Jacobiſius Revius*, with reſpect to the point of
 ‘ God’s predeſtinating mankind, has declared and ſignified, as well by word of
 ‘ mouth to the Conſiſtory as in writing to the Schepens, Council, and Jurats of
 ‘ the Community, that he could not any longer exerciſe his Miniſtry here with a
 ‘ ſafe conſcience, unleſs the Magiſtrates of this town would charge and require the
 ‘ other three Miniſters, and make them promiſe that they would ſtand upon the
 ‘ ſame foot with him, whether it were in being ſilent upon the controverted points,
 ‘ or in ſpeaking and preaching upon them publickly; ſince otherwiſe he had re-
 ‘ ſolved to preach and teach his notions about *Predeſtination* as publickly and with
 ‘ equal freedom, as occaſion ſhould offer; deſiring, if this were not allowed him,
 ‘ rather to be diſcharged than to continue any longer in the ſervice of this church
 ‘ under an obligation of concealing his opinions: This is therefore to declare that
 ‘ the Conſiſtory, together with the Schepens, Council and Jurats of the people,
 ‘ having taken this matter into conſideration, do judge that the aforeſaid Propoſal and
 ‘ Requeſt of D. *Aſſuerus* aforementioned, either of obliging both parties to a mu-
 ‘ tual

‘ tual silence, or allowing both to vend their own notions publickly in the pulpit, ^{AN^O DOM.}
 ‘ would rather tend to create further troubles, than to produce unity, peace and ^{1618.}
 ‘ tranquillity among the people : for which reason the said Schepens and Council,
 ‘ following herein the advice of the Consistory and Jurats, have at the request and
 ‘ prayer of the said D. *Matthijsus*, discharged and dismissed, and do hereby dis-
 ‘ charge and dismiss him from the exercise of his ministerial function in this place,
 ‘ wholly and entirely : and thank him for the further offer of his service, on the
 ‘ conditions proposed by him ; so that he being no longer engaged to this church,
 ‘ is now at liberty to enter into the service of any other congregation that may desire
 ‘ it of him, without any opposition or contradiction from the Schepens, Council or
 ‘ Church of this town.’ Done in the Council-chamber, this 17th of April, 1617.
 Signed by the Burgomasters Weseke and Markel.

By order of the Council,

ANDREW GLAGAW, *Secretary.*

Thus was *Matthijsus* dismissed from his office, after having served the church of *Deventer* for the space of ten years. He was highly extolled by some, upon account of his edifying conversation, friendly temper, and learning ; and no less hated or despised by others for his heterodox, as they thought, and *Remonstrant* opinions. But he was soon after called by those of *Kampen*, and chosen their Minister.

This discharging of *Matthijsus*, did not seem in the opinions of many, to be very consistent with the Resolutions formerly taken by the States of *Over-Yssel*, and the Magistrates of *Deventer*, for the preservation of the peace of the church.

There were likewise at that time, several Classes in that Province, which publickly ^{Certain Mi-} opposed the Ministers of the *Remonstrant* persuasion. And even the former year, ^{nisters of Over-} when a certain Divine, [*Elbertus Westenbergh*] being called to the Ministry at *Die-* ^{Yssel, oppose} *penheim*, desired to be examined by the Classis of *Deventer*, and admitted to that ^{the Resolution} function, he was rejected by the major part of the Members, because they found he ^{of the States} was disposed to comply with the Resolutions of the States for a Mutual Toleration, ^{and such as} with respect to the Five Points. By which refusal to admit any new Minister, who ^{obey it.} endeavoured to conform to the orders of the Civil Magistrate, the Classes themselves paved the way for the Ministers to slight and pass them by on those occasions, since they were not to hope for any preferment from them. So that Ministers were introduced and settled in their benefices by the Magistrates, though not without a previous examination and consent of some of the Clergy of other places. But those of the Classes were of opinion, that such persons came in over the wall, and not through the right door, and therefore endeavoured to hinder them from the exercise of their office. However, they were in those times supported and maintained by the respective Magistrates of the places to which they were called.

But in order to prevail with the States of *Over-Yssel* to change their mind, they ^{A Deputation} were attended at their meeting at *Ralte* in *June*, by the Heers *Martinus Gregorius*, ^{from the States} *Frederick van de Saunde*, (both of them Doctors of Law) and *Richard van Bemel*, ^{of Gelderland} as Deputies of the Chancellor and Council of the Principality of *Gelder*, and County ^{to those of O-} of *Zutphen*, who desired in the name of the said Chancellor and Council, that the ^{ver-Yssel.} Nobility and Towns of *Over-Yssel*, would likewise agree to the holding of a National Synod. At the said meeting, there was also read a certain Letter of his Excellency, ^{A Letter of the} bearing date the first of *June*, to the same purpose. Hereupon, the eleventh of the ^{Prince to the} same month, O. S. it was resolved by the most votes, not to agree to such a Synod, ^{States of O-} and to return the following answer : *That the Nobility and Towns could not consent* ^{ver-Yssel.} *to the holding a National Synod.* But this Resolution, though taken by the States ^{The Resolution} of the Province, was contradicted by the Deputies of *Deventer*, at the meeting of ^{of the States of} the States General in the *Hague*; which the more encouraged the other four Provin- ^{Over-Yssel.} ces to proceed in the affair of a National Synod by way of out-voting those that were against it.

Thus ended the year 1617, in our *Netherlands*, with many dissensions ; in which ^{The first Jubi-} year, at the beginning of the month of *November*, the first *Jubilee* for the Reforma- ^{lee of the Re-} ^{formation.}

AN^O DOM. 1617. *tion*, was celebrated with great rejoicing at *Wittenburg*, *Lipsich*, *Nuremburg*, *Heidelberg*, and other parts of *Germany*, where medals were struck on that occasion; it being just one hundred years since *Luther*, followed by *Melancthon* and others, began openly to oppose the superstitions of *Popery*.

But whilst they were exulting in *Germany*, many wise men were lamenting in *Holland*, and others of the *United Provinces*, from a sense of the dangers into which the same *Reformation* was plunged by mutual quarrels and divisions; and wishing that some where or other, a second gentle, meek and peaceable *Melancthon* might arise, who might have the good fortune of dissipating the thick mists of our controversies might, prudently distinguish the importance of matters, inculcate the necessary truths, and restore our tranquillity.

The end of the twenty eighth Book.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N
I N and A B O U T the
L O W - C O U N T R I E S .

B O O K XXIX.



IN the first day of the year 1618, the famous *Mark Anthony de Dominis*, formerly Archbishop of *Spalato*, but who, in the year 1616, retired into *England*, having abjured the *Papish* religion, (a person in great repute at that time among many, for his sagacious judgment, learning and discretion) writ a certain letter to the States General of the *United Netherlands*, which being translated from the *Latin*, I thought necessary to insert here, on account of his advice tending to peace and toleration; the Letter runs thus :

Most Illustrious Lords,

I should have thought myself kindly enough treated, if you had only received my book in so favourable a manner as you have been pleased to do; since it would have tended in some measure to preserve a remembrance of me. But now you have done more than I could ever have presumed to expect, by sending me Letters under your common seal, abounding with expressions of civility. And what is yet more, you have been pleased to accompany them with a very noble present; by which transcendent token of your goodness towards a person who has not in the least deserved it, either from your Lordships, or your Republick (unless it be for the sincere and hearty love he bears you) you have excited me most seriously to devote myself to your service, and in the most fervent manner to offer up my daily prayers to almighty God that he would settle your state in peace, and bless you with prosperity in all your undertakings. Your arms, which are indeed more deeply engraven on my heart, than on the silver cups you sent me, will justly be a perpetual symbol of your love, and an everlasting *memento* for me to honour your Lordships.

As I have always been most heartily concerned for the unhappy disputes that have risen among you on account of church affairs, so I ardently wish they may come to an end, to the glory of God, and to the visible benefit, not only of your religious but civil affairs. Oh that the contending parties would but postpone all views that are merely humane, and suffer themselves to be influenced only by that charity which the Holy Ghost infuses into our souls! Doubtless they would then

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of

A^N D O M¹
1618.

A Letter of
Marcus Anto-
nius de Do-
minis to the
States General.

AN^o DOM
1618.

‘ of their own accord, and without troubling Foreigners with the matter, immediately compose all their differences, and bear one anothers burdens. Nevertheless those Foreigners, who love you sincerely, would be ready to assist you with their charity, which their zeal for promoting your peace and tranquillity, endeavours to inspire the hearts of the contending parties with. It is really an ill thing to break an ancient and thoroughly settled union, on account of new opinions: Let but the band of unity remain entire, and then if any man thinks otherwise, God, as the Apostle says, will likewise reveal this unto him. In the mean while, care should be taken that both parties may contend without hatred or animosity, but with instruction, with piety, religion, and charity; and that both sides endeavour after such a victory as will be attended with peace and concord, but not with the oppression of one, and perhaps of both the parties. May God, who is the author and lover of peace, assist us all with his spirit, tread Satan under our feet, make us to be of one mind, and to confess the same thing, cause us to devote ourselves entirely to his service, and keep us from giving our adversaries any occasion of blaspheming! I heartily wish you all health and happiness.’ *From London, the first day of the new year, 1618.*

This Letter was Signed,

MARCUS ANTONIUS DE DOMINIS,
Archbishop of SPALATO.

¹ In another Letter which he had writ to the States General, he said: *That they ought to ask the advice, and inquire into the opinion of all the Reformed churches concerning these differences,* towards which he offered his service; which Counsel was in some measure, conformable to the Proposal of a National Synod.

Mons. Du Plessis, whose peaceful Counsels have been taken notice of in the foregoing books, was informed by the Heer Langerak, the Ambassador of the States at the Court of France, what projects for peace had been formed in Holland, and shewed himself mightily inclined to suggest something that might help to put a stop to these divisions. The letter which the said Ambassador writ on that occasion to the Advocate of Holland, with an account of the advice of the Mons. Du Plessis, and what had past in the King's Council, with respect to the business of a National Synod, is worthy to be perused, and its contents are as follows:

S I R,

A Letter of the Heer Langerak, the States Ambassador at the Court of France, to the Heer John van Oldenbarnevelt, containing several transactions in France, relating to the business of a National Synod, together with the advice of Mons. Du Plessis.

‘ I wish you may receive this Letter as soon as my last; having found some change here in the matter therein mentioned: for whereas the day after I appeared at the King's Council, I waited on the Sieur Du Plessis, intreating him to advise with some of the wisest and most eminent among the Reformed in these parts, concerning the difficulties which occur, with respect to the holding a Synod of the Reformed churches, the same proposal was made within a day or two, by the King himself; so that his Majesty is convinced, to his great satisfaction, that such an Assembly, both may and will be holden without any prejudice to the publick tranquillity; forasmuch as the said Synod was desired on occasion only of the most urgent necessity of the religious dissensions among the seven Provinces, without the least mention of matters of state; just as in the time of King Henry III. when the King of Navarre set on foot a Colloquy or Conference between some of the heads of the Reformed churches, who are stiled Calvinists, and those of the Ausburg Confession, whom they call Lutherans, in order to the uniting both churches or confessions. Against this, King Henry III. had also conceived some jealous thoughts at first, on account of the King of Navarre, but being afterwards better apprized of the matter, he was easily satisfied of the truth, and banished the prejudices he had entertained. His Majesty has likewise been informed, that not long since, with the knowledge and consent of the Queen Mother, and of the Council, * a learned Divine of the Reformed Church in France, was sent to England, without creating

* 17 Aug. 1617. See likewise Baud. Mem. Lib. IX. p. 90. Uitenb. p. 895. * Peter du Moulin,

creating any jealousies or suspicions of its tending to disturb the repose of *Cbisten-* A N^o D O M.
dom. All this having been seriously debated and considered by the King and his 1618.
Council, no further mention was made of what had been proposed to me on the
10th instant. So that their Lordships the States need not be concerned on that
account.

In the next place, I cannot forbear telling you still more positively than before,
that upon my daily conversing with the abovementioned *Sieur Du Pleffis*, I more
and more discover his integrity, unaffected goodness, and great prudence in all his
conduct, which is calculated for the publick good, and particularly for the tranquil-
lity and welfare of the *United Provinces*. For when I lately and largely discoursed
with that Gentleman about the present state of the differences in those parts, and
especially about the measures not long since proposed by the Nobles and Towns of
Holland and *West-Friesland*, for calling a Provincial Synod, to which some pious,
discreet and moderate Divines might be invited from other neighbouring Provinces,
we proceeded to talk of many other political matters which related to, or depended
on these differences; upon which that Gentleman freely communicated his thoughts
to me; saying, that there were three ways of putting an end to these disputes:
The *first* and worst of all, was by suffering one of the parties to oppress the other,
which he thought, was not to be done without the entire ruin and subversion of re-
ligion, and even of the whole republick: The *second* might be, a toleration of
both opinions; but forasmuch as in this case there would necessarily remain a
kind of putrefaction in the body, he thought it would e'er long turn to a dangerous
Fistula, as we have seen in *Germany*, in the case of the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans* as
they are called.

The *third* way, or remedy, as he said, included two considerable points, the
first was love, or charity, the effect of which would be, to forbear imposing upon
our neighbour any strange or uncommon doctrines, by which he might be in any
sort troubled or scandalized; the other was sobriety or moderation, from whence
would result a prudent and circumspect restraining our selves to the very text of
Holy Writ. In order to this, he proposed that endeavours should immediately be
used to unite the contending parties, and to prevent the schism; which he affirmed,
could not be done but by setting certain limits and immoveable bounds to the
doctrines of the *Five disputed Points*; and by thus cutting off at once, all the ill
consequences which might flow from the arbitrary or discretionary interpretation and
belief of those points. He was of opinion that this last method was the best and
surest of all, and might easily be established by a Synod, whether Provincial or
National, with the assistance of unprejudiced, moderate, and wise Divines from
other countries. And though by my daily conversation with this Gentleman, I am
fully convinced that he is wholly addicted to the *Contraremonstrant* party, yet I
find at the same time, that he suggests to them very prudent, moderate, and im-
partial counsels in this affair, and wishes withall, that he could help to unite our
dear country, though by the sacrifice of his own blood, being but too sensible that
the disputes of the Clergy frequently degenerate into political quarrels. * He there-
fore thought that if 11. could be brought to agree with 41, there would be no fur-
ther difficulty. To this I replied, that 41, was the mouth of his Masters, viz. of
13, who being by far the most powerful, were not disposed to recede from their
privileges, liberties, and treaties of union, made for the preservation of their So-
vereignty, Laws, and Ordinances, as well in Ecclesiastical as Civil matters. To
this also, *Monf. Du Pleffis* did in a manner agree, but no further than was con-
sistent with the word of God.

We have received bad news again from your parts, and are afraid of further
dissentions, by reason of the sudden departure of 11. God grant us a better, and
a happy issue of our affairs through his grace.

Paris, Jan. 19,
1618.

I am, Sir,

Your friend to serve you,

GIDEON VAN BOOTSELAAR VAN ASPEREN.

* The figure 11. denotes Prince Maurice, 41 the Advocate of Holland, and 13 the States of that Province.

AN^o D O M.

1618.

Grotius pre-
vails with
Vossius to
write his
History of Pe-
lagianism.

In *Holland* in the mean while, the Heer *Grotius* had been endeavouring to induce *Vossius*, the Regent of the College of *Leyden*, to write something about the disputes formerly raised in the Church by *Pelagius*, and some of his followers; being of opinion, that the true understanding of that affair might very much tend to assuage the animosities, and lessen the divisions of these countries. He thought it was necessary to shew, that there was a difference between the doctrine of the *Semipelagians*, or that of *Cassianus*, *Faustus*, and the *Massilienses*, which was condemned by the Synod of *Orange*, (but however without anathematizing them) and the position of God's Will preceding the Faith of men, and that of the subordination of Grace, or the several degrees of it offered to mankind upon certain terms or conditions.

His reasons prevailed upon *Vossius*, who accordingly published his *History of Pelagianism* this year. It is a book that has been much commended by learned and judicious men, and particularly by *Grotius*, who, after having seen the last Volume of this work, wrote to *Vossius* about it, after the following manner:

' I never read any thing with greater pleasure in my life, than what you write of the History of *Godschalk*, and its dependancies. For I observe a wonderful Analogy between the sickness and the medicines applied at that time, and the distempers and remedies made use of in our days. God grant us the like success! There is one thing very remarkable in it, to wit, that the patrons of *Absolute Predestination* of that age, were very averse to the opinion which asserts, that all those who are justified, or all those who are endowed with that Faith which works by love, were also predestinated. But this is not so understood at present.

' I return you your very learned M. S. treatise, and beg that it, and the rest of your writings of the same tenor, may see the light as soon as possible. In case we have a Synod, may this book be a pattern for them; if we have not, this your labour will itself become a Synod to all good and learned men.'

But before this book appeared, affairs fell into so great confusion, that it met with very little success.

Divers zealous
Contraremon-
strants
enter into a
further Cove-
nant against
the Remon-
strants.

² On the 19th of *January*, the hottest men among the *Contraremonstrants* held a again a secret assembly at *Schiedam*, where they came to the following Resolution:

' ——— It is moreover agreed, in order to remove all diffidence among the orthodox brethren, known by the name of *Contraremonstrants*, and to come to a better understanding, that the brethren with whom this closer union is to be established, shall declare, that they are so much dissatisfied with the Five Points of the *Remonstrants*, that they look upon all of them together, and each in particular, to be of such a nature, as to wound the honour of God, and disturb and destroy the true peace of conscience: And they shall therefore promise and oblige themselves, seriously to preach against the aforesaid Five Points, and otherwise to refute them according to the capacities of their hearers. And further, in case the National Synod do not go on, they shall engage themselves with united counsels to proceed by degrees against the *Remonstrants*, by ecclesiastical censures, according to the method always observed in the Reformed Churches.

By such means as these, the Separation was daily promoted. Several of the Clergy, who had been often heard to say, that they would not consent to make a schism for the sake of the doctrine of *Predestination*, and who had likewise observed a mutual forbearance with the *Remonstrants*, seeing now how things were like to go, changed their note, separated from them, and joined with their adversaries. One of the chief of them, who had been heard to say, not long before, that people ought to forget even the names of *Remonstrants* and *Contraremonstrants*, and call one another nothing but brethren, and so remain, spoke now a quite different language.

About the same time, some of the effects of this mutual aversion broke out at a little town called *Goedereede*; some *Contraremonstrants* seized upon the church by force, pretending a certain permission granted them by some of the Schepens, but without the knowledge of the other Magistrates. Whereupon the rest of the Burgers, who were of a different persuasion, rose, and would not be pacified 'till the *Contraremonstrants* were denied the use of the Pulpit.

¹ Grot. ad G. J. Voss. Epist. 28 Decemb. 1617. Script.

² Uitenb. p. 919.

¹ At *Oudewater* the animosities abovementioned were arriv'd to the highest degree, and broke out into openacts of hostility. Both sides sent their Deputies in *January*, to the States of *Holland*, each of them giving very different accounts of what they had done or suffered. ² The States sent afterwards for the Bailif, and some of the Senate, as also for the commander of the garrison, exhorting all of them in their several stations, to assist in composing matters, and not to suffer any to be wronged or oppressed. But this was not sufficient to heal the distracted minds of the people.

³ The *Contraremonstrant* party having refused any longer to hear the minister *Poppius*, (who had been sent to them by the *Classis* of *Gouda*, by way of loan) he was obliged to be gone, and they called the Minister of *Berkow*. But the *Classis*, on the 23d of *June*, represented to the States, that they had called him in an irregular and disorderly manner, and put his son in his place. Some also of the Magistrates of *Oudewater*, and of the people who were *Remonstrants*, presented a petition to the States, praying, that they might likewise be provided with such a Minister as should be agreeable to them. ⁴ But the matter being considered, the Nobles and the major part of the Towns, were of opinion, that nothing should be done in it at that time, for fear of being disobeyed.

At the *Brill* the animosities increased to such a degree, that the States found it necessary to require the commanders of the garrison to support the civil Magistrates in exerting their authority, to oppose all riots and tumults, to hinder the seizing the publick churches, or other places, and to keep all things quiet. The *Contraremonstrants* of that town had petitioned the States in *February*, for the use of the empty churches. Their petition was referred to the Magistrates, who were exhorted to comply with them, as far as might be consistent with the peace of the town; and accordingly some time after, the *Moorland* church was granted them. But before it came to that, the Magistrates of the *Brill* made the following offers to those Separatists: ' That they were contented to join two Ministers of their persuasion, to the two Ministers of the established Church, provided they should all promise to maintain brotherly love and unity with their Collegues upon the old foot, and to preach and teach with christian moderation, without permitting the people to reproach or inveigh against each others doctrine; as also to show themselves ready to join in punishing the transgressors with ecclesiastical censures, or otherwise as should be thought proper; and lastly, to observe a just balance or equality in the choice of Elders and Deacons.'

They likewise thought it necessary to declare openly to the people what was the publick doctrine of the Church in the *Brill*, to the end that none of them might mistake one opinion for another, as they were informed, had frequently happened. This Declaration, adapted to the notions of the *Remonstrants*, was, together with the offer abovementioned, publicly notified to the people on the 16th of *February*, and afterwards printed. But the offer was not accepted, and all hopes of coming to any agreement or peace was now in a manner vanished. The more probability that one of the parties saw of procuring a Synod to their mind, the more they slighted their adversaries. The *Remonstrants* were (as they themselves complained) through the many slanders raised against them in those times, rendered so odious to the common people, and to the vilest of the mob especially, that they could hardly walk the streets without being called *Arminians*, and other reproachful names, and pointed at as they passed. Many cried out aloud, that they held a correspondence with *Spaniards* and *Jesuits*, that they received bribes and pensions from them, and would have betrayed their country to them, if they had not been hindered. Many suffered themselves to be persuaded, or else made themselves believe, (for when once hatred has got possession of a man's heart, he deceives himself as easily as he does others) that their doctrines were meer Blasphemy; that God, according to them, had decreed one man (or even one child) from the womb of his mother, to eternal damnation, and another to salvation.

The States of *Holland*, or the greater part of their members, endeavoured, indeed, to put a stop to the spreading of these slanders and defamations by Pasquins and anonymous Libels, which for some time past had flown about, not only against the Government itself, but the Placard which was at last agreed to on the 19th of *June*, this

¹ Uitenb. p. 788, &c. Trigl. p. 1024.----30. Baud. Mem. Lib. X. p. 1.

² See the Resolution of the States, Jan. 9. &c. & ⁴ See ditto Jan. 23. and Uitenb. p. 900.

AN^o DOM. 1618.

The two adverse Parties at Oudewater accuse each other to the States of Holland.

The Remonstrants of Oudewater present a Petition to the said States.

An Order of the States to the Commanders of the Garrison at the Brill, and a Petition of the Contraremonstrants of that Town to the States.

Offers made by the Magistrates of the Brill to the Contraremonstrant Separatists.

Great Prejudices against the Remonstrants.

AN^o D^oM. 1618. this present year, was very indifferently executed in some towns, and in others not suffered to be published, to the great contempt of the States, whose authority, which had been so long attended with the divine blessing, was now in this manner trampled under foot.

A dispute between the Contraremonstrants and Remonstrants at the Hague, on account of certain Legacies. There likewise happened a contest between the *Contraremonstrants*, and those of the great church in the *Hague*, on account of some Legacies left to the poor of that place; upon which it was determined by the States, that all legacies and gifts to the poor in general, should be put into the hands of the Deacons of the said great church, to whom the care of the poor was committed; but that such bequests as were particularly limited to the poor who belonged to the *Contraremonstrant* Church, should be distributed according to the will of the Testators.

Troubles at Leyden, some of the Militia disbanded, &c. At *Leyden*, some of the *Contraremonstrant* party murmured not a little at the lifting of 300 *Warders*, whereupon there happened a dangerous tumult, of which other Historians have treated.

The Magistrates being much perplexed at it, and apprehending worse consequences, required a new oath of the Militia of that town for its security, and for opposing all uproar and sedition. Some refused the oath, who were therefore turned out of their companies, and put to a monthly fine; and several that were looked upon as the ringleaders, were disfranchised. This depriving some of their Military offices, and others of their Burghership occasioned great discontent. They joined in bands or companies of about 50, 60, or 70 men together, and entered into associations, and it was agreed among them, that some should be commissioned to cause the injured persons to be re-established by way of Justice. The articles which they agreed upon, were not signed after the usual manner from the top to the bottom, but in lines drawn round the center of a circle to the circumference, to the end that it might not be discovered who had subscribed first or last, before or after.

Associations made, and subscribed in a circular form.

The Deputies of those people (who were afterwards called O or circle subscribers) applied themselves to the High Court of Justice, in order to compass their ends. This helpt to make the breach the wider; occasioned the imprisonment of one of the principal zealots; produced new petitions; together with the banishment of two of the most forward instigators or ringleaders of the people; and the setting a fine of sixty Guilders upon others, which they were to pay before Sun-set, or to leave the town, and other consequences; which may be seen in *Vitenbogat's* frequently quoted History, and elsewhere.

It was the opinion of the Magistrates, that these their proceedings tended to rebellion, and that they, being private persons, ought not to enter into confederacies against their Governors, but that in case they had occasion to complain, they ought not to do it in a body, being not qualified for it by law, but every one for himself.

An Order of the States to those of the High Court of Justice, and their admonition to the Deputies of the Magistrates of Leyden.

During these troubles, the States commanded the Gentlemen of the High Court of Justice, to dismiss the cause of the Militia Officers, who had been deprived of their Commissions, and refer the parties to their Magistrates, who should take cognizance of the whole matter, and do all that was proper for preserving the peace of their town: and at the same time they exhorted the Deputies of the Magistrates to bring the affair to an accommodation. But when the aforesaid disbanded persons persisted to importune the States of *Holland* with fresh petitions, the States thought fit to make the following Declaration:

A Declaration of the States of Holland, made to the disbanded Militia of Leyden.

THE States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, having considered the petition presented to them in the name of the *Schutters* [or Militia] of *Leyden*, who scruple to take the new oath without any written interpretation, limitation or restriction, and having likewise perused the pieces mentioned in the same, and delivered therewith: Do hereby resolve and declare it as their opinion, that the Burgoasters, Magistrates, Judges and Senate of *Leyden*, have always faithfully behaved themselves with courage, constancy and good temper, as friends and patrons of the liberties and privileges of their country, and of the town of *Leyden* in particular, and of all their Burghers and Inhabitants, as likewise of the true Christian Reformed religion; and that in the business of the Militia, and the oath tendered to the officers thereof, nothing unreasonable, improper, or unusual has been required of them; inasmuch that what has been attempted in opposition thereto, is

not

not consistent with the laws of the land, or the rights and privileges of the said town of *Leyden*. Wherefore since the same is buried in oblivion, without the infamy or dishonour of any person, and the said Petitioners are taken into the protection of the aforesaid Burgomasters and Governors, notwithstanding their disagreement in matters of religion, and restored to their name and fame, as well as the rest of the Burghers and Inhabitants of the town; and forasmuch as they enjoy the entire exercise of their religion, without lett or hindrance, and since the punishments awarded and inflicted upon them for good reasons, ought not, according to the laws of the land, nor according to the rights and privileges of the town of *Leyden*, to be called in question by any associations or bodies of men, the said Petitioners are earnestly exhorted to comport themselves like honest Burghers and Inhabitants of the aforesaid town, in a just obedience to the Burgomasters and Rulers thereof, as becomes good christians; and forbearing their aforesaid associations and combinations, as unlawful and improper, they are required, as often as any private person among them finds himself particularly agrieved by any thing that is, or may be laid upon him to his prejudice, to represent the same with all due respect to the aforementioned Magistrates, who will without doubt, justly, discreetly and properly attend thereto, and so order matters that no man shall have reason to complain; which thing likewise the States have recommended in the best manner to them the said Magistrates.

A N^o DOM.
1618.

Done at the Hague, the
21st of July, 1618.

At *Buren* (to say something likewise of matters that were transacted out of *Holland*) the Separatists had long laboured to get them a Minister of their own persuasion, and declared themselves openly against the Remonstrants. In their Petition which they had presented the year before to Prince *William*, they accused their Minister *Huttenus*, not only of having intruded there illegally, but also of being infected with heterodoxy and those novel opinions which disturbed the Province of *Holland*. *Huttenus* replied, that the questioning the legality of his Call, was in effect, a condemning the powers by which he was called; and he denied that he had ever taught any other opinions, than such as were conformable to the word of God, and the harmony, or unity of all the Reformed churches, against the Formularies of which he had never once preached. He therefore prayed, that his adversaries might be obliged to declare within a certain time, what novelty or heterodoxy they charged him with, to the end that he might be enabled to justify himself before such impartial Judges, as the Prince should please to appoint; adding, that he freely submitted himself to the judgment of the Professors or Ministers of *Sedan*, or to that of the Clergy of the Classis of *Buren*, *Leerdam* and *Ysselstein*, or of the Ministers of the neighbouring towns, as *Nimeguen*, *Tiel*, *Bomel*, *Wijk* and *Kulenburg*, or those of the Provinces of *Utrecht* and *Over-Yssel*: on condition that if their accusation should appear groundless or false, silence should be imposed upon them, and they required to leave him, *Huttenus*, at peace for the future, upon pain of incurring such punishments as the laws inflict on those who wrongfully accuse, or endeavour to oppress others.

The sequel of
the dispute at
Buren.

Huttenus being
accused
by the Separatists,
defends himself.

Upon this Memorial, the accusers of *Huttenus* were ordered to do as *Huttenus* desired, or else to shew reason to the contrary within the space of three weeks. After having waited above twice that time, the aforesaid Minister petitioned again, that this matter might be dispatched; upon which his accusers were again required to bring in their charge within fourteen days: But they still continued silent. However, some time after this, one *Peter Figerus*, who called himself the Deputy of the orthodox brethren of the Classis of *Buren*, writ to *Roseus* to prevail with his Excellency Prince *Maurice*, to induce his brother Prince *Philip*, not only to discharge *Huttenus*, but likewise *Nicolas Hartfooker*, Minister of *Ysselstein*, as illegally called too, and put other good men in their places; or if that could not be obtained, to insist that at least there might be another Minister called to *Buren* according to the ancient

I

G g g

manner

* From the Memoirs of A. Huttenus and others.

A^NO D^OM. manner. But all this intriguing was in vain, during the life of the Countess of *Hobenlo*, and her brother Prince *Philip*. But when both of them were dead, Prince *Maurice* introduced a change of affairs on the 22d of *February*, of the current year. The County of *Buren* was fallen to him by inheritance, and the Malecontents had so much credit with him, that they were allowed to get another Minister of their own perswasion from the neighbouring parts, and to cause him to preach at *Buren* by turns, with *Huttenus*. What happened thereupon, will appear in some measure from the following Petition, presented to his Excellency at the *Hague*, in the name of the *Reformed* church of *Buren*, on the 7th of *March*, O. S. which Petition runs thus

To his Princely Grace, the Lord Prince of Orange, Count of Nassaw, Buren, Meurs, Leerdam, &c. our Gracious Lord.

A Petition of
the Consistory
of Buren,
presented to
his Excellency
Prince Maurice.

THE restless endeavours and boastings of certain turbulent persons, have obliged the Members of the Consistory to address themselves likewise to your Excellency, in the name of the *Reformed* Church of *Buren*, whereas otherwise they would much rather have forborn giving you this trouble. For though they hope and believe that your Excellency, who is wise and good, has neither done nor will do any thing incompatible with that justice which requires the hearing of one side in such a manner, as at the same time to keep open one ear, and some place in the heart for the other; yet they could not continue in silence, least it should have been prejudicial to the innocent, considering the rage of their adversaries. They have doubtless made grievous complaints against our worthy brother *Albertus Huttenus*, the Minister of this Church. And they have the assurance to report, that they have obtained whatever they desired of your Excellency, who, as they pretend, have forbidden them to hold communion with *Huttenus*, or the other Members of this church; so that they now even ground their obstinacy and separation upon your Excellencies commands. And yet we the Petitioners are firmly perswaded, that no person professing the *Reformed* religion, can with reason or truth, alledge any thing to make your Excellency believe that he is not a good and honest Minister, who (as all those that statedly hear him can testify) never taught any other doctrine, than what is received for true by the *Reformed* churches. It is therefore the most humble request of the Petitioners, your Excellencies faithful subjects and servants, that justice may take its course in this matter (which is a thing that no Prince can refuse to his subjects) so as that those who have shown themselves the adversaries of your Petitioners Minister, may be required to produce any point of doctrine, to prove that the said *Huttenus* preaches or teaches what a *Reformed* Minister ought not to do. If they can convict him of any thing like this, and he be not fully able to vindicate himself from all their accusations before impartial Judges, they, the said Petitioners, being of the *Reformed* religion, will have as much aversion as any others for their Minister, whom they as yet reverence: and there will be no kind of necessity in so small a place, to set up Minister against Minister, and Church against Church; nor will your Excellency, who is a Prince of the *Reformed* religion, ever suffer such a thing.

Some discourse
between Prince
Maurice and
the Droffart
of Buren.

After the Petition was read, the Prince asked those that delivered it, *what was their request?* The Heer van Steeland, Droffart of *Buren*, desired: 'That (according to the contents of that paper) his Excellency would do nothing in this affair without hearing both parties, and also require the complainants to draw up an account of those heterodox opinions with which they charged the Minister *Huttenus*. His Excellency replied, That he had already allowed, by way of provision, that both parties should have their respective Ministers by turns, but that he would not determine the difference without a fair and full hearing of the parties,

parties, repeating the following expression twice: *I will no more oppress one side, A. N. D. O. M. 1618.*
than the other. He likewise asked the Drossart, what objections the discontented party had against their Minister? To which he answered: *The illegality of his Call. Is that all?* said the Prince, *have they nothing else against him?* *We shall easily adjust that matter.* Then the Drossart added: 'They likewise pretend, that he is of the opinion of *Arminius*; but he never yet sided with either party in that controversy, much less declared himself publickly for either, but always endeavoured after peace, having declared several times in publick, that he would adhere to the word of God, and the received doctrine of the church. To which his Excellency answered: It is well if he keeps to the Confession, adding, I will come to *Buren*, and hear both parties, and see whether there be any hopes of uniting them. But then, pray acquaint the Minister, that he should be quiet, and not dispute or quarrel with his adversaries, for fear of further mischief.'

Now, when in pursuance of this Regulation, the Minister *Hubertus Wachtmans* (who had preached to the separate *Contraremonstrants* in the Hospital) was to preach for the first time in the Church of *Buren*, on the 22d of *March* in the afternoon, *Huttenus* and his Consistory went to seat themselves in the usual place, in order to hear him as well as the rest of the people. The Scout, who favoured the other party, ordered him and his friends to rise. He answered, in the name of them all, that by taking their usual places, they shewed that they should not willingly separate from those who had any thing of christian in them, and that by thus doing, they likewise complied with the commands of their Prince; and moreover, that he, the Scout, had no right to controul them in this matter, but ought to conform himself to the orders of his Excellency. Upon this, he let them alone for that time, but afterwards they daily separated further and further from each other.

At *Grave*, a town in *Brabant*, which likewise belonged to the Prince of *Orange*, *Separation at Grave.* there were some few (nay, as the *Remonstrants* say, not above four persons) and those of the meanest of the *Burghers*, who could hardly read or write their own names, and were very ignorant in the controverted points of religion, who nevertheless would not hear the town Ministers, namely, *Henricus Hollingerus*, and *Godefridus Paludanus*, looking upon them to be *Remonstrants*. The Ministers alledged, that they were not bigotted to any party, and had said little or nothing about the differences; but owned that once indeed, being asked, and urged to speak their minds, they had declared: *That if they were to chuse, they would rather be of the side of the Remonstrants.* Those words were laid hold on, and presently published every where; and, as they said, they themselves were painted in the most odious colours.

They complained besides, that *Abrahamus Quevellerius*, a Minister in the lower District of the land of *Kuke*, and his Colleague *Adolphus Brookbusen*, had often promised them both by word of mouth, and in writing, that notwithstanding the reigning differences, they would maintain a Mutual Forbearance with them, as appeared likewise by the Register of the *Classis*; yet those very Gentlemen observing that the Governour of the town was against them, had broke off all peace and friendship with them; especially *Quevellerius*, who came into the town on purpose to divide the Community, and to draw them away from their Ministers. Particularly they objected against a Sermon preached on the last day of *January*. But before that, viz, on the 12th of the same month, the *Separatists* presented a Petition to the Prince, in which they complained, *that they could not be either comforted or instructed by the sermons of the town Ministers, and were therefore obliged to go to Over-Yssel to church.*

After this, the Prince writ the following Letter to the aforesaid Ministers of *Grave*,

AN^O D O M.
1618.

The Prince of Orange, Count of Nassaw and Meurs, Marquis of Ter-Veere, &c.

Reverend, Wise, and Discreet, Dear and Particular,

*A Letter from
the Prince to
the Ministers
of Grave.*

WE have heard with concern of the fears and jealousies that have lately happened account of religion among some of the Community in our town of *Grave*; and that the same have since increased by reason of a certain Sermon which was preached there, it having been the occasion that some of the said Community quitted the publick church, and went elsewhere. Now forasmuch as we would gladly prevent such inconveniences, and to the end that the foresaid separating Members of the Community may be encouraged to come back again to the publick church of our said town, it is our desire that you Gentlemen do your utmost diligence therein; and that therefore you would satisfy those good people, that you have no other design than to adhere to the true *Reformed* religion, as the same has been hitherto taught and preacht there, in conformity to the received Formularies of Unity, such as the Confession and Catechism; at the same time giving to the said disturbed Community all just content and satisfaction, and making such proposals to them as may induce them to approve of your way of preaching, and not take further occasion from thence to avoid your communion, and join themselves to another. For in case those people do not receive all due satisfaction from you, our pleasure is, that *D. Abrahamus Quevellerius*, shall preach provisionally, and for the space of two or three months, by turns with you, both within and without the said town, as we have accordingly given orders already to the Governour of the place, to see our will performed. And in case either of you should have any scruples and objections against the aforesaid doctrine, our desire is, that you would keep them to your selves, till they can be examined in a lawful Synod, which will be very much for the service of the church, and very acceptable to us. And so, *Reverend, Wise, and Discreet, Dear and Particular*, we recommend you to God.

*From the Hague, this
15th of March, 1618.*

Your good Friend,

MAURICE OF NASSAW.

*The demand of
the Contraremonstrant
Separatists.*

The Malecontents required things which the Ministers said, they could in no wise agree to; to wit, that they should quit the opinions of the *Remonstrants*; that they should publicly renounce them in the church, and promise to preach against them: Moreover, that they should approve the doctrine of the *Contraremonstrants* in all its articles, and declare in the presence of the congregation, that for the future they would teach no other.

*A Memorial
and Petition
of the Mi-
nisters of that
town.*

The Ministers refusing these Proposals, the other party immediately insisted upon joining *Quevellerius* to them, as a third Colleague, according to the Prince's directions; upon which the said Ministers represented to the *Amptman*, or principal Magistrate of the town, 'That they had always declared, as they still did, that they would adhere to the Formularies of Unity, the Confession and Catechism, and consequently to the true *Reformed* religion: and in case they had, or might have any objections against the doctrine of those Formularies, they would keep them private according to the Prince's commands, till they could be considered in a lawful Synod. Offering at the same time, kindly to receive the Separatists if they would return to their communion; and to forbear all nice inquiries into the point of *Predestination*. Finally, they desired, That in case his Excellency were indeed resolved to join a third Minister to them of the *Contraremonstrant* persuasion, he might be one of an impartial, peaceable, and pious temper, who, notwithstanding the differences, would be disposed to live with them in amity, to the end that the disputes in their town might be lessened, charity increased, and piety promoted. But *Quevellerius*

vellerius was, as they thought, by no means a proper person for these things, he AN^o DOM. 1618.
 having been the principal cause of the troubles which had happened among them;
 by endeavouring to intrude into their church by the indirect way of schism; for
 which purpose he had stirred up the Malecontents, and offered them his assistance
 to compass their designs.

This was the language of the town Ministers, but little notice was taken of it: for when afterwards *Hollingerus*, together with other *Remonstrants*, was summoned to the National Synod, *Quevellerius*, and *Paludanus* were ordered to preach by turns at *Grave*. This was done accordingly, and they would not suffer *Paludanus* to take his turn in the forenoon, but obliged him (though he had been one of the Ministers there for the space of 16 years at least) to give place to the other, and only preach in the afternoons.

But to return to the beginning of this year. In the month of *January*, his Excellency Prince *Maurice* had made some alteration in the Government of *Nimeguen*, Prince Maurice changes the Government of Nimeguen. which was more remarkably to the advantage of the *Contraremonstrants*. For this change conduced not a little to the strengthening that party which prest for a decision by a National Synod. Three of the former Magistrates of *Nimeguen* repaired to the *Hague* in *February*, and having obtained an audience of the States of *Holland*, gave an account of what had happened, and said, they came to cast themselves into their arms, begging to be fully restored to and protected in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Upon which, those States soon after caused a letter to be sent to the States of *Gelderland*, in favour of the aforementioned Magistrates. But the Deputies of *Amsterdam*, *Enkbusen*, *Edam*, and *Purmerent*, would not consent to its being writ in the name of the States of *Holland*, for which reason it had the less weight in *Gelderland*. The following Letter relating to the Synod, was likewise written to the States of the last mentioned Province.

Honourable, &c.

WE are informed from good hands, that a motion will be made in your A Letter from the States of Holland to those of Gelderland, concerning the National Synod.
 Assembly for approving what was proposed last year at the meeting of the
 States-General, by some of the Deputies, both ordinary and extraordinary of your
 Province, together with those of *Zeland*, *Freeiland*, and of the town of *Groningen*
 and the *Ommelands*, touching the calling and holding of a National Synod,
 in opposition and contradiction to the other Deputies of *Holland*, *West-Freeiland*,
Utrecht, and *Over-Yssel*; notwithstanding that some, even among the said Deputies
 of *Gelderland*, were scrupulous of proceeding (without express and special orders
 from their Principals) by a majority of votes, in these weighty matters, contrary
 to the union of all the Provinces, as well as other treaties and customs among them.
 Therefore since we are well assured, that our sincere intentions for the support of
 the good cause, for the preservation of the land, for the security of the peoples
 rights and privileges, and particularly of the true Christian, Evangelical, *Reformed*
 religion, will on that occasion be misinterpreted: We have judg'd it not only useful,
 but entirely necessary to refer you for better information, to the Declaration published
 by us in the month of *August* last past, together with our answer to the proposals
 of the Deputies of the four Provinces, which were presented almost at the same
 time, and which plainly appeared to have been made by concert; and lastly, to
 our Declaration against the imposing of the aforesaid National Synod, made at the
 meeting of the States-General, whereof your Deputies will unquestionably make a
 report and overture; to which we here subjoin an account of what has been
 thereupon done at our present meeting for a christian accommodation of the religious
 differences, hoping by God's grace, still to attain to a uniform resolution,
 toleration and accommodation, with reference to the controverted point of *Predestination*
 and its consequences. It is therefore our friendly and neighbourly request,
 that you would be pleased to take the trouble to read the aforementioned pieces
 in a full assembly of your body, without passion or partiality; and seriously to
 consider the very pernicious consequences of endeavouring to impose upon us a
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National Synod, by way of over-voting, contrary to the aforesaid union, several other treaties and former customs; and the rather because you and all wise men, may easily judge that such imposition cannot tend to the peace, unity, tranquillity, and preservation of the good people of the land, but rather to the involving them in divisions, schisms, and consequently in utter ruin; to which we fully hope that you will not give any occasion; but rather that when you reflect upon what we have formerly done, and still continue to do for your preservation, you will endeavour to preserve in us the inclination and ability of persevering.

We know well enough, that those who have put such an ill construction upon our honest intentions, will insinuate, that by making these Proposals, we are endeavouring to procure some advantage to our selves above you, who are the first in rank among the Provinces, and to bring the matter under our own authority and direction. But the reasons which induce us thus to act, are chiefly because the greatest part of the burden already lies upon us, and because we are perswaded, you will not easily charge your selves with the great expences which will probably be occasioned by such a Synod. These reasons we hope will prevail on you not to hearken to any misrepresentations of us; and so relying upon you, as our faithful Confederates, we beseech almighty God to take you, Honourable &c. into his holy protection.' Given at the Hague, the 24th of March, 1618.

Your good Friends, Neighbours and Allies, the States of Holland and West-Friesland.

And by their order,

A. DUCK.

The Prince appears at the Diet of Gelderland.

This Letter was sent to the Diet of *Gelderland*, where Prince *Maurice* was present at the same time, and where several things happened, and divers resolutions were taken that are worthy of notice; of which the following minutes remain:

Friday, the 13th of MARCH, 1618.

The Deputies of that Province make a report to the Diet of what was transacted in the Assembly of the States General, with reference to the Ecclesiastical disputes.

THE Commissioners appointed by the States for accommodating the reigning differences with respect to church-affairs, made, in a full meeting, and in the presence of the Lords the Stadtholder, Chancellor and Councils of the Province, a large verbal report by Dr. *Martinus Gregorius*, Counsellor, of all that past since the last meeting, with reference to those matters, in conformity to the instructions given to the said Commissioners: several papers and deductions of the like import were also read, and the Members were acquainted that they should be ready at all times to give a further account of matters when required. The Counsellor *Brienen*, made likewise a verbal report, (which he afterwards delivered in writing) of the reasons why he could not agree with the rest of the Commissioners. Whereupon the Members of the States, after mature deliberation and weighing of both reports, disavowed all that had been done by Burgomaster *Biesman*, and Counsellor *Brienen*, as being contrary to the resolution and good intention of the Province; and consequently approved of what the rest of the Commissioners had done in those matters, as having been transacted agreeably to the good intentions of the States, and in due discharge of the trust reposed in them; giving them many thanks for their labour and pains, and intreating them to continue their care and circumspection in supporting the once received doctrine; and to that end, heartily to promote the so much desired National Synod, in order to the adjusting the aforesaid differences, and to use the proper means to convince the scrupulous Provinces. For which purpose also, the Deputies of this body, at the meeting of the States General, are very peremptorily charged, strictly to conform themselves to the intention of this Province, and in this, as well as in all weighty cases, in general, to maintain unity and a good correspondence with the Provincial Court, agreeably to the past Resolutions of the States. But

the

‘ the Deputies of *Bomel*, declare that they have no positive instructions in this AN^o DOM^o matter.’

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Saturday, MARCH 14, 1618.

‘ HIS Excellency gave an account of what had been done at *Nimeguen*, on occasion of the change of the Magistracy there ; and the States voted that it was justly and prudently done, and for the service and peace of the Province, in consequence of the right and power which belonged to him of renewing the Magistracy ; and that his Excellency ought to have the thanks of this Assembly for what he had done, and be desired to continue so to act as well during the Truce as in time of War. And the Gentlemen, who are deputed to the Generality, are ordered, in case of any complaints of certain of the late Counsellors, by no means to join in supporting and strengthening, or in suffering the same to be received by the said Generality ; but to the end that the sovereignty and prerogatives of this Province may be preserved inviolable, to endeavour with all their might, that all such complaints be referred to the Province, to which they are conceived to belong. The Courts of Justice are likewise required to proceed against such as contravene this order, so as they shall think proper. It is moreover agreed, that these things be communicated by missive, or letter, to the States-General, in the name of this Province.

His Excellency the Prince reports what had been done in relation to the Change of the Magistracy at Nimeguen, and his Conduct is approved by the Diet.

‘ And whereas his Excellency the Prince has strenuously exhorted this Assembly to unity in the received doctrine, and proposed that we, as the first Province, should set a good example to the rest (which might be of great importance) and not consent that each single Province should usurp the right belonging to the Generality, such as is the raising and lifting Warders, changing the oath of the Garrison, and the like, which can only end in a dissolution of the Union, in discord and the utter ruine of the land : It is therefore resolved to instruct the Deputies, in the Assembly of the States-General, that they seriously desire the Provinces which have been guilty in these respects, that for the sake of peace and unity, and the good of the country, they would forbear lifting any more of those Warders, or altering the usual oath of their garrisons, and actually break and discharge those that are already lifted, and in a word, that they would join in supporting and strengthening by all kind of means the just rights and prerogatives of the States-General, and of his Princely Excellency.

The Resolution of the Diet, with reference to the Warders.

From these resolutions one may probably conclude, that the States of *Gelderland* were not then inclined to oblige those of *Holland*, *Over-Iffel*, and *Utrecht*, to agree to a National Synod by authority and over-voting. However, the Deputies of that Province went much farther afterwards ; whether it was that they judged their Instructions extended so far, or whether they were farther impowered ; of which yet I cannot find the least proof.

It was likewise observed by some, upon the resolution of the 14th of *March*, what care the States of *Gelderland* took to preserve their own rights and privileges against any incroachments of the States-General in the case of the late Counsellors of *Nimeguen* ; whereas they endeavoured at the same time to oblige the Province of *Holland* to submit to those of the Generality, in matters which no less affected the rights of that Province.

‘ A little before the journey of his Excellency to *Gelderland*, the States of *Utrecht* had been under great apprehensions. For their Deputies residing at the *Hague* had given them notice that the Prince intended to pass through their city ; upon which account they were afraid lest some of the *Contraremonstrants* should too much exert themselves, and attempt something to the prejudice of the publick peace. A Council being held, they thought at first of sending a deputation to meet the Prince at *Woerden*, with instructions to intreat him to avoid passing through *Utrecht* for that time. But the Heer van *Rysenburgh*, one of the Gentlemen appointed to go on this message, making some scruple, they agreed to revise the draught of a certain letter mentioned in

* From the Answers of the *Tonkers* Justus van Rysenburgh, John van Renesse, Frederick van Baxen, Richard van Ek, and others, to several Questions put to them upon Oath in December, 1618 ; as also from a certain Declaration made by G. Ledenberg, 27 Aug. 1618. O. S.

AN^o DOM. in the former book, and to send it to his Excellency by somebody commissioned in a full Assembly.

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It is said, that the Secretary of the States the Heer *Ladenbergh*, being in the chamber where they met, dropt this expression: *That they ought to shut the City gates, and keep his Excellency out, if, notwithstanding their request to the contrary, he should attempt to come in.* But it was never put to the question, nor was any resolution taken thereupon, because none of the Members approved it. However they then agreed to augment the number of their Warders, in order to be the better provided against any popular tumults.

The States of *Holland*, writ likewise to those of *Over-ysse*, to secure them on their side. But soon after, there happened a remarkable change.

The Prince appears at the Diet of Over-ysse, and presses the Assembly to consent to the holding a National Synod.

His Excellency the Prince of *Orange*, took a journey to *Deventer*, in the month of *May*, between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, at which time, the States of the Province met there. He pressed them to consent to the holding of a National Synod: 'Declaring and assuring these States, that nothing more was intended by the calling of such a Synod, and that it should be made use of to no other end but the composing the present church differences, without causing the least prejudice to the Provinces, or any of their Members in respect of their rights and privileges, or troubling any man on account of his religion.' He further assured them: 'That nothing but good arguments should be made use of to bring over the other dissenting Provinces, and that every thing should be so managed and transacted, as that no disunion, schism, or separation, should happen among them; and finally, that whatever was resolved and decreed by the Synod, should be of no value or obligation, unless and until it should be approved and confirmed by the consent of all the Provinces.'

On what condition the Synod was agreed to by the Assembly.

Upon these proposals and assurances, and upon the further pressing instances of the person from whom they proceeded, the States of *Over-ysse* were at last persuaded to agree to a National Synod, but with this express condition: *That it should be upon the aforementioned foot, viz. for settling peace and unity among the Provinces, and for composing the differences in the church.* Some relate that the town of *Kampen* held out the longest against the resolution for a National Synod. And it is likewise recorded by others, that the Deputies of *Over-ysse*, did not immediately enter into these measures with the States-General, but delayed their consent till the 18th of *August*, when affairs had taken quite another turn in the Province of *Utrecht*, and were upon the point of doing so in *Holland* too. Nevertheless, those of *Over-ysse* made from that time forwards, greater advances towards the opinion of the *Contraremonstrants*; yet without openly opposing the Province of *Holland* as others did, who incessantly urged their own designs. But those of *Holland* and *Utrecht*, adhered to their refusal, though perpetually contradicted by the Deputies of the five dissenting towns, who were strengthened by the accession of *Schiedam*. These six voices stood firm against the other thirteen Members of *Holland*, who on the contrary, always maintained that the former were bound to yield to their majority; as also that the other Provinces had no right to prescribe laws to theirs in the business of religion, any more than in civil matters, according to express mutual stipulations.

In the mean while, the tumults and other disorderly actions, which past in several places, gave great jealousies to thinking people.

The Magistrates of *Harlem* declared very plainly at the meeting of the States of *Holland*, in *January* and *February* (when their consent to the means for carrying on the War was desired of them) that they were of opinion that some were endeavouring to overturn the authority of the States and the liberties of their Country, under the cloak of religion. In that declaration, which was presented in writing, their Deputies spoke thus.

A Declaration of the Deputies of Harlem, relating to the pernicious designs suspected to be concealed under the cloak of religion.

THE Deputies of the town of *Harlem*, having several times before the demand of their consent to the State of the War for the current year 1618; declared both by word of mouth and in writing, the instructions and good intentions of their principals (which they are likewise ready to explain yet more fully and

and particularly) subjoin in consequence of such their declaration, that, as they have A N^o D O M.
 formerly represented that the people of their town, in the very hottest and most 1618.
 cruel time of the War, were the first and forwardest who with courage and con-
 stancy waited the attack of the furious and dreadful army, power and strength of
 the *Spaniards*, the common enemies of all the Provinces, under their walls, and
 bravely faced them, and by the help of God, withstood and stopt them in their
 career, having undergone so long and dangerous a siege, suffered so much for the
 common cause, and hitherto valued no difficulties nor dangers attending their en-
 deavours to preserve the immunities and privileges of the Province of *Holland* and
West-Friesland, together with liberty of conscience; and that they are still ready
 to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for keeping out *Spanish* tyranny, the inquisition,
 violation of their rights, and all kind of oppression, and for the same purpose to
 help bear all the burdens that have been hitherto laid upon them; so likewise they
 the said Deputies crave liberty to represent, that their said Principals conscienti-
 ously considering how highly they, and all the Magistrates of the land are en-
 gaged and bound, as well by virtue of their office in general as by their solemn and
 particular oaths, to defend and maintain the aforesaid rights and privileges, toge-
 ther with the lawful Government of these Provinces, and especially the authority
 of the States, and of the Rulers of the respective towns in subordination to them, and
 to protect all the good people of the land, in peace and security against murder,
 robbery, and all sorts of violence and oppression; without suffering any inconve-
 nience, trouble or injury to befall any person on account of his opinion in mat-
 ters of religion, as is expressly stipulated in the union between the towns of *Holland*
 and *West-Friesland*, and in the further union with the Province of *Utrecht*; ob-
 serving likewise with great concern, that to the no small contempt of the afore-
 said government and authority of the States, several weighty and important reso-
 lutions solemnly agreed upon at their meetings, by the greater part of their Mem-
 bers, have of late been unjustly calumniated and traduced, and consequently ren-
 dered fruitless and ineffectual: that likewise several books and pamphlets have
 been written and published without any restraint against the said Government, and
 in contempt of the said authority: that provisions have been granted against the
 ordinances and resolutions of the said States, as well as against the rights, privileges,
 and customs of the respective towns: that the Magistrates in several places have
 been publicly threatened, and in some also violently assaulted: that the elections
 of Magistrates instead of being made fairly and freely, and according to the known
 privileges, have on the contrary been extorted by threats, riots, and open violen-
 ces; whereby it has every where notoriously appeared, that a design was formed
 by a sett of factious and turbulent persons, to turn out of all share of the Go-
 vernment by various ways and methods, the best and most faithful Patriots, who,
 with the utmost risque and danger of their lives and fortunes, have given undoubted
 proofs of their love to their country; and all this under the specious pretence of
 religion: Moreover, that divers Ministers, Burghers, and others of the Commu-
 nity, who have always adhered to the *Reformed* religion, and differ from others
 only in the business of *Predestination* and its appurtenances, have been driven out
 of the Church by force or threats, have been injured, affronted, or ill-treated in
 the streets, and their very houses, and besides, actually robbed or endangered as
 to their persons and estates; which unreasonable and barbarous usage, proceeding
 either from hatred to religion, or the specious pretence of it, being diametrically
 opposite to the nature of all good Christians, and the temper of all true *Hollanders*,
 was never known till now, since the time that arms were taken up for asserting our
 liberties: add to this, that certain turbulent Clergymen, make no scruple to se-
 parate from their Collegues (though agreeing with them in the doctrine of *Predesti-*
nation and its consequences) and to set on foot and encourage deplorable schisms in
 the churches, and factions in the community, for no other reason, but because
 their said Collegues and their People (as was the duty of good and faithful subjects,
 according to the word of God) have, in the Call of Ecclesiastical persons, as re-
 quired by their Magistrates and Rulers, conformed to the Ecclesiastical Constitu-
 tion of the year 1591, which the States declared might be every where observed
 by the Magistrates of the several towns and places, if approved of; as also that the
 people of several sects and persuasions, who have hitherto lived peaceably and
 quietly

AN^o DOM. 1618. quietly in this country, without occasioning any faction or sedition, are now threatened to be driven out of the land, as appears by a book intituled *Querela Ecclesiae*, and other seditious pamphlets, libels, songs and ballads; against all which unlawful practices, no punishment (suitable to the exigence of affairs) has been yet ordained, nor care taken to prevent the like for the future, by publishing Placards, or securing the places that have been exposed to such disorders, by removing the persons who have occasioned the same, notwithstanding the most pressing instances for that purpose were made both in the Assembly of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and in that of the Generality, according to the practice on the like occasions: but on the contrary it is daily seen (may God amend it!) that persons guilty of the like offences, having been banished by the Magistrates of several towns, pursuant to the authority and power wherewith they are invested for the peace and tranquillity of their respective Communities, are nevertheless supported and encouraged by certain people in their undutiful and turbulent behaviour; that some towns likewise in this Province, though at a great distance from the enemy, have been burthened with great numbers of Soldiers, to the dissatisfaction of the Magistrates and Burghers, without the least security given, that under the pretext of the religious differences, the peace of them the said Magistrates and Burghers should not be disturbed; or at least, that if attackt by others, they should be assisted by their Garrisons, according to their oaths, and in consequence of the abovementioned further union; by all which insecurity of government, impunity of crimes, and the audaciousness of many disorderly and licentious persons, who show by all their actions, that they have nothing less at heart than religion, the good Burghers and Inhabitants are kept in continual fears and terrors, and many of them disposed to leave the country as soon as they can meet with an opportunity, to the great hurt and disservice of the publick, unless a timely remedy be applied. Having therefore nothing more at heart than the preservation of the wealth and revenues of the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, as well as the rights and privileges thereof, for the common good; and reflecting, that as the subjects on the one hand are bound to bear all those burdens that are lawfully and justly laid upon them (which also the good people of these countries have most dutifully done hitherto) so on the other hand, the Government is obliged to protect and defend its subjects, and accordingly to endeavour to incline the said good people (by entirely securing them in their liberty of conscience, in their honour, bodies and estates) the more willingly to bear the said burdens; the aforementioned Deputies think it necessary, before they proceed to give their consent to the taxes in question, to make the following sincere Declaration in the name of their Principals.

First, That they are willing add ready to join in supporting the authority and prerogatives of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and of his Excellency, as Governor of the said country; of the Committee of the said States in the direction of the affairs of State, War, Policy, and Finances, and all matters relating thereto; of the Courts of Justice in the ordinary management of affairs belonging to their Judicature; and of the Governors and Magistrates of towns and places, each of them in his lawful station and employment, according to their instructions, the resolutions of the said States, and the customs of these Provinces; as also in opposing and hindering all that shall be attempted, by word or deed, against the same, in executing all the orders of the States (either with unanimity or (except in the business of taxes, war, and government) by plurality of voices.

Secondly, That they are ready to discharge and perform all stipulations of the unions and confederacies, and other agreements formerly made between the Members of this Province, or with other Provinces, and accordingly to assist with vigour both the one and the other against the tyranny of Spain, as also against all other force whether foreign or domestick, and against all violations of the rights, liberties, and privileges of the Province or Towns, without sparing their lives or fortunes, or in any wise forsaking each other.

Thirdly

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‘ Thirdly, That for this purpose they are ready to join in supporting the Rulers and Magistrates of Towns, both great and small, in the exercise of their lawful authority, and in defending them against all force and violence; and not to suffer any persons to be introduced into the government of places otherwise than by a free and lawful election; and that they will help to reform all that has been done to the contrary.

‘ Fourthly, That with respect to religion they are ready openly to maintain and defend the Evangelical Reformed Religion, but however, without consenting to any inquiry into the private faith or opinions of any persons, or to their being involved in any trouble or damage on that account; as also without allowing that any thing be done concerning religion by the other Provinces without the concurrence of that of Holland and West-Friesland, it being contrary to the rights and privileges of the said Province of Holland and West-Friesland, as well as to the union of Utrecht. And as for the disputes arisen in the Church, about God’s Holy Predestination, and the points belonging thereto, as they would formerly have cheerfully contributed to the preventing the schism on that account, so they are now no less ready to enter into any measures for putting an end to the same, being however of opinion in the mean time, that without prejudice to the aforesaid Points, the possession of the churches ought to be left to the lawfully called Ministers and their Congregations; and that whatever has been done against them by force and violence, ought to be redressed.

‘ Fifthly, That they are likewise willing and ready to own and reverence the Courts of Justice in all judicial matters, and to stand by and support them in acting according to their commissions and instructions, provided that, in conformity to the union, the said Courts do not grant any provisions against the resolutions of the States, nor against the privileges and known usages of the Towns, and particularly against that most ancient right and privilege of this land, that in all such criminal cases in which the proceedings are not carried on by the ordinary way of trial, no Resort, or Appeal, to the said Courts shall be admitted.

‘ Sixthly, They insist, that the revenues of the Province be applied, not only in opposition to all foreign enemies, but likewise for the defence and security of all the good Burghers and Inhabitants, against violence and injuries, with regard to their persons and estates, although such violence and injuries should be committed under the pretext aforesaid.

‘ Seventhly, That all soldiers quartered in any of the districts of Holland and West-Friesland, or in any other parts, if they are in the repartition of the Province, being required, shall be obliged, according to the seventh Article of the further Union of Utrecht, to take a particular oath (besides the general one) to the Magistrates of the City or Town in which they are quartered, to defend and assist both them and the Burghers and Inhabitants against any force, though offered them under the pretence abovementioned.

‘ Eighthly, They further declare, That they look upon themselves as bound and obliged, by virtue of the confederacies and unions formerly made, to assist all and singular persons that shall meet with any trouble or harm on the aforesaid accounts, with their lives and fortunes, and cheerfully to join in procuring just satisfaction for whatever may be done to the contrary.

‘ Accordingly the aforesaid Deputies of the town of *Harlem* do, in the name of their Principals, instantly and earnestly pray, that all the Members of this Assembly would, before they give their consent to the Taxes, be pleased to speak their minds freely and fully upon the points aforesaid, to the end that the said consent may be more readily obtained, with a mutual confidence and security. And in case any Members should entertain any scruple, with respect to the aforesaid matters, (as it is hoped they will not) they desire they would declare it plainly and openly,

AN^o DOM. 1618. ' as becomes good and faithful friends, allies, and members of one body ; and as it
 ' has always been laudably practised in the like difficulties.

' The Magistrates of *Harlem* desired that the rest of the Members would make the like Declaration, or inform them better, being ready to yield to reason. Which was very mildly proposed by their Deputies. Upon this Declaration, not only the seven towns of *Leyden*, *Gouda*, *Rotterdam*, the *Brill*, *Schoonhoven*, *Alkmaer*, and *Horn*, but also the greatest part of the Assembly said they had nothing to object against it, especially if the Gentlemen of *Harlem* and others would forbear insisting upon indemnifications further than could be conveniently complied with. But those few towns which differed from the rest with regard to ecclesiastical matters, scrupled giving their consent ; yet, as ² *Grotius* writes, without alledging any reasons, though earnestly urged so to do. However, we find the following Minute among the Resolutions of the States on the 18th of *May*.

A Declaration
 of those of
 Amsterdam.

' A Memorial having been delivered in writing by the Deputies of the town of
 ' *Harlem*, those of *Amsterdam* declared, that they had been instructed by their Prin-
 ' cipals to maintain and support the publick authority of the States of *Holland* and
 ' *West-Friesland*, of his Princely Excellency, and the respective Magistrates of the
 ' Towns of the said Province, as also the rights and liberties of the said Towns.
 ' Upon which the Deputies of *Dort* being desired to declare, or else to approve
 ' of the foregoing Declaration ; they desired to know first, whether the De-
 ' puties of *Harlem* were satisfied with the aforesaid Declaration, and would then
 ' proceed to consent to the said taxes. But the Deputies of *Harlem* declined answer-
 ' ing this question till they had consulted among themselves, and declared that after-
 ' wards they would deliver in their answer.

It seems those of *Harlem*, and the rest of the Towns which sided with them, were afterwards satisfied with this Declaration. For *Grotius* says, that these towns, upon the others declaring that they would support the authority of the Magistrates (which was the main point) fully agreed to what was desired of them. But some time before, the Deputies of *Harlem* would not consent to the usual Excises unless the Warders might be paid out of them, together with those of the old Troops that would in due manner acknowledge and respect the supreme authority of the States of *Holland*.

This language was very disagreeable to many among the *Contraremonstrants*, who suspected, that such declarations, for maintaining the Civil Authority, might prove prejudicial to that of the Church, and be too great an encouragement of their adversaries.

On the aforesaid 18th of *May*, the *French* Envoy, Monsieur *du Maurier*, appeared at the Meeting of the States, and made the following Speech to them upon the reigning differences and disputes :

My Lords,

A Speech of
 the French
 Envoy made
 to the States
 of Holland,
 on occasion of
 the Ecclesiasti-
 cal Disputes.

' MY appearing again in the Assembly of your Lordships, upon the new inci-
 ' dents of the times, may serve, among many other examples, to convince you
 ' that the King, my Master, has the good of this Republick so much at heart, (as
 ' continually viewing your troubles with an eye of tenderness) that all the com-
 ' mands he sends me, are nothing else but so many spurs and goads to excite me, on
 ' his part, to ward off all those inconveniences wherewith you are threatned, and to
 ' bring about those advantages which he wishes you. In order to this, it will be
 ' necessary for the future, that your Lordships views concur with those of his Ma-
 ' jesty. The King expected to have heard that your affairs had taken another turn ;
 ' but has been troubled to understand that matters are still so dubious, that there is
 ' more reason to fear than to hope ; especially whilst parties (I am sorry I am obli-
 ' ged to use so odious an expression) on all sides so obstinately adhere to their own
 ' private sentiments with respect to the publick differences, that their passions are all
 ' on fire, whilst the Commonwealth is frozen with cold.

² Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 236.

² Ibid. p. 243.

‘ It is for this cause that his Majesty, who is indefatigable in supplying all the wa- AN^O DOM.
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 ‘ ter that may suffice for quenching this conflagration, and who is not a little troubled
 ‘ that his wife counsels have indeed penetrated your ears, but never yet affected your
 ‘ hearts, has again most expressly charged me to try whether I could not awaken
 ‘ your Lordships out of that lethargy, which having almost deprived each of you
 ‘ of the sensation of your common distemper, has exposed your liberty to the ut-
 ‘ most danger, just as if it were decreed that it should be rooted out by the very
 ‘ persons who planted it.

‘ I see but too great a preparation and disposition towards it. For the space of
 ‘ four months since my return from *France* have I been a spectator of your condition,
 ‘ which, to my great grief, I find the more deplorable, because the first disease
 ‘ has drawn so many others after it, which jointly threaten you with no less than
 ‘ the total and speedy subversion of your Republick: and in case you will not seek
 ‘ your safety after another manner than you have hitherto done, it is certain you
 ‘ will never find it; that is, unless the solemn protestations, which all of you make
 ‘ in words, that you are inclined to steer the same course with equal zeal for the good
 ‘ of your country, be not attended with better effects. For the cause of your distem-
 ‘ per will never be removed by gazing upon each other, nor by deferring your en-
 ‘ deavours till a more proper time, whilst each of the parties improves this opportu-
 ‘ nity to get an advantage over the other, but rather by your vigorously applying
 ‘ yourselves to the work. For believe it freely, there is no other way of regaining
 ‘ your former flourishing state, than by your becoming all of one mind; and the
 ‘ sooner you set about it, the better, because the re-establishment of unity in all the
 ‘ other Provinces most certainly depends on that of yours.

‘ It is therefore necessary that your Province should be the true centre in which
 ‘ the rest, like so many lines, may unite; and that recovering its former stability,
 ‘ it should actually become that point which a great Mathematician formerly re-
 ‘ quired to be given him beyond our Earth, asserting, that with the help of his in-
 ‘ struments, he should then be able immediately to remove this Globe from its place.
 ‘ For it is most certain, that if *Holland* would but be united so soon as it easily
 ‘ might, all the troubles of this Republick, whose peace and harmony is only inter-
 ‘ rupted for want of yours, would immediately cease; and that good order which
 ‘ has given such life and credit to all your transactions, would be re-established upon
 ‘ a better foundation than ever.

‘ It is not to be doubted, but the thing will have its difficulties; for we fre-
 ‘ quently meet with great obstructions in matters of much less importance. But
 ‘ those that shall stand in your way, will be easily surmounted, if each of you
 ‘ would but resolve to do his utmost to cure the evil, and would really prefer the
 ‘ good of his country above all private views whatever.

‘ Since then the haranguing in general terms has hitherto been of little effect, and
 ‘ since the disease has got such a head that it would be too dangerous to stay for
 ‘ slow Physicians and tedious Remedies, I shall more fully inform you, what diffi-
 ‘ culties his Majesty foresees in the use of those means which are proposed to you,
 ‘ and which of them he judges the most salutary.

‘ He lays it down then for a principle, my Lords, that the disease you labour un-
 ‘ der, is of such a nature, and has already so deeply insinuated itself, that it would
 ‘ be impossible to stop its course any other wise than by one of these three methods;
 ‘ to wit, either by *open violence*, or by a *decision of your differences*, or lastly by
 ‘ some kind of *accommodation*.

‘ As for *Force*, I cannot imagine that we shall find any man so void both of sense
 ‘ and humanity, as to think it either adviseable or feasible; it being a method not
 ‘ only incompatible with our christian profession, but with all civil society. Various
 ‘ experiments have taught those who have tryed it, at all times, and in all nations
 ‘ to their damage, that **Conscience is not to be compelled**, and that therefore, hu-
 ‘ mane means ought not to be employed to force that which it is the sole preroga-
 ‘ tive of the Almighty to govern. Add to this, that *it will be impossible for you,*
 ‘ *in this manner entirely to remove the cause of the mutual complaints which are*
 ‘ *heard among you, any otherwise than by tearing out your own bowels; that is, by*
 ‘ *miserably rending your Republick.*

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‘ As for an absolute decision of these differences, I know well enough that it is
 ‘ confessed by those who are the wisest, and best versed in these matters, that it
 ‘ cannot be brought about any otherwise than by a General Council ; a method no
 ‘ less difficult than tedious, on account of infinite circumstances and considerations
 ‘ proceeding from the situation of our times, which are but too full of well-grounded
 ‘ jealousies and suspicions: These are matters which are clear and open to every
 ‘ man’s own view, insomuch that we shall not spend the best part of our audience in
 ‘ vain, by the rehearsal of such things.

‘ There remains then the third and, at present, the only means for making a suc-
 ‘ cessful experiment of this cure ; to wit, *the coming to some good agreement among*
 ‘ *your selves, till a better expedient can be found.* From such a method as this you
 ‘ may certainly promise yourselves good success, provided you all go into it with
 ‘ such an honest and sincere intention as your engagements for promoting the com-
 ‘ mon welfare require of you.

‘ I know very well that a proposal has been made for calling a National Synod
 ‘ in order to take cognizance of these disputes, and it were to be wished it had met
 ‘ with a general consent. But as I am informed, to my great grief, you are of very
 ‘ different opinions in that matter, and some have already made several objections
 ‘ against it.

‘ Now that such a general consent ought to precede, if you expect any fruit from
 ‘ such an Assembly, is beyond all doubt. For even whenever any proposals were
 ‘ made for holding a Council, it was laid down as a fundamental maxim, that
 ‘ there ought to be such a previous general concurrence, proceeding from the love
 ‘ of peace and unity among christians ; consequently, in order to bring about a mat-
 ‘ ter of so great importance, and to turn it to the advantage of the Commonwealth, a
 ‘ mutual consent is absolutely necessary.

‘ What I have said concerning a General Council (the authority of which is also
 ‘ annulled, where its decrees don’t meet with obedience) is no less applicable to the
 ‘ National Synod, which is now the thing in question. The present State of these
 ‘ no longer *United* but *Dis-united Provinces*, (with respect to the holding of such a
 ‘ Synod) where the contending parties have proceeded so far as to protest against each
 ‘ other, will not suffer us to expect so much good, as we might otherwise have
 ‘ promised ourselves from such an Assembly.

‘ Wherefore when men press so vehemently for the trying this expedient, they
 ‘ ought not only to reflect upon the beginning and the externals, but also upon the
 ‘ internals and all possible events. For in bodies that are full of ill humours (as
 ‘ yours now is) the remedies often happen to be worse than the disease, and tend
 ‘ sometimes to the destruction of the whole.

‘ Upon which (to explain my self more fully) I beg leave to observe, that if not-
 ‘ withstanding the discord and dissensions which are now reigning among the Pro-
 ‘ vinces, they should happen to resolve upon a National Synod, by the majority of
 ‘ voices, and if the Synod (notwithstanding all protestations to the contrary) should
 ‘ come to any determination of the points which are now controverted, in what a
 ‘ condition would then the greater part of your towns be, that are so many
 ‘ little Republicks, out of which the whole State is formed? For these being com-
 ‘ posed of persons who have imbibed the modern contradictory opinions, and such a
 ‘ Synod not being able to ordain any thing which the one will not think as pernicious
 ‘ as the other does beneficial, that party-rage, which upon this occasion will get fresh
 ‘ strength among your subjects, will convert that into rank poison which you had
 ‘ prepared as a wholesome medicine ; and consequently the mischief will rather in-
 ‘ crease than diminish.

‘ It therefore becomes your Wisdom not to endeavour to cure this their distemper
 ‘ unseasonably, nor by methods which, though agreeable to some, may yet prove
 ‘ so offensive to others, as to produce deplorable effects, and even such as at last may
 ‘ prove hurtful to those, who at the beginning seemed to be the prevailing party.
 ‘ For reason teaches us, and experience confirms it, that we are often endangered by
 ‘ the danger of another, and that whilst we endeavour to gain an advantage by the
 ‘ damage of our neighbour, we ourselves prove losers at last.

‘ However,

‘ However, my Lords, not wholly to abandon your languishing body, but rather
 ‘ to endeavour the restoring it to a better state of health, avoiding the difficulties
 ‘ that have been enumerated, let us attend to what follows. Since it is commonly
 ‘ the method before the holding a general Synod (upon the supposition that it cannot
 ‘ at first be amicably resolved upon) to call a Provincial one; where would be the
 ‘ inconvenience for all the Provinces to be mutually assisting in the holding of their
 ‘ respective Synods; (especially since the points which are at present in dispute,
 ‘ are not to be there decided) or even for you to make a beginning with a Synod in
 ‘ your own Province, as being the most distempered of all, in order to use it either
 ‘ for moderating the violence of mens passions, or for preparing them for some more
 ‘ solemn Assembly if necessary; endeavouring thus to bring your selves into a more
 ‘ calm and peaceable condition, till some means can be found out capable of making a
 ‘ perfect cure; which in a State so divided as yours, is not to be hoped for but by
 ‘ the means of an Assembly of a long continuance.

‘ If it should be objected, that this will be the way to defeat certain resolutions
 ‘ which were formerly taken concerning a National Synod, I must own that it
 ‘ would carry some colour of reason with it, if the Provincial Synod might exclude
 ‘ the National, by assuming to itself the authority of determining. But the contra-
 ‘ ry being plainly stipulated, this apprehension vanishes. And in case any man
 ‘ should happen to propose some wholesome expedient for putting an end to your
 ‘ dissensions, I assure myself there is none so degenerate among you, who would
 ‘ not be very much pleased with it, as perceiving that you have attained that by a
 ‘ a shorter way which some were trying to find by a longer; for there is some dis-
 ‘ course of a design to invite certain learned men from foreign parts to that
 ‘ end.

‘ But if your Lordships can effect it without them, you will wisely avoid the scan-
 ‘ dal of exposing your wounds to the eyes of all *Europe*, as has been proposed by
 ‘ some. For whereas your former actions have produced nothing but triumphs;
 ‘ you will then be called to an account for your divisions by foreigners, and which is
 ‘ worse, they will bear witness of your weakness.

‘ Now my Lords, since all the examples of former times teach us that the wisest
 ‘ men have thought it more for their honour and interest too, rather to take care of
 ‘ themselves than suffer others to do it; and that nothing has been more agreeable
 ‘ and beneficial to them, than their having the skill to cure their own distempers;
 ‘ his Majesty therefore advises you to do the like, and not expose your selves to the
 ‘ contempt and ill designs of those who only seek their advantage in your troubles.
 ‘ And his Majesty is of opinion, that such a way would not be less advantageous to
 ‘ the situation of your affairs, than desirable for the preservation of your dignity
 ‘ and esteem in the world.

‘ To this end, it will be necessary for your Lordships to establish what every
 ‘ body talks off, and solemnly professes his readiness to grant, *viz.* a *Mutual*
 ‘ *Toleration*; that so the desires which any one may have entertained, of prejudicing
 ‘ another being abolished, nothing may be attempted, but what may promote the
 ‘ good of all the Members.

‘ My Lords, among so many difficulties which spring from each other in these
 ‘ troublesome times, it is even said that there are some people who suffer themselves
 ‘ to be so far transported by their jealousies and discontents, as to scruple the conti-
 ‘ nuation of those ways and means which have been appropriated to the raising of
 ‘ your common supplies, and which are absolutely necessary for your preservation.
 ‘ But I cannot conceive that your usual prudence will suffer any of you to come to
 ‘ such extremities. Prevent such confusion, and concur in furnishing those means,
 ‘ without which your Community cannot subsist. In acting otherwise, you will
 ‘ sap the very foundations of your common tranquillity, you will cause the ship
 ‘ of your Republick to founder, and whilst you are endeavouring to escape the
 ‘ present dangers, involve your selves in much greater.

‘ For from hence would proceed the mutiny of your Garrisons for want of their
 ‘ pay. The consequences of which would prove fatal to your State; since its peace
 ‘ and security cannot subsist without arms, nor arms without pay, nor pay without
 ‘ money. Do not therefore refuse to each other such things as are reasonable, least
 ‘ at the last, neither the one side nor the other have authority or influence enough

‘ to

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‘ to keep the people within due bounds, or oblige them to answer the ordinary imposts ; from whence such uproars and tumults would arise as might soon be fomented into open rebellion ; which God forbid !

‘ It ought therefore to be your chiefest care, that whilst you endeavour to obviate some evils, you do not give an occasion to the exciting of much greater, and that in curing one disorder, you do not suffer many more to grow upon you from another quarter, by conniving at the licentiousness of the people, who are always boundless in their desires, and always disposed to expect more, and to bear less than their share, and who are so easily surfeited with their present condition by the cheat they put on themselves, believing always, that the condition at which they aim, is far better than that they enjoy. This hurries men often to cast themselves and others headlong into such a state of misery and confusion, as never once entered into their thoughts.

‘ To conclude therefore, my Lords, is it not high time, in order to prevent all these impending evils, that you should return to that mutual trust and confidence, which was the cement of your first union and confederacy ; and that by bewareing of all injuries for the future, and giving reciprocal assurances of it, you forget all that has past, all that has been done or suffered on either side, and no longer insist upon reparation, of which there would never be an end ? Do not therefore expose your weak side to your enemies, nor give them an opportunity to wound you so deeply, that you can never be healed again.

‘ Have there been any severities used on one side, which can not be easily digested ; in God’s name let them be no longer used : And have there been any tumults excited by the other side, whereby they have departed far from their duty ; join all of you together to prevent the ill consequences ; unite all your thoughts and cares to extinguish those sparks of faction which have discovered themselves but too clearly, to the end, that they may not at the last break out among you into a general conflagration. In short, that the complaints on every side may cease, and the remembrance of all factions be done away, let all transgressions be buried in a holy amnesty or oblivion, and look only forwards, which is the only way to secure your state.

‘ It is but too manifest that in case you persist in your dissensions, you will find at last, that you have been really contending for others and not for your selves, and that you will have contributed more towards your own destruction in a few months, than all the power of your enemies could effect in half an age, and that you will deliver into their hands, by your ill management, such a prize as their good conduct could never have procured them. Would it not be converting all the glory which this Republick has acquired, into shame and reproach, if by your own mistakes you should abandon the rewards of your former victories to others ?

‘ And in this case, your Lordships would be the greatest sufferers, forasmuch as your Province is undoubtedly the principal part of this body, and as such is most obliged to do its best to establish itself on a firm and lasting basis, (which has not been attempted hitherto, but with much irregularity) without delaying it till some fresh and more troublesome incidents arise, and till you be still more intangled in this labarynth, in which we know there is much more danger of being lost, than hope of saving your selves.

‘ I return therefore to this conclusion, that it is absolutely necessary that your Province should endeavour to save itself and the rest by its unity. This you may do, if resuming your former mutual trust and confidence, you will transact in concert, the affairs that relate to your own body, and extend your example and the fruits of it to the advantage of all your Allies, who have always found their account in squaring their Resolutions by yours.

‘ In case your Lordships are disposed to take this advice, as I do not question but you are, you must lose no time. For the issue of this Assembly, after so many recesses, ought plainly to convince us, that you are not at so great a distance from one another, but that you may easily be reconciled. And it is likewise certain, that in the present circumstances of affairs, the not coming to a good conclusion will be the same as overturning all. For if those who expect some better resolutions should be disappointed in their hopes, they will fall flatly into a more dangerous desperation.

‘ In the mean while take care, my Lords, that it do not happen to you as AN^o DOM. 1618. it does to wood, which men commonly cleave with the same materials ; and believe freely, that if discord gain but the least entertainment among you, it will turn to your great disadvantage, and that if you let the poison penetrate into your bowels, the antidote will come too late. You must likewise know that your Province, which, when the Members of it are strongly united among themselves, surpasses all the rest in strength, will become much more contemptible and impotent than others, if you relapse into divided Councils.

‘ Moreover, since you have been able to find out a way to make a truce with your capital enemies, what a reproach will it be, that you have not been able to do it among your selves ? And that you should not begin by removing little impediments, in order afterwards jointly to accommodate the greatest and most important.

‘ And since likewise, my Lords, your State is at present in the strongest passions of its youth, inasmuch that it ferments and works like new wine, you are the more obliged to put the strongest hoops on the vessel, lest the violence of the fermentation should make it burst, and all that it contains, be spilt and lost. And as there is no evil in humane affairs that is not attended with some good, so will it be, if by your wisdom you can check and restrain these boisterous passions ; which it is undoubtedly in your power to do. For then will your Republick be the more durable, and may, for the future, please itself with the hopes of much steadier fortune.

‘ In fine, your Lordships ought to consider that you have been much more supported by the strength of your union, than by the force and power of your arms ; and that all your views (as you your selves declare) center in one and the same point, *viz.* the preservation of your country. You ought not therefore to delay forming such a resolution as may directly lead to it. Having taken such a Resolution, execute it with diligence : and doubt not, but in so doing, you will break the neck of many designs, which if they gathered strength, would hinder you from ever recovering your former vigour, or regaining so great a share of your honour as would suffice to repair the decay of your authority.

‘ These, my Lords, are the Counsels of his Majesty, which if they have the luck to be received with the same affection as they are given, and to be duly weighed and put in execution, the King assures himself that your Lordships will reap no less advantage than himself will pleasure and satisfaction in having been able to bring it to pass.’

This speech and advice delivered with so much zeal, in the name of so great a Monarch, by a Gentleman who made profession of the *Reformed* religion, and heartily promoted its interests, and whom we find described by ¹ *Vossius* as a very wise Statesman, and a person of great eloquence, had no effect upon minds that were already but too much estranged from each other.

² The Duke of *Rohan*, one of the greatest genius’s among the Professors of the *Reformed* religion, in the Kingdom of *France*, was of opinion, that it was a stratagem of the *Spaniards*, to involve the *French* in the disputes among the *Dutch*, in order to make their own advantage of those divisions in the Church and State. ³ The Duke discoursing in one of his treatises about the quarrels of the *Hollanders*, and the proper remedies, says thus : ‘ Hitherto all the Assemblies that have been convened, whether general or particular, have not been able to adjust their differences. For the government of that State is in such a situation, that the particular Provinces, will not regard the resolutions of the Generality, neither are the orders of the particular Provinces, any more regarded by their own towns, because they are of opinion that their Republick is composed of as many Sovereign States as there are Towns. Neither has there yet been any weighty incident that could induce them to change their method ; for they were always unanimous in matters that necessarily related to their preservation. But now that the evil is of such a nature, that no expedient can be found for curing it under such a constitution

A discourse of the Duke of Rohan, containing his opinion of the cause of the differences in Holland, and his advice concerning the most effectual means of appeasing them.

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¹ Voss. Epist. Dedicat. Rhetor. contraff. præfix. ² L’interet des Princes & Etats de la Chretienté Part. 2. Discours. 4. ³ Rohan en ses Discours. Politiques. Dis. 7. p. 72.

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tion which in reality was never known in former ages) can we any longer allow that the obstinacy of one Member should be suffered to prevail to the destruction of the whole body, and that the body should be kept so weak, as not to be able to govern its own Members? To be plain, methinks they must be strangely possessed with self-love and arrogance, who can set so high a value upon their opinions, as to expect that in order to make them pass, the publick peace should be violated, and the government under which they live, run the risque of being overturned. To cure this disease, I fancy the following regimen should be observed. Let them for a tryal, endeavour to compose the quarrel arisen in *Holland* on account of religion, by an Assembly made up of *Hollanders* only; to the end, that as near as possible, the ancient order may be observed. Let them proceed in the like manner in the rest of the Provinces, and do all they can to put an end to the dissensions. But if this expedient should not succeed, they must then necessarily have recourse to a National Synod. And though some of the towns of this or that Province should withhold their consent, the rest ought to go on with it, and to lay the resolutions that shall be there taken, before the States General. The States, in a matter of such importance, ought to intreat their neighbours and allies to send Deputies to the Synod to assist them with their good advice, to the end that those neighbours and allies may be engaged to support the resolutions which the Synod shall take, and which should be communicated to them and to the towns, and to all the garrisons. And I am certain that by proceeding after this manner, they will obviate many evils, especially if the resolutions they come to, be moderate and reasonable.

When this is done, I am of opinion that the States need not scruple to compel the obstinate to obey them; and if God shall please to bless these endeavours with success, they may turn this mischief into great advantage. Now as for what is to be done in such a Synod; it will be highly necessary that some discipline be established in the church, in order to prevent for the future, every private person from breaking its unity at pleasure. This discipline must be so limited and restrained, as not to touch the authority of the States in any branch of it. And that may be effected by ordaining, that the Synods and Ecclesiastical Assemblies, shall not concern themselves with any other matters but those which regard religion, and that no such meetings be ever holden but in the presence of the Civil Magistrate, who shall be a witness of their debates. I should be also for taking care that no Minister be received, who happens to be tainted with any of those doctrines which the Synod shall condemn: and that for the present, the Clergy should be ordered to forbear touching in the least upon the controverted points in their sermons.

Above all, the utmost endeavours should be used to maintain communion among all the people at the Lords table; there being no disagreement among them, as far as I know, as to that article, which is the ground of our salvation, and which has so great a force in uniting us.

Thus every one spoke of the divisions of this country, according to the informations or notions he had of them. The greatest friends to the Republick of the *Netherlands*, were the most concerned for her. They that saw her danger, were afraid of worse, and endeavoured to prevent it.

The Minister of
the King of
Sweden ap-
pears at the
Assembly of the
States of Hol-
land and ad-
vises them to
peace.

A few weeks before the Envoy *Du Maurier* made the above speech, the *Sieur John Skytten*, the King of *Sweden's* Minister, appeared at the Assembly of the States of *Holland*, complementing them as the principal Member of the Generality, on the part of the King his Master; and after recommending the affairs of his said Majesty, 'He besought them (who had acquired so great a reputation in the world) to reflect upon the advantages that were owing to their mutual unity, and not to let their Ecclesiastical divisions render them impotent and unable to serve themselves, their friends and allies, who could not but be concerned at these dissensions, whilst their enemies who lay at their gates rejoiced no less.' They thank him for his visit and complements, as also for his good advice, which they said they would take into consideration.

Not

Not long before, the *Sieur Carleton*, Ambassador from the King of *Great Britain*, had again pressed the States-General to call a National Synod, in order to put an end to the disputes of the *Netherland* churches, to which he added, that the method of these churches in bringing their disputes, first to the Classes, next to the Provincial Synods, and then, in case they could not be there adjusted, to the National, in order to a determination, was perfectly conformable to the proceedings of the Church of *England*. But many of the Magistrates, and others of the *Remonstrant* party, were persuaded, that the constitution of that Church was in such matters wholly different from that of the *Low-Country* churches, and therefore doubted the Ambassador was too partial to their adversaries, the *Contraremonstrants*.

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A few weeks after, when he complained to their High-Mightinesses against publishing the book called the *Ballance*, in *French*, he acquainted them with some matters which he conceived to be proofs of what he had before asserted concerning the methods used in *England* for treating of, and adjusting, the controversies and differences about religion: 'When the King, *said he*, thinks it fitting and necessary to cause any matter of religion to be examined and decided in the Church of *England*, his Majesty causes a Synod to be called, consisting of Bishops and other Ecclesiastical persons, appoints them a place and time for their meeting, and communicates to them the affair in general, about which they are to treat, giving them, by his Letters Patent, a power to debate upon, and decide the same. They, conforming themselves to such orders, set about the work, and confer upon the points which are in dispute, in order to regulate them according to the word of God, the Canons of ancient Councils, and the doctrines of the Fathers. This is done by them alone, or separately in the place where they meet, without the interposition of any Lay-persons; and after being agreed in their resolutions, they attend his Majesty, laying before him, in all humility, their Articles, Canons, and Decrees; and in case the King, after mature consideration approves the same, then they are forthwith ratified and confirmed, under the Great Seal of *England*, whereby they receive life and vigour. That being done, his Majesty either continues or dissolves the Assembly as he thinks proper.

In the same Speech this Ambassador gave an account to their High-Mightinesses of the conference at *Hampton-Court*, which, as the *Remonstrants* say, did not much agree with the books published in *England*, about that matter, which had been translated into *Dutch*. At the conclusion of his Speech he charged the Author of the *Ballance*, 'with stirring up his accomplices to sedition, with endeavouring to bring the State into confusion, and to cause their High-Mightinesses to forget all the pains that had been taken for the space of forty years, to unite and strengthen both the Church and State by good alliances: Adding, That the design of the said writer was, to overturn all, and to reduce the Government to a meer Chaos, rather than not introduce his innovations. He further exhorted the States, Not to let slip this happy interval which God had given them, but so to employ it, that their affairs might be re-established, and brought to their former secure condition, by methods practised at all times, and in all places on the like occasions. It was otherwise to be feared, that the return of dangers from without, would involve them in such difficulties, as they might not easily extricate themselves from, being hindered by their domestick confusions; which having lasted so many years, it would prove more than an *Opus unius diei* to re-establish them. Wherefore the wise and prudent advice of his Sovereign Lord the King, instead of being thus calumniated, ought (*he said*) to be readily embraced, as wholesome, reasonable, necessary, and such as was worthy of him to give, and of them to receive.' What answer was made the *Sieur Carleton* upon this proposal does not appear.

The *Remonstrants* in the mean time observing how much some of the Provinces and Towns which they looked upon to be no friends to them, pressed for a National Synod, found it adviseable to present a certain Memorial to the States of *Holland*, in which they shewed the source and progress of the divisions, and argued upon the expedients that had been suggested in order to peace, and in particular that of a Synod, adding their opinion about such an Assembly: Which Memorial chiefly tended to

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hinder

AN^o DOM. hinder them from leaving the disputes to the decision of partial Judges. It was very
1618. large, but the main of it was as follows:

Noble, and Potent Lords,

A Memorial of the Remonstrants presented to the States of Holland, relating to the Ecclesiastical Differences, and containing their Observations on the calling of a Synod.

WE the underwritten *Remonstrants*, your Lordships subjects, find our selves obliged once more to have recourse to you by this Memorial, in order to obtain an audience. It is much against our will, that we trouble your Lordships with our ecclesiastical grievances, being sensible how uneasy these matters have made your Assembly. But since it is not our cause, but that of Christ and his Church, and since your Lordships sit here to receive the complaints of your subjects, especially of those, who, in pursuance of their lawful Call are in publick ministry, and under the authority and protection of your Lordships; we trust that your ears will at present be no more shut against us, than formerly; especially since we are urged by great, yea by the extreamest necessity, for the discharging of our consciences, to represent to your Lordships as follows:

About seven or eight years ago, were laid the scruples of our selves and of other Ministers, upon certain points of doctrine, before your Lordships in a Remonstrance, praying either that the persons who presented it might be heard thereupon in a free and lawful Synod, to be holden under your Lordships authority, conduct and joint decision, or else might be ordered to tolerate one another in brotherly love and peace; offering, at the same time, that if the Remonstrants could not obtain either of those things, and consequently could not discharge the duties of their Ministry any longer with a good conscience, they would, upon your Lordships command, freely resign the same immediately.

Before the delivery of this Remonstrance, your Lordships, and the States-General, had consented to a National Synod, provided there might be a review made of the Confession and Catechism. But many of the Clergy scrupling the same, the Project of the Synod proved abortive.

An Account of the occasion of their famous Remonstrance.

In the mean while there were new Declarations concerning the Formularies abovementioned, exacted of the Ministers by particular Classes and Synods in some places, and new subscriptions to the same in others, upon pain of ecclesiastical censures without, and contrary to the authority of your Lordships.

The innovations of some of the Ministers and Classes, to the prejudice of their brethren, their accusing of them to the foreign Churches, and violent preaching against them, in order to render them odious and suspected to their people, were the reasons of our troubling your Lordships with the aforementioned Remonstrance.

Which Remonstrance was the occasion of the Conference at the Hague, and of the Resolution of the States for promoting the Peace of the Church.

Though this was no crime, yet some of the Clergy thought fit to oppose it, and by their complaints gave occasion to the Conference holden before your Highnesses, in the year 1611, the event of which was, that your Lordships judged it proper in the first place, to require the parties to exercise mutual forbearance; and the resolution taken for that purpose, and published in your Lordships name, has been received and obeyed by the Remonstrants.

But some of the Contraremonstrants set themselves against it both by preaching and writing, particularly by publishing an Answer to three Queries, wherein they openly exclaimed against the resolution taken by your Lordships for establishing the peace of the Church, and maintained that no christian communion ought to be holden with the Remonstrants; thus encouraging separation and schism, which have so miserably disturbed the Church and State, and brought both into the utmost peril.

In order to put this separation actually in practice, they have by their preaching and discourses instilled very ill opinions of the said Remonstrants into the common people, accusing them of promoting novelties, describing them by heretical nick-names, and reporting that they endeavoured to introduce Popery, and to betray the country to Spain. By these methods many of the people have been stirred up to separate from us; especially there were some of the Clergy who set them an example, by erecting new Consistories, and separate Conventicles, or Meetings, for the administration of the word and sacraments in private houses, barns, and even in churches which they violently took; thus splitting one Reformed Church into two

two, and upon all occasions opposing the Remonstrants as open enemies, and re-
nouncing all brotherhood with them.

The arguments they make use of to excite the people to a separation, are the following :

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*The Reasons
upon which the
Contrare-
monstrants
founded their
Separation.*

First, The Cry of Novelty.

Secondly, Their pretending that the *Remonstrants* design a change of Religion.

Thirdly, That they espouse several Heretical opinions.

Fourthly, That some of them have appeared with violence against the doctrine of the Church.

Fifthly, That some Ministers have been turned out for being *Contraremonstrants*.

Sixthly, That the *Remonstrants* refuse, and hinder the calling of a Synod.

As for the charge of betraying our country, we will not take up your Lordships time with any unnecessary apologies, being of opinion, that it were better to leave it to the Attorney-General either to prosecute those among us who are guilty of such a crime (though we believe he can find none) or else those among our adversaries who are capable of such false and malicious accusations.

*A Confutation
of those pre-
tended Reasons.*

As for the first of their arguments, we have said and proved, and are ready to demonstrate yet more plainly, that our doctrine, as set forth in the Remonstrance, is no novelty, either in respect to Primitive Christianity, or to the Reformation ; but that on the contrary, they the *Contraremonstrants* will be found to have boached several novelties.

In answer to their second Article, we have solemnly declared, that we seek for no alteration in religion, as far as that word may justly be extended, either to the internal or external worship of God ; but desire only that some opinions of private Doctors in the Reformed Church, which have crept in, and been taught for necessary doctrines, may be dismissed ; yet without pretending to make any alteration in the Confession or Catechism, till those Formularies can be revised and amended according to the word of God, pursuant to your Lordships resolutions, in a lawful Synod, in case it shall be thought necessary so to do. That such a revision at least is necessary, cannot be denied, unless we pretend to boast that we are arrived at the full perfection of knowledge ; which is not to be expected in this life.

Against the third accusation, we have often publicly protested, and do now again hereby protest, that we have no communion or fellowship with Popish Idolatry, or any other Heresies.

To the fourth we also say, that we have never writ against the doctrine of the Church, but only against the forementioned opinions of particular Doctors, the scandalizing consequences whereof we have shown and refuted ; and that only through the necessity we lay under of vindicating our selves against those who first assaulted us and our opinions, as well as your Lordships resolutions with greater violence.

Of the fifth we are entirely innocent : Whatever was done of that nature was done by the Civil Magistrates, whom we leave to justify themselves. But it can never be made appear that we have concurred in the turning out one single Minister for the sake of the *Contraremonstrant* doctrines. On the contrary, there have been several of our Pastors in Holland, Gelderland, and Over-Yssel, who have been deposed from their Ministry during these dissensions, meerly on this account ; and whose fate divers others are like to follow, as matters seem now to go.

The sixth charge is no less injurious : Seeing that we ourselves, in our Remonstrance, prayed for a Synod, and have often since declared, that we have no objection against a lawful Synod ; and we declare, that we still desire that the present disputes may be discussed and determined in such a Synod. We esteem that to be a lawful Synod which is called by the Civil Magistrate, and where all matters

*What sort of
Synod was de-
sired by the
Remonstrants.*

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matters are examined with brotherly love, and christian prudence by men of piety and impartiality, well versed in religious affairs; where no other judge is acknowledged but the word of God contained in the writings of the old and new Testament; and we are ready to submit to a definitive sentence upon this foot, in case we can be convinced in our consciences, that it is conformable to the said word of God; or, if it should not so appear to us (since all Synods may err) then will we be no less ready to resign our publick offices, as soon as the Magistrate (to whom only the power of the external part of religion belongs) shall ratify such a sentence, and require us to quit our livings; only reserving to our selves the liberty of conscience, which no man can, or ought to take from us. This is no new language concerning Synods, but the very same which our fathers made use of in their controversies with the Papists, and what agrees with the fundamentals of the Reformation.

From hence it may appear, that the people have been amused with false stories concerning us, and that such a pernicious schism has been begun in the church of this land, notwithstanding the offer made by us of Mutual Toleration, which, as far as in us lay, has been observed to this very hour.

On what condition their offer of Mutual Forbearance was made.

As for what they report of us, that this our offer is unsincere, forasmuch as according to them, we offer to tolerate those doctrines of the Church, which we strenuously oppose in our books; this is a meer fiction and slander. For the doctrines opposed by us, we deny to be the doctrines of the church. Neither do we charge the persons who broach them, with all the absurdities that we discover therein, but only say, they are the consequences of such doctrines: Besides, our offer of Mutual Toleration extends itself no farther to the opinions of the Contraremonstrants than as they are proposed in moderate terms; not as they are carried by some to the highest pitch, and express in so shocking and scandalous a manner. It is expressly stipulated in our Remonstrance: That nothing should be taught upon the controverted points, that was incompatible with piety or good morality. They who misconstrued our offer, ought to have attended to that stipulation, as your Lordships did, who having required a Mutual Forbearance, have yet rejected certain gross absurdities, which even some of the Contraremonstrants themselves allow to be intolerable.

Some of that party think to excuse the schism they have made, by saying they do not separate with a design of causing a schism, but that they keep separate meetings only for the sake of some weak brethren, and because it is very unseemly to teach two different doctrines in one and the same church, and to one and the same congregation: and besides, that their separation is only Provisional, and is not to be continued any longer than till the church shall come to some decision about those points. If they are in earnest, why do they not at least joyn with the Remonstrants in the participation of the Lord's Supper, seeing that this Sacrament is administered after the same way by both parties, and that there is no dispute about it. Though they had preached in Conventicles, yet they might have conformed in the business of the Sacrament, and might as well have waited for the judgment of the church, as have divided it by such a provisional rupture.

Their further offer.

It is therefore easy enough to see who are the cause of this deplorable schism. It was impossible for us to court peace more than we have done. And we are ready at this very hour, to receive the Separatists with open arms, and to be received by them upon the terms abovementioned; or if that cannot be, to maintain a mutual, christian, and fraternal unity, by communicating in the same, but preaching in different churches, and so to wait for a Synod and further regulations.

But our adversaries, instead of conforming themselves to such moderate proposals, depart from unity more and more. They refuse not only to break the bread of the Lord with the Remonstrants, but even to join in prayer with them. Of this your Lordships Commissioners, were formerly eye-witnesses in the Classis of Alkmaer; and the same appeared lately at Horn, where one of the Contraremonstrant separate Ministers being about to enter into a conference with one of the Church Ministers, refused to pray with him. At Delft, it was resolved to examine anew the Members of that Church, though before admitted to the Lord's Table by a Minister suspected of Remonstrantism, and in case they refused it,

to

to exclude them from the Sacrament. The Contraremonstrant Ministers, deny certificates to those Members of their churches (almost in all places) who remove with their families to towns where the Ministers are Remonstrants, if such Members design to hold communion with the said Ministers.

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We take no notice of the behaviour used by those people who adhere to the Contraremonstrant party, with respect to their Magistrates and fellow Citizens, without ever being reprimanded for it, as far as we know, from the pulpit in those places where it happened; which ill behaviour of the people is even thought to be excited by the continual exclaiming and railing of some zealots among the Ministers.

It is not therefore without reason that we seek for the means of restoring peace to the church, and uniting our divisions.

We are informed, that your Lordships have been taken up in several assemblies upon this subject, but without being able as yet, to come to an agreement.

We find it therefore necessary, to communicate to your Lordships our thoughts upon the matter, so far as relates to the Church; and we are the more bold in doing it, because we know how zealously the Contraremonstrants court some of your Members, and others who are in great authority, every day, to bring this matter where they would gladly see it; to which end there was not long since a certain meeting of the Clergy held at the desire, and in the presence of the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, to consult upon it.

Many cry that these troubles are no otherwise to be cured than by a National Synod, and that some of the Provinces look upon the same to be as good as agreed to, designing out of hand to call a Provincial Synod, in order to prepare matters for a National one. They report, that we are not for a Synod, but they wrong us: Not we, but themselves are the occasion of its not being called; since they give but too much suspicion that they have something else in view besides the real defence of truth and peace, and the preservation of your Lordships authority justly founded on the word of God.

We say the same things of a Synod which we formerly said. But however, none ought to think it strange if we make it a question to your Lordships, whether, as matters now stand, there be any appearance that such a Synod as the Contraremonstrants aim at, would be of any use.

Their considerations on the holding of a Synod in such a situation of affairs.

Have they forgot what a Synod their and our fore-fathers desired in Germany, at the beginning of the Reformation? such as should be lawful, free, and regulated by the word of God? — But the Pope delayed and procrastinated so long, till he had packt one according to his own mind, and till the Emperor had undertaken to put the Decrees in execution by force of arms, and to oppress our cause.

Have they forgot what Scruples, what Protestations and Declarations were alledged and offered against this, not only by Ministers and Churches, but also by the States and Members of the Empire? And how, being summoned to appear before the Council of Trent, they refused to do it, and being further urged, they did not appear but with a Protest. Have they forgot what past besides; how several Catholics themselves, particularly the King and the Church of France, were offended at the proceedings of the said Council, refusing to suffer its Decrees to be published: and lastly, how the Emperor was obliged to suspend the execution of them, and to grant the Religious Pacification?

Not that we compare that Papal Council with this Reformed Synod in all points; we mean only, that as in those times, they set off that Council with much nobler and more pompous titles of Catholick and Universal, without being able to do any good with it; so now, the name of National, Christian and Reformed, may indeed be appropriated to the Synod which is about to be holden, and yet little benefit be expected from it.

We shall concern our selves but with one point in this matter, which we conceive to be of most importance, and which we therefore humbly beg your Lordships to reflect on.

The desired Synod, whether it be National or Provincial, (for as for us, we do not make so great a difference as your Lordships and some other Provinces perhaps do, with respect to the right of sovereignty that belongs to each of you

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in particular, and which is expressly reserved by the union) is to be holden either for the decision, or accommodation of the religious differences.

If it be for decision, then ought neither of the parties to be judges in their own case. This is a point upon which the affair will chiefly turn, and it is so well founded upon justice and reason, that no body can oppose it.

According to this rule, the Contraremonstrants ought no more to judge the Remonstrants, than the latter the former, since they are both of them parties.

If it should be answered, that the Synod as such cannot be deemed a party; we say, That the Synod which is to decide, must consist either of Remonstrants or Contraremonstrants, or of part one and part t'other: if it be made up of one side only, then is the party become a judge; if of both, then can neither be proper judges, and consequently there can be no decision at all; or in case one of the contending parties carries its point by a majority of votes, still that party will be the judge.

It is said, that the Synod shall be holden upon the ancient foot, but that's impossible, for matters are now no longer upon such a foot; neither are they entire, by reason of the division and schism which is already established.

It is likewise said, that former Synods have cited, heard, and judged this and t'other person on account of their doctrines: But besides that a great deal may be said against such instances, we affirm, that the Contraremonstrants, in order to preserve the Synod's imaginary right ought to have lived with their brethren the Remonstrants, in unity, even till the assembling of such a Synod. But every body knows how they have behaved themselves in relation to us, and to what a length matters are come. Are such men fit then to compose this Synod, and to judge of our differences? We have been but too often judged and condemned by them. They have already past sentence upon us; how then can they be lawful judges?

If to avoid this injustice, you will endeavour to find out neutral or moderate Divines for judges, this too, is attended with its difficulties. For though there still remain some pious men who have not yet declared themselves, and even some, who own themselves to be Contraremonstrants, but hold a brotherly communion with us, yet to neither of these will the Contraremonstrants intrust their affairs, forasmuch as they look upon them to be indolent and lukewarm persons, who court the favour of men, and consult their own ease; nay, some do not scruple to nickname them hirelings and dumb dogs, or even to account them their adversaries, because they do not side with them. For which reason too, they separate from them, as much as from the Remonstrants themselves. Some are never at rest till they have brought into a combustion the congregations of such Ministers. If they meet with but one Member of their churches that is uneasy, they multiply him by ten, as they do the tens by hundreds, and so on; and they never cease importuning those moderate Clergymen themselves, till they have wrought up their passions against the Remonstrants.

Neither are the Clergy of the neighbouring Provinces, qualified for proceeding to a fair determination: their partiality towards the Contraremonstrants is as visible as that of their brethren in Holland: Those of Gelderland, have sufficiently condemned our cause, and confirmed their sentence, by deposing a Minister at Arnheim: Ministers have been sent from Middelburg and Zieriksee, in Zealand, as well as from Dort and Amsterdam in this Province, to encourage the separation at the Hague. Besides the Resolutions past so long ago in the Synod at Veere, and the Letter from the Classis of Walcheren, to the foreign churches, plainly show what the Remonstrants are to expect from those quarters. The Clergy have writ publicly against the Remonstrants, and against Mutual Forbearance, or Toleration in Freeland, and have past very rigid resolutions against them, both there and in the Province of Groningen. At Deventer in Over-Yssel, a Minister has been deposed for adhering to the Remonstrants. We say nothing of Utrecht, because it is reported that there are none but Remonstrants among them, and that the other party is not suffered there; but it is not true, for both persuasions are protected in peace and unity, according to the laudable church-establishment of that Province.

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The Walloon churches of these Provinces, have long lived in peace, and behaved with moderation but being set on by some, they are also engaged in our disputes. Every one knows; how a Minister of their communion has been treated at Amsterdam; after which they were going to censure one of the Dutch Ministers, though likewise officiating in the French church, because he had justified your Lordships resolution, or because, as was pretended, he used some sharp expressions in defending it: and this was done by the Walloon Consistory, though the said Minister had writ the defence of your Resolution as a Member of the Dutch Church, and in the Dutch Language. In the mean while, they could suffer that schismatical Libel, called, An Answer to three Queries, which was refuted in the aforesaid Defence, to be published in French by a Member of their Synod, without passing any censure upon it, and without taking notice of, or being satisfied with a very civil and friendly Letter, which the said Dutch Minister writ to them, in order to give them satisfaction, with respect to the censure designed against him. We say nothing neither of those very partial Sermons continually preached by the Walloon Ministers at Harlem, Leyden, Amsterdam, and in Zeland, nor of the prohibiting the Students of the French College at Leyden, from hearing the Lectures of Professor Episcopius. So that in this respect, the Synod cannot be holden upon the ancient foot, without making our declared adversaries our Judges.

But to come nearer to the business in hand: We cannot see, my Lords, how the Remonstrants can appear as Members at the Synod, if it be holden upon the ancient foot. If the Deputies be sent by the respective Classes, most of them are Contraremonstrants, and as such, they will over vote us, and choose none but persons of their own opinion.

Or in case some of our side should be deputed by accident, they will be meer cyphers, and never able to do any thing, by reason of the number of their adversaries. Nor can they with a safe conscience, comply with the instructions of their Principals, who doubtless will give them such as shall be prejudicial to their cause.

Neither can this difficulty be obviated, though a double list of Candidates for the Deputation should be made, and the Deputies should be chosen by lot; for that double number would chiefly consist of Contraremonstrants, and consequently there would hardly any others be drawn. What could then a few Remonstrants, if they happened to be so chosen, do, especially if limited too, by their instructions? And besides, it is not to be supposed, that the Contraremonstrants will sit and act as Members of the same body in a Synod, with those whom they have in a manner condemned already.

Or must the Remonstrants appear at the Synod like persons accused and cited before them, in order to give an account of their proceedings, and receive the sentence due to their crimes? They will by no means shew such a complaisance for the Synod; because as they hold them for their adversaries, they will not own them for Judges.

If they appear at the Synod, as being required so to do by your Lordships, to whom they owe obedience in all things, not contrary to the command of God; yet can they never approve of the decisions of such a Synod, nor submit to their decrees, unless they can be convinced that such decisions and decrees are conformable to the Divine Oracles; forasmuch as according to the doctrine of all the Reformed churches, no man is otherwise or further bound by any Synodical Decrees.

In this situation of affairs, it is then impossible to arrive at an impartial determination by any, either Provincial or National Synod, as to the truth, or necessity of the controverted points; the fault whereof lies at the doors of those who have too hastily separated from their brethren, and opposed your Lordships Resolution, agreeably to which, they ought to have left the matter entire, and to have waited for a Synod legally assembled under your Lordships authority.

Nothing then remains but the way of accommodation. But to this we cannot arrive by deputations from partial Classes. Neither would those few Remonstrants, who might happen to be admitted to the Synod, deliberate, much

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less resolve upon any thing without hearing and advising with the brethren of their persuasion.

How difficult would it likewise be for these two unequal parties, to sit and treat with one another about the schism which one side has already made? The Holy Ghost, would never preside in such a Synod, where men should call upon God with hearts not uniform, nor equally inclined towards peace. It would be, to speak in the language of Melancthon, a Synod composed of Centaurs and Lapithes; a Synod to which no good man would join himself, but rather keep at a distance. If we are to come together with any hopes of success, the Contraremonstrants must forsake their schism, acknowledge us again for their brethren, and consent to the reducing all matters to the State they were in at the time of the Conference at the Hague; to the end that we may jointly inquire after the paths of christian peace, not as enemies but friends. But of this, there is little hope.

If we could get so far as this, then ought the Remonstrants and Contraremonstrants, to assemble in equal numbers, which might be appointed by your Lordships your selves, or each party might depute separately, with your Lordships approbation; since there can no peace be expected but by the conviction and consent of both parties, under the direction of your Lordships, who might also summon other impartial persons, in order to propose some good expedients. But this method, as we are informed, has been proposed, but rejected by one of the parties.

What is then to be done? We beg, my Lords, that we may be permitted to subjoin one word upon this occasion.

We can think of nothing better than that your Lordships should summon two distinct Assemblies of the Remonstrants and Contraremonstrants, at the same time and in the same town, where the former may meet in safety (whether Dort be a place of that nature we doubt very much) that so each party may depute thither some from among themselves, to consider under the superintendence of Commissioners appointed by your Lordships, what methods may be suggested by either party for an accommodation, and observe how well they can agree upon the proposals made on each side, and communicated by the intercourse of their respective Deputies. We should not then question, but, that (if the Contraremonstrants would only come with those peaceable dispositions which the dangerous state of the Church and Nation ought to excite in them, and which we our selves by God's grace, hope to bring along with us) the divided Members would before the breaking up of the Assembly, be brought to coalesce again into one body, to the honour of God, and the increase of piety, peace and tranquillity in the church; at least this might be done provisionally, in order afterwards to attain to a final, christian, solid, and lasting unity, by a uniform, Provincial, National, or General Synod; to be called and celebrated under the authority, direction and moderation of your Lordships.

We hope your Lordships will not be surpris'd at this Proposal; the rather because the Remonstrants are all of them publick Ministers of the Gospel, and constitute a large part of the Reformed Church, diffused through several Provinces, their former Remonstrance having likewise been received by your Lordships, who thereupon agreed to a Mutual Toleration. They are the men who have acknowledged, and do still acknowledge your Lordships just authority even in Ecclesiastical matters: who obey your Lordships Resolution, as far as the indiscreet zeal of some of the Contraremonstrants will suffer them. Such men ought not therefore to be neglected, nor sacrificed to their adversaries. If it should so happen, they will indeed possess their souls in patience (having never learned to defend themselves by arms or tumults) but Christ the Son of God, who sits at his Father's right hand, will in due time, defend and protect their innocency.

Nothing was done upon this Memorial. On the contrary, a few days before it was presented, some persons of no small figure, had been observed to drop certain expressions

expressions which greatly increased the fears of the *Remonstrants*. ¹ A Gentleman ^{AN^o DOM.} worthy of credit, informed *Uitenbogart*, that he had heard from the mouth of the ^{1618.} Count of *Kulenburg*, that Prince *Maurice* had advised him the said Count to follow no longer the party to which he was addicted, intimating, that if he did, it might turn to his disadvantage; and subjoining, *That it was very sure that a certain person* (meaning, as it seemed, the Advocate) *was endeavouring to betray the country to Spain.* The Count desired some proof of such a design, but was answered; *It is not yet proper, we must first make examples of some of them.* And when he said thereupon, *if people go this way to work, it may be the very means of bringing the Spaniards in;* he was answered again, *better this way than any other; we shall see who has the longest purse.* Somebody likewise talked of chopping off 70 or 80 heads. And, not long after, the Princess Dowager said to a Gentleman, in whose Memoirs I find it: *That some suspected that the Advocate received money from Spain; and that his Excellency had had such hints of it from Brussels, that he partly believed it.* ² These jealousies were yet more fomented by several libels which charged him (without sparing even the States of *Holland* themselves, or the greatest part of that body) with all the evils both of Church and State; and which seemed to drive at nothing less, than the sacrificing both him and them to the common resentment and hatred of the people, and the producing by violent methods, some great changes in the Government. ³ One of the bitterest of those *Pasquils*, intituled, *The practices of the Council of Spain*, which was at this time industriously spread over the country, was also privately handed to Prince *Henry*, who detested it. His Mother, the Princess Dowager, was of opinion, that the Advocate ought to clear himself by some publick Manifest; upon which he writ a long letter to his Excellency, wherein he complained: ‘Of that Prince’s strangeness towards him, which he had for some time observed; protesting, that to the best of his knowledge, he had not given him the least occasion: representing further, his good intentions in several transactions, particularly in the business of the Truce, the benefits of which he recounted; namely, the reduction of the publick debts, the redeeming of the mortgaged towns, and the like: as also his endeavours for putting a stop to the dissensions arisen in the church, and his finding out means for extinguishing those flames when they began to diffuse themselves further; together with the occasion of the Resolution of the 4th of *August*, 1617. How instead of promoting an accommodation between the contending parties, some people endeavoured to bring the disputes of the Clergy, by a majority of votes, contrary to the Union, and divers other treaties before the States General, and under the cognizance of a National Synod: Adding, that he was sure that the Nobles, and those Magistrates of the Towns, who could by no means consent to communicate to others those highest and most necessary rights of the Province, appropriated to them by so many treaties, were neither inclined to *Papery* nor to *Spain*, but sincere faithful and approved lovers of the rights and privileges of their country in general, and heartily devoted to the house of *Nassaw* in particular; having very much interested themselves in the preservation and augmentation of the Prince’s honour and authority, for the service of him and the country; and being almost all of them sincere promoters of the true religion, as reformed according to the holy word of God, and of the lawful discipline adapted to the support of it; of which, he said, the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and the Towns and Members of it were entirely satisfied; forasmuch as those persons were born and bred in that Province, and had, as well as their ancestors, both done and suffered much, by embracing all occasions to show their love to the common cause; as was best known to his Excellency himself, he having frequently declared, that unless the States of *Holland* had made him express and particular promises of standing by him in his undertakings, he should have found himself much embarrassed when he set about them: and he doubted not but his Excellency would be no less heartily seconded by them in all events, if the former confidence, good understanding and correspondence were mutually resumed, and faithfully preserved. ⁴ But if on the contrary, his Excellency would hearken to the advice of the authors of the *Necessary Discourse*, and of the *Practices of the Council of Spain*, and the like seditious Libellers, then, in his

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The fears of
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*A Letter of his
to the Prince.*

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‘ opinion,

¹ From *Uitenbogart’s Memoirs* on 13 March, and 4 *memoirs on the 18th of April.* ² His Hist. p. 94, &c. April, 1618. See also his life, p. 212. ³ *Uitenb. Me-* ⁴ *Trigl. p. 1044. Baud. Mem. Lib. X. p. 48.*

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opinion, nothing was to be expected but the utter ruin of these Provinces, of his Excellency's illustrious house, and of all good Patriots. For which purpose, the Council of *Spain* could not, he said, give any more effectual advice than what such fellows suggested; *viz.* the creating and fomenting jealousies and misunderstandings between his Excellency and the Nobles, and Towns and their Ministers, and the forming mighty projects, which though appearing very fine in speculation, could not easily be reduced to practice, and which as they could not be attempted without difficulty, so if they should succeed, would by no means be compatible with the nature and situation of these Provinces, nor would turn to the advantage of any but the *Spaniards*. He therefore intreated his Excellency not to countenance such people, but reject their advices. That there might be among them, some who were zealous for their religion, he owned to be true, but added, that what had past in the dismembered *Netherlands*, and even in these parts which had been rescued from the yoke of *Spain*, in the years 1586, 1587, and 1588, had shown that among those good men there crept in, and mingled themselves ill designing hypocrites, and ambitious persons, who sought their own advantage in the revolutions of the Government, as also many mercenary fellows and vile traytors.—— Wherefore he humbly prayed his Excellency, that he would be pleased to make seasonable reflections on all these things, whilst matters continued in such a state as to be capable of being accommodated to satisfaction: and if he thought any thing was wanting which he believed might tend to the good of the publick, or of himself, in the direction of affairs, that he would propose his opinion to the States, and support it with good reasons, which would be a much more laudable method, and more beneficial too for the country and for him, than a hundred thousand such libels, by which some endeavoured to render the malady incurable, and to put matters beyond all means of accommodation. *He said further,* That he had often foretold to his Excellency (grounding what he said on the experience of six and thirty years) that those people would occasion him more uneasiness, trouble and perplexity in the space of one year, than he had found in ten years in the management of the publick affairs. He thought it absurd to expect from other Provinces, or by the further divisions in that of *Holland*, what his Excellency had enjoyed for 31 years, and by the grace of God, might continue to enjoy, through a good and mutual confidence and correspondence with the States of that Province. He concluded with complaining how ill his past services were rewarded with such libels as these, and that this barbarous treatment owed its birth to the report of his being fallen under the Prince's displeasure. Adding, that though one would have thought he might have baffled such wicked usage, by a silence of 31 years, by well doing and the force of truth, yet he found himself obliged in his advanced age, and in the midst of his infirmities, to publish something, though much against his mind, in justification of himself and his family; which he thought fit to lay before his Excellency, begging him most humbly to take it in good part, and to believe that he was, and by the grace of God hoped to continue as long as he lived, a faithful servant to his Excellency——

*His Remon-
strance to the
States of Hol-
land,*

In this letter the Advocate inclosed a copy of his Remonstrance to the States of *Holland*, which was afterwards made publick by their Printer. It contained an account of his services, together with a refutation of the principal matters laid to his charge in the said libels, with respect to the affairs of church and state.

*His early sen-
timents con-
cerning the
point of Pre-
destination.*

He said that he observed every day more plainly that there was a design carried on of wounding the government through his sides. As to his notions in Divinity, he declared that whilst he was pursuing his study of the Laws at *Heidelberg*, upon the disputes that happened then about *Predestination*, he had embraced the following doctrines as the most moderate and christian: to wit, *That every good christian ought to believe, that through God's grace, and on account of the satisfaction of our Saviour Christ Jesus for sin, he is decreed to be saved; and that he obtains that faith, by which he stedfastly believes that his salvation is built only upon the Grace of God, and the Merits of Christ our Saviour, from the same grace of God: and in case he falls into any great sin, his firm hope and confidence must be, that God will not suffer him to persevere therein, but, that if he prays for grace, he will graciously convert him, bring him to repentance, and cause him to persevere to the end in his faith.*

faith. That he had communicated these his notions to the two Divinity Professors, *Bocquinus* and *Zanchius*, and to the principal Minister *Olevianus*; who all told him, *That he might continue safe in the same, without inquiring further into the matter.* That he had accordingly continued in those opinions for the space of fifty years, and hoped to live and die in them; having, in relation to any further inquiry, put in practice the apothegm of his Great Grandfather *Nicolas van Oldenbarnevelt*, importing, that, *Nil scire tutissima fides*, that is, *The safest belief is to know nothing.* He declared likewise, that he was heartily concerned for the differences between the *Remonstrants* and *Contraremonstrants*; that he had always, and by all kind of means endeavoured to hinder their breaking out—— That as for the one or the other opinion, he had neither embraced nor rejected it; being persuaded, according to the wise advice of the King of *Great Britain*, that both opinions might be easily tolerated, and christian love and unity maintained without prejudice to truth. That he would by no means take upon him to judge who had been the cause of these troubles. But he feared that they proceeded chiefly from that Synodical Decree, by which the Professors of Divinity at *Leyden*, and all the rest of the Clergy were required to consider of the substance of the Confession and Catechism, and communicate their objections to the Classes—— and from the subsequent oppositions made to the Resolutions of the States both then and since.—— But that there was no just occasion given by the Resolution of the States for promoting the peace of the church, to the present deplorable schism, which could serve no other purposes but to weaken the Protestants (the best of the parties) by dividing the Professors of that religion. As for that position of the authority of the States over Ecclesiastical persons and things (which he looked upon as most highly necessary as well for the preservation of the Civil Government as for that of the church) he owned, he had always defended it as one of the chiefest and most avowed prerogatives of the States; which he was bound to maintain both by virtue of his office and oath, and which the late Prince of *Orange*, of glorious memory, and the States themselves always asserted and justified from the time they cast off the *Spanish* yoke, in opposition to what was pretended and aimed at by the Clergy.—— As for the Synod, he said, that the States had never scrupled a lawful impartial Synod for the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, but always laboured to promote it. But the difficulty was, how to cause such a Synod to meet in the first place, during these divisions of mens minds, so as to render it most serviceable to church and state, and useful to the people; adding, that there was a great difference between the assembling Classes, and a Synod of an entire Province; and between the times of schisms and disputes, and those of peace and unity. To the question, *What means were in their power for removing all these inconveniences?* He replied, that all violent means (which, as he thought, the composers of the *Necessary Discourse*, and, *the Practices of the Council of Spain*, had in view) would be destructive and fatal to the country, to the Prince and his illustrious house, and to all good Patriots of all ranks and conditions, and particularly to the true *Reformed* religion, and all the Professors of it.—— That therefore the advice so lately offered with so much wisdom, and supported with such strong reasons by the Envoy of the King of *France*, ought to be embraced; as likewise that which the King of *Great Britain* gave them in the year 1613; to which might not improperly be joined the advice and exhortation of the Ambassador from the King of *Sweden*, and several other admonitions from many Members of the Assembly of the States, in publick and private, to the same purpose: namely, That laying aside all umbrages, jealousies, and suspicions; all bitterness, hatred and revenge; and forgetting what was past (as far as might be done without any visible prejudice) they should arm themselves again with mutual love, unity, and confidence, this being the only means of defeating the power and devices of *Spain*. This being done, care ought, he said, to be taken, that the Committee of the States General, who act without particular instructions, might look upon the Union of *Utrecht*, as the foundation of their meeting, and prudently and cautiously endeavour that the things thereby referred to their direction might be strictly complied with and performed.—— Moreover, that the said Committee might forbear

AN^O D O M.
1618.

His conduct
with relation
to the differ-
ences between the
Remon-
strants and
Contrare-
monstrants.

His conduct
with reference
to the authori-
ty of the States
over Ecclesi-
astical persons
and affairs.

With reference
to the Synod.

His advice
concerning the
means of re-
moving the
present incon-
veniences.

taking

AN^O DOM.
1618.

taking cognizance of, or bringing under their jurisdiction, such matters as were not referred to them by the said Union, but expressly reserved to the direction of the particular Provinces. — That this was notoriously the case in religious matters, forasmuch as it plainly appeared by the letter of the said Union, as well as by divers other treaties, that the ordering of religion, and all church affairs was reserved to each particular Province. Finally, he prayed, that the States of *Holland* would be pleased to take notice of the boldness and insolence of the authors of all those false libels, which, as he thought, were not only levelled against him and other faithful servants of the Government, but also against the rights, privileges, and sovereignty of the States of *Holland*; adding, in the last place, *that he firmly believed, that God would not suffer falsehood to triumph over truth, but that liars should be put to shame and confusion.*

A Placard a-
gainst Libels.

But neither the publishing of this Remonstrance, which was dated the 20th of *April*, nor whatever else was said in justification of the Advocate, could restrain these anonymous writers. It was just as if it rained libels of all sorts. Among those there was one dispersed among the people with the title of a *Provisional Overture*; which being pointed at the Advocate's Remonstrance, was nevertheless judged by the States to bear so hard upon themselves, that by a publick Placard, they declared the said paper and others of the like purport, false, scandalous, and infamous libels, promising a reward of 500 Guilders to any who should discover the Authors or Printers; and also a pardon to such of the accomplices who would confess by whose advice, encouragement, or instigation, they were guilty of those crimes.

The States in the said Placard, make mention of the Advocate after the following manner: 'That his long, good and faithful services, were well known to them, and to all the world, and that for this reason, and on account of his offices and employments he had been formerly taken, and should still continue under the special protection and safeguard of their Lordships.'

But it has been observed by some Historians, that the said Placard bearing date the 22d of *June*, was not suffered to be promulgated at *Amsterdam*, and the rest of the towns in the same interest. The writers therefore of these nameless libels and satires went on in their old way, perswading one another, that they were supported both by great and small. It was moreover reported about this time, that the Prince had said: *He would grind the Advocate and his party to powder.* Other hot people were now likewise heard to use such expressions; viz. that certain towns had resolved, in order to prevent all tumults with which they thought the Province of *Holland* and some of the other towns were threatened, that special instructions and power should be given to the persons deputed to the Assembly to concert with others, and to put in execution such methods for their common safety and mutual assistance, as should be found necessary and useful for the obviating such menaces. A Commission was accordingly given to their Deputies by the eight formerly mentioned towns: to wit, *Harlem, Leyden, Gouda, Rotterdam, the Bril, Schoonhoven, Alkmaer and Horn*; the tenor of which, is as follows:

'**W**E the Burgomasters and Council of the town of — do signify to all those to whom these presents shall come. That whereas there have been for some time past several matters and things done, or attempted to be done within the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, directly opposite to the supreme power and authority of the said Province, as well as against the union and other treaties and conventions mutually established among the Provinces, without any proper satisfaction hitherto made for the same; and what is still worse, several reports are at present spread abroad, tending to excite tumults against the Governors of the said Province and the good Towns thereof; insomuch that it is become absolutely necessary that just measures should be taken for the security of the said Province, and the Towns and Members thereof, for maintaining its rights and privileges, and opposing by publick authority those that attempt any thing against them. We therefore the Burgomasters and Council of the town aforesaid, do hereby authorize and empower the persons whom we have deputed, or shall depute to the approaching Assembly, to advise, consult, concert and resolve

solbe with the Nobles and the Deputies of other good towns, upon all such means as may serve to obviate the proceedings that have already been begun, or that may be so, and to join in the execution of them with all convenience for the defence of the rights and privileges of the said Province, Towns, and the Members thereof; and for the support and maintenance of the aforementioned treaties, conventions and union, and in order to secure, protect and indemnify one another with such assistance, as shall be found proper and fitting; and in general, to do every thing relating thereto, in as ample and effectual a manner, as if we our selves were present; obliging our selves to ratify and confirm whatever they our said Deputies shall do in the premises, without doing or suffering to be done, any thing contrary thereto, at any time for the future. And if it should so happen, that any of these our Deputies, should be hereafter troubled or molested in fact or in law, within or without this Province, or any wise injured in their persons, fortunes or employments, on account of this or that Proposal, Remonstrance, Advice, or Resolution, offered or made in our name at the said Assembly of the States. We engage our selves to protect, defend, and indemnify them, and to look upon it as done against our selves.

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² This Commission or Procuration, says *Grotius*, was pretty like one that was given to the Deputies of the towns about thirty years before.

After this the States thought fit to represent to his Excellency, as Stadtholder of *Holland*, their difficulties in the present situation of affairs. ³ *Grotius* makes mention of their Remonstrance in his books, and I have met with the following copy of it among extracts from his papers, in which is very circumstantially shown,

‘ That some people very unjustly, and contrary to mutual obligations, endeavour’d to violate and diminish the prerogatives, rights and privileges of the Province of *Holland*; which both had done, and daily did so much for the common cause: and that considering it was well known to his Excellency, that the office of Stadtholder of a Province consisted chiefly in maintaining and defending the sovereignty, liberties, rights and privileges of the Province in general, and of the towns and inhabitants in particular; they the said States thought themselves bound in duty, by virtue of their oaths, for the preservation of the Government, as also for the honour of his Excellency, and the house of *Nassau*, to intreat him to joyn in supporting the Magistrates and the Inhabitants, by all possible means, in the enjoyment of their authority, privileges, and ancient customs, without permitting any thing to their hindrance or prejudice; but on the contrary, protecting and defending them against all and singular persons (whoever they might be) that should invade the same; as also to desire his Excellency to exhort the Members of the other provinces and countries under his government, and to insist upon it, that they should alter their measures, and concur in supporting the rights of the said Province of *Holland*, as they were bound to do pursuant to the first Article of the Union of *Utrecht*, and on account of their oaths and offices, without allowing any of those provinces to do or attempt any thing against the same.

A Remonstrance of the States of Holland to his Excellency the Prince, relating to their Rights and Prerogatives.

‘ And especially, they pray’d, that his Excellency would help to maintain the States of *Holland* in their just supremacy over all ecclesiastical persons and things, so far as related to the dispensing of the doctrine of the Gospel, the discipline and other matters of the Church, in order to their accommodating the most deplorable differences, divisions and schisms, broken out among the Clergy, to the great prejudice both of the State and Church, and to the great grief and scandal of all good Patriots, Members and Friends of the same, within and without the land; and, on the contrary, to the great advantage and service of the common enemy; as also in order to their preventing all future troubles, with respect either to the doctrine or discipline of the Church, and taking such care, and providing such remedies, as the state of affairs, and the preservation of the unity of the Church should require: forasmuch as that right belong’d to them, the States of *Holland*, as well as to former Princes and Potentates under the *Old Law*, who claimed and exercised

² From the authentic Pieces relating to Hugo Grotius, printed in the Year 1642. p. 248.

³ Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 268.

² See Grot Apol. Lib. XIX.

AN^o D^oM. 1618. exercised the like power; and under the *New* too, many hundred years since, when Emperors, Kings and Princes, embraced the Christian Religion; as also in the last Century, when so many Kings, Electors, Princes, Counts, Lords and Governors, of great and little Republicks, threw off the yoke of *Rome*, and embraced the Protestant Religion. They further desired, that in consequence hereof, his Excellency would not suffer the Province of *Holland* to be molested in the exercise of such their supreme right, by any other Provinces or Members, who might be excited and advised thereto by any unquiet churches, or publick persons, under the cloak and appearance of religion or conscience, nor allow any Man's perswasion to be inquired into, nor suffer a National Synod to be obtruded upon the Province of *Holland*, or any other against their mind and will, but that he would cause whatever had been or should be done therein contrary to the afore-said union, and to the great prejudice of the sovereign rights and prerogatives of the said Province to be duly redress'd: forasmuch as the said right, with respect to the direction of ecclesiastical matters (and particularly their supremacy) was expressly and peremptorily stipulated and reserved to the States of each Province, by the XIIIth Article of the before-mentioned sworn union, as was also allow'd by the States-General in the Year 1590, even after the Reformation had been embraced in the United Provinces, as plainly appeared by the instructions which the States of *Utrecht* gave their Deputies the same year, with the knowledge and approbation of the States-General, and particularly of those of *Holland*.—

The States further intreated his Excellency, that he would not allow the Colleges of the high and provincial Councils to grant any Mandates or Provisions, or admit of any proceedings against the Ordinances, Resolutions, or Commands of the States, as had lately and frequently happened on occasion of some troubles and disputes, contrary to the privileges and known customs of the towns: and that the said Colleges or Courts should be required to confine themselves within the limits of their commissions and instructions, without exceeding them, and in-croaching upon the sovereignty of the States, and the liberties and privileges of the Towns: That the said States should be likewise left unmolested in the use of that right which they had been possess'd of from ancient times; namely, to provide men and arms to be oppos'd against all mutinies, riots, tumults, plunderings, and other violences, according to their own discretion, with the approbation of the Magistrates of the Towns, for their necessary defence, and for the ease and security of the inhabitants.

That likewise all Colonels, Captains, and other Officers and Soldiers, upon the Repartition of *Holland*, should be required and obliged above all things, to testify their allegiance and obedience to the States, to their Committee, and to the Magistrates of the respective towns where they lay in garrison; and when desired, that they should stand by them, and help to oppose all tumults (without any exception) on pain of being broken; forasmuch as they were bound to do it, by virtue of their oaths to the Government.

That his Excellency would be pleas'd to consult the States or their Committee (as being impowered thereto by their instructions) in all military affairs that concerned the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, particularly in relation to the putting garrisons into the Towns and Forts of the said Province; and accordingly, that no military Commissions should be given without the advice of the said States, nor any garrison changed, increased, or reduced, without the same advice, pursuant to their instructions to his Excellency, and conformably to what was practis'd in other Provinces; and that whatsoever had been done contrary thereto, might be redress'd as far as possible, and care be taken to prevent the like for the future.

Finally, the States intreated his Excellency, that in whatever related to the things above-mentioned, and to matters of government, he would neither hearken, nor give credit to Whisperers and Incendiaries, who had no concern in the publick administration, or who were not sufficiently instructed in the nature and condition of the Province; but that upon all occasions, and in all emergencies of the Government, he would please to use the advice of the States of this Province, as

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The aforesaid matters, which so highly affected the welfare, sovereignty,
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AN^O D^OM.
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AN^O DOM. 1618. *tho' we were to quit our employments. The Advocate ask'd him, Whether the Re-*
monstrants could not draw up a Confession in the name of the whole party? The
other reply'd, No, I can't advise it, there are Confessions enough; nay, too many.
And when the Advocate said, They will condemn you as contumacious. The
Minister reply'd, Let them do it; we are weary of their company. The States will
at least do so much for us, as to let us live here in our own country, and enjoy the
freedom of it, as well as the Lutherans and other sects. But let what will happen,
it were better we should suffer every thing, than give an occasion to the effusion of
blood, or a civil war.

But in the next month of June he found matters to be grown much worfe, and
said therefore to the Advocate, *I see the government can not, or will not protect us*
any longer: They should tell us so, that we may consider what we have to do. But
the Advocate reply'd, That he had still hopes of a happy issue.

The End of the Twenty Ninth Book.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N
I N and A B O U T the
L O W - C O U N T R I E S.

B O O K X X X.



SOME persons, of the *Contraremonstrant* party, apprehending in the mean while, that the States of *Holland* in the present situation of affairs, would carry their point at last for a Provincial Synod, and there, by their authority, bring matters to some sort of accommodation (which they suspected would be to the no small prejudice of the Church) endeavoured by all means to prevent the same.

For this purpose, there was a meeting of six or seven Divines (among whom are reckoned the Professor *Polyander*, and the Ministers *Samuel Bartoldus* and *Abraham Dorestar*) who, as *Triglandius* says, were summoned together at *Amsterdam*, by order of the Burgomasters, to the end, that in conjunction with the Ministers of that City, they might assist the said Magistrates with their advice concerning the Provincial Synod. These Clergymen being assembled in the Vestry of the New church, declared their opinions unanimously, that matters could no otherwise be redressed, than by a National Synod; and maintained, that a Provincial one was neither proper nor serviceable. The consequence of this was, That the Burgomasters presented two papers, drawn up by the said Clergymen, or conformably to their advice, to the Assembly of the States, where they were read the 23d of *March*. There was likewise another paper presented by those of *Enkbusen* to the same effect, and read the 27th of the said month. The first, which was that from *Amsterdam*, ran word for word as follows.

I. In a private or particular Assembly (such as a Provincial Synod) no general matters either can, or ought to be discussed.

‘ As to the *first* Position, it is well known, and the thing appears at first sight, that whatever concerns the churches of the *Netherlands* in general, ought to be treated of, and resolved upon with the uniform concurrence of them all. For if the churches are to be equally bound by what is decreed, it neither can, nor ought

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A meeting of
some of the
Clergy at
Amsterdam.

A writing delivered by
those of Amsterdam, to
the Assembly of the States
General, containing certain reasons
for referring the ecclesiastical
differences to a
National, and
not to a Provincial Synod

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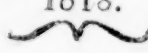
to be proposed and agreed upon in any private or particular meeting. This is also the reason why in a particular Synod, those matters that related to the churches in general, have always remained undetermined, being referred to a National Synod. Nay, those very Commissioners, who were wont to be present at a particular Synod, on behalf of the States of the Province, were expressly instructed among other things, by their Principals, not to suffer any such general matters to be debated or decided there. Now the Provincial Synod of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, is no more than a private Assembly of Clergymen deputed by the churches of that Province, who ought not to treat of general matters without the concurrence of the other churches; therefore the churches of other Provinces neither are, nor can be concluded by their determinations. And that the religious differences arisen in this country, and the objections against those two formularies, the Confession and Catechism (which have been acknowledged and received by the churches of the *Netherlands* as formularies of unity in doctrine) do concern the churches of all the Provinces in general, is beyond all doubt; and for that reason the States themselves of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, agreed that they who had any objections to make against any thing in the said Confession and Catechism, should deliver their arguments sealed up, to their Lordships, in order to be considered and decided at the proper time by a National Synod. Consequently these differences neither can, nor ought to be handled in a Provincial Synod, especially since the contagion has almost seized upon the whole body and all its Members, and therefore the remedy must not be applied to one Member only, but to the whole body, and all its members. But this cannot be done in any Assembly where all the Members are not present.

II. The differences and difficulties are not only common to all the churches, but likewise of greater moment than to be liquidated in any one Provincial Synod.

The points in controversy are of the last importance, and concern the principal articles of the christian religion. For the dispute is not about matters of less value than the parings of ones nails, and between which there is no more difference, than there is between four pence and a groat, as some of the *Remonstrants* have had the boldness to give out, but about things that even in the judgment of the chief of that party (who in this, contradict both themselves and their associates) are of great importance. For the contention is, about points that concern the honour of God, and of our Lord *Christ*, together with the inward peace and eternal salvation of mankind: such as, the *Nature* of *God*, and some of his *Properties*, the *Holy Trinity*, the *Divine Foreknowledge* and *Government*, *Original Sin*, the *Corruption* and *Free-will* of *Men*, *Universal Grace*, *Predestination*, *Regeneration*, the *Satisfaction* of *Christ* for *Sin*, *Saving Faith*, *Justification*, the *Perseverance* of the *Saints*, the *Certainty* of *Salvation*, and many such; all which points it is well known are publickly disputed on. Points which are most of them *fundamentals* of *Religion*, and ought by no means to be treated of in a Provincial Synod, but in greater Assemblies.

III. The discussion of the Five Points, with what depends thereon, in a Provincial Synod, is not for the good, but hurt of the churches.

Suppose that a Provincial Synod were summoned to treat about, not all the weighty points in dispute, but only those which are called the *Five Articles*, as they now stand, of what benefit could that be to the affair in general? There was a solemn Conference about them, in the year 1611; but what was gained by it? The common grievances are not thereby lessened, but much more increased because (notwithstanding the persons who managed the said conference, though deputed by the churches, were ordered to treat as private persons) resolutions were taken and proceeded on, tending to the support and maintenance of the *Five Articles*, and of those that propagated them, without a fair inquiry into the reasons and arguments of both parties; in order to force them every where upon the good people, contrary to justice and equity; from whence have ensued all these deplorable divisions

‘ divisions and schisms in Classes and Churches. And though it should happen (of A N^o D O M. 1618. ) which there is but small appearance) that there might be some sort of agreement upon those *Five Articles*, brought about in a Provincial Synod (whether by way of moderation, or only provisionally) leaving the other points of no less importance undecided, what will it signify? Must there not be a National Synod appointed to determine the rest? So that all the trouble and expences bestowed on it will be in vain and to no purpose.

IV. The rest of the Provinces, will by no means submit to the determinations of any particular Synod; which will therefore only occasion fresh trouble.

‘ It is plain, that the holding a Provincial Synod, will only cause more trouble and confusion in a National one. For the churches in general, and even those of the *Remonstrants* themselves in other Provinces, will not readily submit to what shall be agreed upon in the Provincial Synod of *Holland*. They will, and justly too, reconsider all that has been transacted about the *Five Articles*, and expect to be admitted to give their judgment upon them as well as others. Since they are under no obligations to conform to the decisions of those of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*; and on the other hand, the Deputies of *Holland* being instructed by their own Synod, will not yield to the National. If then the National Synod should think fit entirely to revise the matter, as what is properly under their cognizance, and come to resolutions contrary to those of the Provincial, what can be the effect of it but more dissention and confusion? Besides, that those who shall be deputed from the Provincial Synod, will lose the privilege of freely voting against what has been already resolved in their Synod about the *Five Points*; and if they do not, and they be left to vote as they please, of what use was it to call a Provincial Synod?

V. It will be a very great hinderance and prejudice to the National Synod.

‘ We cannot help thinking, that those who press so hard for the holding of a Provincial Synod, endeavour by divers methods entirely to defeat the meeting of a National Synod, or to delay it for a long while, or at least to act in some respect or other to its prejudice. For supposing the Provincial Synod should be of opinion that the differences are only about one, or at most, about two articles, may not those who would decline the National one, pretend with some appearance of reason, that it is not worth the labour and charges of convoking a National Synod, for so little as remains in dispute? May they not speciously enough impose upon others both of our own country and foreigners too, especially on those that are ignorant of the state of affairs, and of the true temper of the *Remonstrants*, and cry they were in good earnest for serving the church, and that they had done all that was necessary for her? Will they not then begin to proceed authoritatively against those who make any conscientious scruple of complying in all things with what was resolved in the Provincial Synod? And so the last will be worse than the first. These and such like reasons induce us to believe, with respect to the formerly suggested project, that such an Assembly as the Provincial Synod, will give a handle to greater trouble and confusion.’

The second Paper of the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, was of the following tenor:

‘ **F**Orasmuch as the *Reformed* churches of the *Low Countries*, have with great trouble and cost, for the space of thirty years, continually applied to their High Mightinesses the States General, for the calling of a National Synod, and do still earnestly long for the same, partly because several important matters, which could not be determined in particular Synods, were reserved for the National, and partly also, because of the deplorable divisions about religious matters which have reigned in the Church for some years past: it seems to be high time that their just application should be regarded, and the calling the foresaid Synod, accelerated

A second Writing of the same import presented by them to the Assembly of the States of Holland.

‘ as

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as much as possible, in order to the treating of both the one and the other, and for re-establishing the former tranquillity and welfare of the churches. For if the whole be strictly inquired into, on which side soever it be turned or winded, there can no other ordinary expedient be thought upon, to extricate our selves from these difficulties, than that of an Ecclesiastical Assembly, commonly called a Synod. This appears not only from the constant practice of the Christian Church, even from the very days of the Apostles, but it likewise seems to be acknowledged by those, who otherwise slight all Church-government and order, even by their proposal of calling a Provincial Synod. Now that it ought rather to be a National one, we think may be demonstrated by the following arguments :

Since the aforementioned difficulties have not been determined in a particular Synod, they ought certainly to be brought before a more numerous Assembly, in order to the making some end of them ; and the rather because they frequently occasion great inconveniences in private churches. The late differences in matters of religion, do not only affect this or that church in particular, but all the churches of the Netherlands in general. The Confession and Catechism, which the Remonstrants are for revising, and against which they drew up their objections about nine or ten years ago, and sent them sealed up to the States of Holland and West-Friesland, are the general formularies of unity in the Reformed churches of the Low-Countries, and for that reason it would be unjust to discuss the same in a Provincial Synod ; since what is common to all, ought to be examined and determined by all in general.

As for what is proposed with respect to the inviting Ministers and Divines from the other Provinces to a private Synod, it will not solve these objections. For one of these two things must happen ; either those Divines must come instructed from their churches, and likewise be allowed to vote, in which case it will no longer be a Provincial, but a National Synod ; or else they must come as private persons to advise only, and then those things which concern all the Provinces in general, will be submitted to the judgment and direction of a Synod constituted of the Clergy of one Province only, which (as tending to defeat the Resolution taken by the States General for holding a National Synod) will probably be rejected by most of the other Provinces.

The Proposal of calling some of the Foreign Divines from among the Protestants, to a Provincial Synod is entirely absurd. For that would be, to give the appearance and lustre of a National Synod to a Provincial one. Those Foreigners would likewise have just cause to refuse the invitation, because they might say, we ought first to have applied to our neighbour churches of our own nation ; as indeed several of the most learned among the said foreigners, together with his Majesty of Great-Britain, have already declared in their written advices, that they could think of no better remedy than a National Synod. Besides, the aforementioned inconvenience would still remain ; for they could not come to the Synod otherwise than as Counsellors, and then the common affairs would still be subject to the judgment of a particular Synod. Consequently the best and most convenient method that remains, is to call a National Synod from among the Reformed churches of our own Netherlands, and (because of the importance of the business which is to be there considered) to invite some learned and pious Divines from the churches of other countries, in order to assist ours with their good advices and counsels.

For besides that the controversies are general, they are likewise of such moment (as they concern the honour of God, and the certainty of our own salvation) that they cannot be liquidated in a particular Synod, but like other affairs that are of a general and weighty concern, must be reserved for the determination of a higher and greater Assembly.

As for what they talk of bringing these disputes before a General Council of all the Reformed churches of Europe, though we desire nothing more than to see such an Assembly ; yet to speak the truth, this is nothing but a subterfuge or pretence to put off the meeting (as the saying is) to latter Lammas, that so we may see no end of the matter. For, who is it that must call such a Synod ? All Christian Princes ought first to consent to it, and for that purpose must consult together ; but when will they do that ? Never since the beginning of the Re-

formation,

formation, have we been able to procure a General Council of Protestants, notwithstanding the troubles that have here and there infested the Church. As among others in the case of that quarrel about the Ubiquity in Germany, which has been kept up by the unjustly so called, Book of Concord.

Neither is such a Synod or Council necessary, were it ever so feasible. For the design not being at present to pacify all the Reformed churches throughout Christendom, but only to restore the churches of the United Netherlands to their former rest and tranquillity; this is properly the business of a National Synod; and all the use we can make of the presence of some Foreign Divines, is to be instructed by them in the sentiments of their churches relating to the points in controversy, and by their advice, not only to re-establish our own peace, but also to cultivate a good correspondence with them. It is likewise very strange, that rejecting the expedient which may so easily be supplied by their High Mightinesses the States General alone, people will rather have recourse to another, in which the said States can have but one voice, and which can hardly be brought to bear in a whole century.

The objection they make against a National Synod, because Holland ought not to be controlled by the rest of the Provinces, is a meer pretext; besides, that the thing in question is not a civil or political matter, but ecclesiastical, and which only concerns the unity, welfare and edification of the Reformed churches in these our Netherlands. Now the case of the Church of Christ is of a quite different nature from that of the Civil Government: for there has been a common band and alliance among the Reformed churches of these Provinces, even whilst they were all of them groaning under persecution, and before ever the Temporal Union of the Provinces was made; which band never can, nor ought to be dissolved. We hope likewise, that the States of Holland and West-Friesland, have no design of separating from the other Provinces in the business of religion, which indeed might easily produce a revolution in their civil government.

This objection might be urged with equal force against a General Council. For the Province of Holland and West-Friesland is less subject to be controlled by Reformed States and Potentates, than by the rest of the United Provinces, to whom she is joined by the Union: and therefore if these our differences may be referred to the judgment of the foreign Reformed churches, without any diminution of the publick authority, much more may and ought they to be submitted to the determination of the Reformed churches in these our own Provinces; which, as they are united and confederated against the common enemy, and reduced to uniformity in religion, so they ought likewise to maintain concord and a good understanding with each other, not only in civil, but in ecclesiastical affairs, to the end that the union may continue indissoluble; and to the same end, there can no better method be suggested, than the holding a National Synod; forasmuch as particular ones being subject to differing views, may easily afford more matter for dissention and alienation of mens minds; of which we see already with sorrow, too many instances in the neighbouring Provinces.

Moreover, this evil spirit of discord, is not only confined and shut up within the limits of Holland and West-Friesland, but has diffused itself through other countries, which are likewise Members of the United Provinces. All the Members ought therefore to join unanimously in finding out the necessary remedies, and in applying them to the whole body; and God knows, that in many places of the aforesaid Province, the churches are in such confusion, that according to all appearance, no good could easily be done, though a Provincial Synod were assembled; except only that the State of the question might be settled, and an account of the Gravamina prepared to be laid before the National Synod, and consequently the Provincial ought only to be considered as preliminary to the National one.

To this may be likewise subjoined, that the late Dr. Arminius, did at the beginning, always appeal to a National Synod, and for that reason demurred to the jurisdiction of the Deputies of the South-Holland Synod, when they desired him to give them an account of his opinions and objections, still pretending that they were of such importance, and so much concerned the churches in general, that they ought not to be discussed in a Provincial, but National Synod. The same answer was returned to the same Deputies by the Curators of the University

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of Leyden. It was for the same reason also, that the Committee of the States of Holland and West-Friesland did in the name, and by the order of the said States, forbid the particular Synod of South-Holland, holden at Dort in the year 1608, to meddle with the business of Arminius; and also those Commissioners who were present every year at the meetings of particular Synods, were constantly instructed to take care that nothing should be discussed by them, which concerned the churches in general.

These arguments were used by them at a time when there seemed to be no more hopes of procuring a National Synod; but now that by great pains and labours, this has been brought to such forwardness, that the Resolution of the States General taken in December 1606, about holding a National Synod is resumed and confirmed by a majority of voices, now they change their note, and study all kinds of pretexts to put off the holding such a Synod, and to hinder the calling of it; now all the cry is for a Provincial Synod, in order to treat of the common affairs, though they themselves, before the late dissensions, did not think it sufficient: A Synod concerning which, they have also long cavilled by drawing up various schemes and projects, but have not yet been able to induce all the Members of the Assembly to agree to them. Thus all good methods for redressing our grievances are defeated, and matters left at an uncertainty.

But supposing at the very best, that it should so happen (which however is not to be expected, and if it were, would be very prejudicial to the churches) that the Members of the States of Holland should agree to the scheme of holding a Provincial Synod, yet matters will be spun out there to such a length, that we shall never be able to attain to a National one.

Moreover, the many schemes that have been offered, seem to be calculated only for preventing a National Synod, and for bringing matters finally under the direction of a Provincial Synod, and (in case that should happen to separate without effect) for leaping over the head of a National to a General Synod. Which is as much as to say, that they never desired such a one in earnest. Wherefore to obviate all these inconveniences, and to the end we may continue no longer in this dubious state by such management, it seems absolutely necessary that the long desired National Synod should be summoned forthwith, and that by holding particular Synods upon the antient foot, the disputes which are depending should be prepared for a decision in the National.

Which if it be celebrated with a christian spirit, and in the fear of God, he will be pleased to pour down a blessing on their labours, the churches will take heart again, and peace will be established among the people. Otherwise, if these measures be not pursued, the churches will fall into yet greater confusion, and become the scorn and derision of all men, both at home and abroad, and what is worst of all, the wrath of God will be more and more excited against us, because we have not timely laid hold on, and made use of the proper and ordinary means.

The Representation of those of Enkhufen ran thus :

A Representation delivered by those of Enkhufen to the Assembly of the States of Holland and West-Friesland in favour of a National Synod.

FORASMUCH as the late controverted points of doctrine, concern all the Low-Country churches in general, and have disturbed almost all the Provinces, they therefore ought not to be discussed in a Provincial Synod, composed of the Clergy of one Province only, but in a National one, of all the Provinces in general, where only they can be determined.

Since the differences are of so great weight, (as relating to some of the fundamentals of the Christian Religion, even according to the confession of the Remonstrants themselves, as may be seen among other writings, in the Declaration of Arminius) that they cannot be liquidated in a Provincial Synod, they therefore cannot be submitted to the judgment of such a Synod.

Since the Remonstrants transmitted to the States, as long ago as the year 1610, their objections against the Confession and Catechism of the Low-Country churches sealed up, in order to be opened in a lawful Synodical meeting, and there examined

‘ mined, which cannot be done in any other but a National one, as *Arminius* himself A^{Nº} D^{OM.} maintains in his abovementioned Declaration: saying, *That those papers ought to* 1618.
‘ *be examined after a proper manner, that is, in a National Synod*; adding in another
‘ place of his book: *That there were several of the Clergy, who had entertained*
‘ *some scruples about certain passages in the aforesaid Formularies, but who kept their*
‘ *thoughts to themselves, without disclosing them to any body, in hopes that their ob-*
‘ *jections would be consider’d in a national Synod*: Therefore since the said Formu-
‘ laries are the common Confession, and Catechism of all the churches within these
‘ united Provinces, the declaration of all the churches of the said provinces in ge-
‘ neral, ought to be made, and the churches themselves ought to be heard in a general
‘ national Synod against those objections, as well as other doubts and scruples, and
‘ their opinions must be considered, with reference to the meaning of the aforesaid
‘ Confession and Catechism.

‘ Forasmuch as the Authors likewise of these objections, such as *Arminius* and his
‘ followers (tho’ they now speak another language) did at the beginning expressly
‘ appeal to a National Synod, and refused to disclose their scruples, pretending that
‘ nothing could be done properly, nor edifying in those matters, but in the National
‘ Synod, as may be seen in the aforesaid declaration of *Arminius*: And since the
‘ States of this Province have themselves constantly given in charge to the Commis-
‘ sioners that are present every year at the particular Synods, not to suffer any matters
‘ which concern the Churches in general, to be treated there; whereby they have as
‘ good as own’d that it was their opinion, that the common affairs of the
‘ *Low-Country* churches ought to be treated in a general Assembly of the said
‘ churches: And whereas the churches of the *Netherlands*, ever since the year
‘ 1589, not without great trouble and charges, continually solicited the holding
‘ of a National Synod, and with so many weighty reasons represented the neces-
‘ sity of it to their High Mightinesses, the States-General, that they at last ob-
‘ tained a grant of it, even before the present troubles and disputes arose: ’Tis
‘ therefore now much more necessary and equitable, that the churches of these pro-
‘ vinces in general, should, by the holding of a National Synod, be delivered not
‘ only from their present, but from their former troubles and difficulties, which
‘ would otherwise be entailed on them.

‘ Again, the design of bringing the present controversies before a Provincial
‘ Synod only, is a business very full of danger, and very prejudicial to the churches
‘ in general; since thereby the long desired and expected National Synod, which
‘ in the year 1606, was agreed to by all the Members of their High Mighti-
‘ nesses, the States-General; and again, and again, resolved on by most of the
‘ Provinces, is postponed, and may again be easily defeated, as it happened in the
‘ year 1608, when the National Synod was agreed to by all the Provinces, and a
‘ preparatory Assembly was holden to that end in the year 1607; after which time,
‘ upon the making a proposal that the disputes should be first stated and discuss’d in a
‘ Provincial Synod, the holding of an entire National Synod was not only put
‘ off, and defeated, but even the Provincial one, by various arts and projects, was
‘ likewise hindered.

‘ Besides, if any thing should be agreed upon in the Provincial Synod towards a
‘ mutual accommodation or toleration, or the like, an occasion would be taken
‘ from thence, entirely to prevent the holding a National Synod, tho’ it is the
‘ most proper method of all to extricate our selves from the difficulties we are in-
‘ volved in; for it would then be given out, that it is not necessary to be at any
‘ further pains or charges for liquidating the rest of the disputes, which would be
‘ very prejudicial to other churches.

‘ And in case the churches of other Provinces either would not, or could not acquiesce
‘ in the resolutions and decrees taken by our own Provincial Synod (as indeed they
‘ are not obliged to submit to them) what other effect would it produce, than
‘ further confusions and strangeness among the churches of the respective Provinces,
‘ as we have seen already between the Province of *Utrecht*, and its Neigh-
‘ bours?

‘ To which may be also added, that the quarrels and dissensions among the
‘ Clergy and Churches of *Holland* are come now to so high a pitch, that accord-

AN^o DOM. 1618. ing to all appearance, it would be impossible to compose them in a Provincial Synod, forasmuch as they would all be adversaries, or parties, who neither would, nor could be judged by one another.

The Pensionary, *Hugo Grotius*, (who had been for the space of three years, deputed by the Town of *Rotterdam* to the College of the Grand Committee of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*) thought it necessary, about that time, to draw up his reasons against appointing a National Synod, before the holding a Provincial one; to which he subjoin'd an Answer to the arguments of the three above-mention'd Papers that maintained the contrary. These reasons and answers of *Grotius*, which have been found among some of his papers, being weigh'd and compared with those of the Clergy, may, as we think, afford great light to the chief matters upon which the disputes between some of the Provinces and the chief part of the Members of that of *Holland* turned. They run thus:

Reasons against appointing a National Synod, before the holding a Provincial one.

Certain Arguments and Solutions penn'd by *Grotius*, in opposition to the Reasons of those of *Amsterdam* and *Enkhufen*.

FIRST, Because some of the Provinces have taken upon them to appoint a National Synod without the consent of the rest, which will be an irreparable damage to the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, in case the other Provinces go on with that Scheme. For, that the right of Convoking Synods by Publick Authority, belongs entirely to the Sovereign, appears very plain by all that *Protestants* have ever writ upon this head: That each of the Provinces was even independent, and sovereign within itself, and still continues so to be, wants no proof, as being notorious: And likewise that the *Union* has not transferred the direction of Ecclesiastical matters to the Generality, but reserved it to each Province; and that the Communion of the true Reformed Religion, which was afterwards established among all the Provinces, and ought to be so maintained, does not make the supremacy in Ecclesiastical affairs common to all the Provinces, is obvious to every wise man. The same appears likewise undeniably by the Commission which the States of *Utrecht* gave to his Excellency, and which he accepted; and it is abundantly illustrated by the examples of the united *Protestant* Princes in *Germany*, by those of the Cantons, which have embraced the said Religion in *Switzerland*, and others. The prejudice that will be sustained by the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, in consenting to this incroachment of the other Provinces, is evident; because, by what is transferred to the Generality by all the Provinces, that of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* (as being the biggest) will be sure to lose; whereas on the contrary the rest will rather get than lose. The consequence is likewise very great; for if the Provinces be allowed so plainly to usurp a sovereign power and authority, which has been expressly reserved, and which is of the highest importance, how ready will they be to do it in other points that are not so clearly reserved and excepted, and are therefore liable to much cavil?

Secondly, Because it is a dishonour to this our Province, to be brought under any regulations in the business of religion by other Provinces; besides, that it will be a confirmation of the scandalous reports that have been spread over all the world, as if the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* were favourers of many and gross errors and heresies; which slander will, on the contrary, be fully refuted, when a Synod, called by their authority, shall demonstrate the aversion of their Lordships to any such errors, and their zeal for preserving truth and unity in the Church.

Thirdly, Because the order of nature requires, first to try the first step, before we resolve to ascend the second.

Fourthly, Because the States have already promised, as long since as the Year 1611, to call a Provincial Synod upon these disputes, without obliging themselves previously to appoint a National one to follow it.

Fifthly,

‘ *Fifthly*, Because the agreeing upon a National Synod will render the Provincial
‘ vain, and of no effect; for every body will endeavour to refrain himself till the
‘ holding of the National Synod.

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‘ *Sixthly*, Because the controversy owes its birth chiefly to the Province of *Hol-*
‘ *land* and *West-Friesland*, and the Troubles and Grievances are at a crisis there :
‘ Wherefore it will be necessary before all things, to try to accommodate matters in
‘ the said country, and to find out such remedies as may best agree with the con-
‘ stitution of those Members that are most affected.

‘ *Seventhly*, Because, altho’ the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* should be
‘ perswaded to come into the measures for holding of a National Synod; yet if
‘ those of *Utrecht* either alone, or in conjunction with *Over-Iffel*, should not like-
‘ wise come in (which is but too probable) there could be no Convocation in the
‘ name of the States-General, without manifest injury to the scrupling Provinces,
‘ nor without a breach of sworn engagements.’

*The Solution, or Answer to the Reasons alledged on the other hand, in a Paper which
those of Amsterdam delivered to the Assembly.*

‘ **T**HE *First* Reason or Argument fetch’d from hence, *That the disputes concern* An Answer to
the Reasons
contained in
the first paper
of those of
Amsterdam.
‘ *all the churches of the Low-Countries in general*, is nothing to the pur-
‘ pose: For if it be meant, that the disputes concern the whole church, and its
‘ doctrine in general, then it will necessarily follow, that the matter can’t properly
‘ be discusst and liquidated any otherwise than by an Assembly representing all the
‘ Reformed churches; because we have always understood, that our doctrine is
‘ uniform to that of all *Protestants*. If we regard the *Formularies*, tho’ we do not
‘ talk of revising them at present, yet it ought to be considered, that the agreement
‘ of our doctrine is not to be measured by letters or syllables, but according to the
‘ true intent and meaning of the said *Formularies*; which meaning is common to all
‘ the confessions of the *Reformed* churches, as has been shown in the harmony of
‘ those *Confessions*: Besides, our Catechism agrees in all points with that which is
‘ used in the *Palatinate*; and in this respect the conformity with the neighbouring
‘ churches, (*viz.* those of our Provinces) is not greater than with the churches in
‘ the *Palatinate*: And so likewise the *Confession* of the *Low-Country* churches,
‘ for the most part, agrees with that of the *French*, not only in the sense, but
‘ even in the words too. If any man will build the argument upon this, namely,
‘ that these dissensions have insinuated themselves into all the Provinces, yet it can
‘ not be affirmed, in the first place, of the Provinces of *Zeland*, *Freeiland*, *Gro-*
‘ *ninghen*, and the *Ommelands*, which are the most zealous for a National Synod,
‘ any more than of *England*, *Swisserland*, or the University of *Sedan* in *France*,
‘ where these disputes have been more canvassed formerly than in the said Provinces.
‘ *Utrecht* and *Over-Iffel*, that are no less infested with the same disputes, do not
‘ insist upon the afore-mentioned advice of a National Synod. There remain then
‘ only *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, with a part of *Gelderland*, which really are by
‘ no means sufficient to evince the necessity of a National Synod; especially
‘ since it appears that those of *Gelderland* have taken different measures: But there
‘ is still less reason to dwell upon this argument, since by the last proposal made by
‘ the Nobles, and most of the Towns, importing, that the Synod of *Holland* and
‘ *West-Friesland* shall be assisted by some of the Deputies of the neighbouring
‘ churches, the difficulty is entirely removed; because by these means the unity
‘ of the churches may be sufficiently promoted: Nor is it any objection against
‘ this, to say that the Transactions of a Provincial Synod cannot bind the churches
‘ of other Provinces: For even in a National Synod the Deputies cannot absolute-
‘ ly bind the Churches they represent, but the Decrees of the Synod, as far as they
‘ relate to the churches, acquire their strength by the subsequent approbation of the
‘ said churches: all which may as well obtain in a Synod, under the direction of
‘ the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, assisted by the Deputies of other
‘ churches, as even in a National one.— Thus the Magistrates of *Bern* found means

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to accommodate the disputes and schisms in their churches, on account of the doctrine of *Predestination*, by consulting with learned men of their neighbouring churches, without any interposition of the Temporal Powers of the other *Protestant* Cantons, notwithstanding that both *Geneva* and *Basel* had their share of the like disputes.

The *Second* Argument derived from the importance of these disputes, does not infer the necessity of a National Synod; it much rather proves the necessity of a General Council, especially if those disputes be about the Divine Trinity, and such like Articles, which in the primitive times were laid before, and determined by Universal Synods. But as for what relates to these or the like points, which have been received in general by all *Christians*, or at least by all *Protestants*, they want no determination, but only an execution of former decisions; to which the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* have always shown their ready disposition, whenever any application was made to them on that account. And as for the doctrine of *Predestination*, and its appurtenances, as it may be too much slighted on the one hand, so on the other, it may be too highly esteemed, when men go about to put nice and disputable questions upon a level with the fundamentals of religion, and esteem all differences about the same as sufficient cause to break the unity of the Church: And therefore it is not improbable, that without proceeding to a solemn determination (which is allow'd not properly to belong to a Provincial Synod) some scheme of a christian accommodation might be thought upon in a particular Synod, and adapted to the circumstances of time and place; which scheme being agreeable to Scripture, might be approved not only by the neighbouring, but likewise by other *Reformed* churches, and might so acquire the greater respect and authority.

As for the *Third* Argument contained in the first paper, to wit, *That any discussion of the Five Points in a Provincial Synod would be of no use*; the force of it does not appear: For, allowing that the preceding *Conferences* had not the desired success, it by no means follows, that a subsequent conference shall succeed no better. For the controversies having since been more strictly examined, and tryed by the word of God, the one or the other party may now find themselves in some measure convinced from that holy word, or may at least be satisfied, that these matters are of so difficult and problematical a nature, that they will be the more easily disposed to some christian temperament; especially when they reflect with themselves in what danger the Church and State have been involved by these deplorable differences. Moreover, that by the Resolution formerly taken by the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, with a sincere and good intention, and not without the previous advice of many learned and godly men, as well *Contraremonstrants* as *Remonstrants*, the said States have not been able to compass their designs; proceeded in great measure from hence: that some of those *Contraremonstrants* were too much inclined to interpret the same to their own disadvantage; many of their own side owning otherwise that the said Resolution might easily be received with a proper explanation; concerning which, the parties may come to some agreement in a Provincial Synod to their mutual satisfaction. Neither would the pains and charges be thrown away, in case they could strike out some kind of temperament in such a Synod, with respect to the *Five Points*; nay though it should occasion a greater Assembly afterwards; which might be then considered of. And as for the rest of the points in debate, which are affirmed to be of no less moment, it may be hoped that the jealousies which have been entertained concerning them, may be entirely removed by a plain Confession; and that may be made as well in a Provincial as any other Synod. And as they are all of them very disputable points, the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* may order, upon application from the Synod, that every one in his publick preaching, shall keep within the bounds prescribed by the Confession and Catechism; to which the said States have been always disposed.

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‘ Touching the *Fourth* Argument: *That the rest of the Provinces will not submit to the decisions of any private Synod*: the same has been partly answered already; when we showed, that the approbation of the churches is not expected upon all Synodical Resolutions. Neither is it a strange thing to assert that such a plan of accommodation may be contrived for some Provinces, as cannot be so well adapted or applied to others; since in such Points, great allowances may be made for the sake of edification, without prejudice to truth; and at all adventures, whatever is concluded in a Provincial Synod touching these matters, ought only to be provisional; and in case the affair might require a more solemn Assembly, the Deputies should not be restrained to such a provisional scheme, but be at full liberty to suggest what they thought best and most proper in conformity to the word of God, and the rule of charity. And in truth, if this argument, as they have proposed it, had any foundation, all Provincial Synods would be not only useless, but dangerous too.

‘ The *Fifth* Argument is borrowed from *causeless jealousies*. The intention of the States is only to try what blessing God may be pleased to bestow upon the endeavours of a Provincial Synod assisted by the neighbouring Clergy; and in case the said States cannot by this method attain to the desired ends; namely, the recovery of Ecclesiastical unity and discipline, with the preservation of truth, they will make no scruple of trying some other, as they have plainly declared in the printed Proposals. And the reason why there have been so many projects formed, was only to remove by all possible means, the scruples of some of their Members, by whom if the first scheme had been embraced, all others would of course have been unnecessary.

The Solution of the Arguments alledged in the Second Paper, which was presented to the States by the Magistrates of Amsterdam, with relation to the Synod.

IN the said paper they mention first of all the great reason the churches have seriously to desire a National Synod; which we leave to stand on its own bottom; since it does not follow from thence, that a National Synod ought to be agreed upon, before the holding a Provincial.

An Answer to the Reasons contained in their second paper.

‘ Then as for that Argument: *That the controversy is of general concern*; it has been answered before, and it was at the same time shown, that the question is not concerning the revision of the Confession and Catechism. Which indeed it is not thought adviseable to undertake at this juncture, but rather, that the disputes about *Predestination* being adjusted after the best manner, all publick doctrines should be restrained to those Formularies of Unity. Which may easily be done without burdening any man’s conscience.

‘ There is a manifest contradiction in that which follows: it being advanced, *That unity may be easily maintained with the foreign Reformed churches, by some of their Divines assisting at the National Synod*; whilst at the same time it is denied, *That the like unity may be preserved by the assistance of some of the Clergy from the neighbouring churches*; whereas both the one and the other, *servata proportione*, are of the same nature. As for what is said, *That in case the neighbouring Clergy are allowed to vote there, such a Synod will become National*. We answer, that it were to be wisht, that it might be a National one, as far as would serve to maintain the unity of the churches, without being National with respect to the transferring the sovereignty of one Province to all the rest together; as has been explained above by the example of the Canton of *Bern*. By such a Synod, the end proposed by the King of *Great Britain*, would be obtained; though he did not strictly consider the rights of each Province, as not having been fully informed thereof.

‘ This argument drawn from *the importance of the matter*, has likewise been answered before.

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‘ They that wish for a *General Council of the Reformed churches*, shew thereby their concern for their common welfare, since it is certain that no better means can be thought upon to preserve and promote the unity of those churches, both in general and in particular, to the great detriment of Popery, and all other Sects and Heresies. But it does not very well consist with the same wish, to render others, who wish it as well as they, suspected of procrastinating or putting it off from time to time; and to represent matters in such a desperate condition, as if it were impossible to procure such an Assembly. For although there has never been such a one formerly, it does not follow that there never can, nor will be. Perhaps both the Churchmen and the Civil Magistrates, did not exert all the zeal they were obliged to do; who ought now to be stirred up for several reasons. The troubles of these Provinces, concern all the *Reformed Princes and States* in the highest degree. The differences themselves are of such a nature, as sufficiently to require the advice of our brethren of the *Reformed churches*; and the more, because they furnish the *Lutherans* with greater pretences for refusing communion with us, than on any other account. There are likewise other matters among the *Reformed*, which in time may occasion more troubles, and which cannot be well removed without a General Synod. Besides, the drawing up of a *General Confession*, a thing so long desired by many pious souls, and the choice of the most proper means for uniting all *Protestants*, may be promoted on such an occasion.

‘ God Almighty seems likewise to have given us no small hopes of this, having lately moved the hearts of the King of *Great Britain*, the Elector *Palatine*, and other Princes of *Germany* to consent to it. That the *Reformed of France* long for the same, appears also by the treatise which *Du Moulin* has published. True it is indeed, that the Pope and his party being sensible of the great loss they might suffer hereby, will turn every stone to hinder it: but this ought to encourage us the more to endeavour it; and it might soon be brought about, if the Provinces would but unanimously concur in promoting it.

‘ As to the pretence, *That a General Synod is unnecessary, because the business is only to restore the Netherland churches to their former repose and unity*, it is no sufficient proof. For our doctrine ought to be uniform and common with all the *Reformed churches*; but that uniformity cannot be sufficiently manifested by the advices and counsels of a few foreign Divines, who will not be capable of representing their churches.

‘ They who call the Argument for refusing, on account of the sovereignty of the Province of *Holland and West-Friesland*, a *Pretence*, are probably such persons who have never taken an oath to maintain and defend the prerogatives and supreme authority of the aforesaid Province; if they had, they would doubtless have spoken a different language; since the direction of Ecclesiastical matters (in which is doubtless included, the calling a Synod by the authority of the Civil Magistrate) is one of its highest privileges; which, when once it is lost, or resigned to others, is usually attended with the ruin of all the rest; and therefore this is a thing which cannot be called meerly Ecclesiastical, being likewise of a political nature; so that they who would inroach upon the rights of the Province in this respect, would undoubtedly attempt alterations in the State. We ought also seriously to attend to that Canon of the Primitive Church, in one of her General Councils: namely, *Ut Ecclesia sequatur Typos Politiae*: that is, *Let the Church follow the pattern of the Civil Government*. Which may be done without the least infringement of the band of unity that ought to be maintained between all the *Reformed*.

‘ It is true, that the Province of *Holland and West-Friesland*, is not under the dominion of other *Reformed States and Potentates*; but it is no less true, that other *Reformed Princes and States* never pretended to any authority over the said Province, that might be hurtful to her; neither do they at this time usurp, as some of the neighbouring Provinces have done, under the name of the Generality; which usurpation must necessarily be opposed for the sake of preserving the privileges of the aforesaid Province. Where there is no claim, there will be no danger. It is absurd and contrary to nature, to imagine that the calling of a National Synod

‘ against

‘ against the mind of some Provinces, (as it would now be) could contribute to the A^N D^O M.
 ‘ maintaining unity among them all, either in civil or ecclesiastical matters. On 1618.
 ‘ the contrary, it will have no other effect, but to create an everlasting schism both
 ‘ in Church and State, like that occasioned by the book of *Concord* in *Germany*, which
 ‘ indeed produced a sort of concord among some of the Members of the Protestant
 ‘ Church, but discords and divisions in the whole body. And he that does not see
 ‘ this, must be stark blind.

‘ The Argument taken from *the spreading of the contagion*, has been touched
 ‘ upon before. And if it be likewise thought that party-rage is so great among the
 ‘ Clergy of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, that no good could proceed from their
 ‘ meeting in a Provincial Synod; why may not the same be said of the Clergy of
 ‘ other Provinces? For we know well enough, what judgments have been past in
 ‘ several of them, both privately and publickly, and who they are that feed the
 ‘ fire of dissention. Or will any man say, that the moderation and good temper of
 ‘ those Civil powers, who shall send some neighbouring or foreign Divines to the
 ‘ National Synod, will bring the other immoderate ones to reason? If so, why may
 ‘ not we expect the same in a Provincial Synod, so modelled and so assisted as has
 ‘ been proposed? In truth, the not suffering the Synod of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*
 ‘ to sit and act for any other purpose, that as a preliminary one to that of a Na-
 ‘ tional Synod, is rendring it entirely useless, and in effect, the same thing as
 ‘ leaping at once into a National Synod. For a simple preparation, whether it be
 ‘ in a Provincial or National Synod, cannot operate at all. And from hence, among
 ‘ other things, it plainly appears, that the design is to rob particular Provinces of
 ‘ their sovereignty.

‘ As for *what Arminius says about these matters*, that is no rule to us: Neither
 ‘ can men apply to our present circumstances what was said or done by the Grand
 ‘ Committee of *Holland*, or the Curators of the University of *Leyden*, at a time
 ‘ when the heat and partiality of the neighbouring Clergy had not disclosed them-
 ‘ selves, and when none of the other Provinces had as yet attempted to invade the
 ‘ sovereignty of that of *Holland*. Their opinion, that certain matters might be laid
 ‘ before a National Synod, with the free and general consent of all the rest of the
 ‘ United Provinces, is not applicable to the present case. And it has also been
 ‘ already sufficiently proved, that a National Synod is not the proper means at this
 ‘ juncture to redress our affairs; and therefore the guilt of bringing all into confu-
 ‘ sion, must lie at the doors of those who will not hearken to any accommodation,
 ‘ and who, in matters which are not determined by the word of God (such as the
 ‘ holding this or that kind of Synod) shall prefer methods that cannot be embraced
 ‘ without causing greater divisions, before such as may be practised without any
 ‘ inconvenience.

‘ It is true, *that a National Synod was granted in the year 1606*, but it was agreed
 ‘ upon for other ends and purposes; and that grant having been rejected by the
 ‘ Clergy, or at least having had no effect, some of the Provinces recalled the consent
 ‘ they had given. And therefore, as no Synod could be ordered for the said year
 ‘ 1606, without a general agreement; so neither could it be brought about for the
 ‘ year 1617, without the same consent or agreement; and whatever has been done
 ‘ to procure it without such consent, ought to be looked upon as illegal and invalid,
 ‘ and consequently the execution of it will only serve to increase the troubles; and
 ‘ such who are sensible of this, cannot act like wise Statesmen, nor good Christians,
 ‘ if they push on that work.

‘ That objection, *that matters will be unnecessarily protracted in a Provincial*
 ‘ *Synod*, is without any grounds; because all that mean well, must needs desire to
 ‘ extricate us as soon as possible out of our present distractions.

‘ The late project or scheme of the Nobles and chiefest part of the Towns, shows
 ‘ their inclination to adjust matters by a Provincial Synod, with the assistance of the
 ‘ neighbouring and other churches if necessary; but in case it should not succeed
 ‘ after that manner, then to consider with the other towns upon some further and
 ‘ fitter means. But these their good intentions have according to custom been un-
 ‘ justly traduced and misconstrued. What fruits are to be expected from such cal-
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A^NO D O M. 1618. ling of a Synod, as would be directly contrary to the Union and the Rights of the Province, all wise men may easily imagine, and it has been sufficiently shown before.

‘ Most justly therefore may we conclude, in opposition to the conclusion of the Memorial we are answering, that by these violent proceedings, the Community will be more and more disturbed, the churches brought into greater confusion, and exposed to the scorn and contempt of every body both at home and abroad. Neither will the wrath of God be appeased, because men will not enter in such measures as are good, equitable, just and adapted to the present situation of the times, and which have been frequently suggested and offered to them.

An Answer to the Paper concerning a Synod, presented by the Deputies of Enkhufen to the States.

An Answer to the Reasons alledged by those of Enkhufen in favour of a National Synod. **T**HIS Paper contains no other Arguments, than those that have been offered in the foregoing Memorials, with which they often agree in the sense, and often in the very words too; so that in order to avoid repetitions, it may suffice to refer to what we have already said by way of answer.

‘ For to their *First* Argument may be applied, what has been said to the *first* Article of the *first* Paper.

‘ And so likewise the *Second* Answer may be the same with that to the *Second* Argument of the said *First* Paper.

‘ To the *Third* may be applied, what was answered both to the *First* Argument in the *First* Paper, and to *Numb. I, II.* in the *Second*.

‘ To the *Fourth, Fifth, Sixth* and *Seventh*, the Answer of *Numb. XII.* in the *Second* Paper.

‘ To the *Eighth*, that which is replied to the *Third* Argument of the *First*, and *Numb. XIV.* of the *Second* Paper.

‘ To the *Ninth*, what has been returned to the *Tenth* of the *Second* Paper.

‘ To the *Tenth*, what has been said before to *Numb. II.* of the *Second* Paper; to which may be added, that if it be true that parties neither can, nor will be judged by one another, a National Synod can be no proper judge in these disputes, seeing it consists of parties as much as the Provincial Synod. And therefore mutual endeavours must be used to convince each other from the word of God, and to bring matters to a christian accommodation; which may as well be done by a Provincial as by a National Synod, especially here in our country, where the controversy is most agitated, and where the most able assertors of both opinions are to be found. Nor is it to be doubted, but what should be agreed upon in such a Provincial Synod, would never be rejected by other churches. But on the contrary, in case any scheme should be formed in a National Synod by the majority of voices, being such as should best agree with the Constitution of the greater part of the Provinces, it is plain that the same scheme would not be so agreeable to the Constitution of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, *Utrecht* and *Over-Ijsel*, and accordingly not be feasible: From whence then it would follow, either that their Resolutions would remain without effect, to the reproach of the churches, or else that they must be put in execution by violent methods; which would be the same thing as to proceed to a domestick war on account of religion; all which could end in nothing else but great advantage to the common Enemy, and the utter destruction of Church and State.’

The Advocate of *Holland* drew up likewise some Proposals for calling a Provincial Synod upon the foot of the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Year 1591: As First, That out of each of the fifteen Classes, there should be chosen one person of the *Remonstrant*, and one of the *Contraremonstrant* Party; and that the States should likewise chuse from each Classis one of the most experienced, grave, learned, and peaceful men, in order to act as a Synod, in conjunction with the Divinity Professors of the University.

He further proposed; That the Classes should present to the Magistrates of each of the chief Towns within their Districts, nine or six Ministers, out of whom the said Magistrates might chuse three. After this he also made divers other offers, in order to an accommodation, but it was all in vain. But concerning some of those proposals, or such like, which had been agreed to by the Nobles, and most of the Towns, and from them recommended to the other Members of the States of *Holland*, mention has been made already. The said States did likewise, about this time, or a little earlier, appoint a Committee of Nobles, and Towns to consider of means for calling a Provincial Synod, but they could not come to any agreement among themselves. After this, upon further deliberation, the following Scheme or Project was drawn up.

It is proposed, in order to a further accommodation, that there shall be summoned to the Provincial Synod of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* forty five Divines, by whom the present religious disputes concerning the five famous Points shall be weighed and tried, in the fear of God, and according to the true meaning of the Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament; and all that they shall aim at, shall be to bring the contending parties to a christian agreement, and a mutual toleration, taking care to secure truth, and re-establish unity among the Professors of the Reformed Religion.

And to the end the summons may be made in an orderly manner (forasmuch as an assembly of this kind, collected out of all the Classes of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* was never holden before, and since many Classes are rent asunder) the States of *Holland* shall *pro hac vice*, convene all the Ministers, who, before these unhappy divisions were under the Classes of *South Holland*, with the Towns and Villages annexed thereto, at the Town of *Dort*; those of *Kennemerland*, at *Harlem*; those of *Delfland*, at *Delft*; those of the Lower *Rhijnland*, at *Leyden*; those of *Amsterland* and *Goyland*, at *Amsterdam*; those of *Gouda*, *Schoonhoven* and *Oudewater*, at *Gouda*; those of *Schieland*, at *Rotterdam*; of the Land of *Arkel*, *Altena* and *Heusden*, at *Gornichem*; those of the *Bril*, *Voorn* and *Putten*, at the *Bril*; those of *Alkmaer*, *Kennemergevolgh*, *Geestmerambacht*, and the Islands, at *Alkmaer*; those of *Horn* and *Drechtland*, at *Horn*; those of *Enkbusen*, *Mendenblik*, and *Norderkogge*, at *Enkbusen*; those of *Edam*, *Monik-edam*, *Purmerent*, *Zeevank*, *Waterland* and *Purmerland*, at *Edam*; those of the District of the *Hague*, at the *Hague*; those of the Upper *Rhineland*, at *Woerden*, at a certain time precisely, with previous directions to appear there personally, without excusing themselves on account of any divisions, with respect to religion, or other matters; who being met together in the fear of God, shall, after calling upon him in prayer, nominate and elect six godly, peaceful, and learned Ministers of the respective Classes, such as they in their conscience shall judge to be the most proper persons to bring the present religious Differences to a christian Accommodation, and mutual Toleration, with respect to the several opinions about the five Points: And if it should so happen, that any of the aforesaid Ministers should not be able to appear in person, by reason of sickness, or any other just impediment, he shall be obliged, in his letters of excuse, to nominate six Ministers of his own Classis, such as he in his conscience shall think fittest for this purpose. This nomination of six persons out of each of the fifteen Classes, being thus made, the said nomination shall be brought in writing hither to the *Hague*, on a certain day, by the Senior of each Classis (not being one of the six) if able to undertake the journey, to the end that three out of six may be chosen, by Lot,

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Proposals made
with relation
to the calling
of a Provincial
Synod, by the
Advocate Ol-
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A Scheme pro-
posed by a Com-
mittee of the
States of Hol-
land, for hold-
ing a Provin-
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These persons being met together, shall solemnly promise, to the Lords the States, that they will truly and sincerely hold themselves free and discharged from all former obligations, made either verbally, or in writing; and esteem themselves bound only to God's holy Word, as contained in the Old and New Testament, in order to contribute, faithfully and impartially, all that in them lies towards the discovery of Truth, and the promoting of Unity, and mutual Christian Forbearance, with respect to the various opinions and notions about the Five Points.

Neither shall any thing else be treated of at this Meeting, but only the afore said Five Points, or other grievances relating to Doctrine, as far as there shall appear just cause for the same; no other grievances being to be considered, unless first represented to the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, together with the reasons of complaint, in order to know the pleasure of the said States concerning them.

And the first thing they are to set about, is the endeavouring, by christian and amicable conferences, by arguments drawn from the Word of God, and proper examinations and inquiries, to reduce and lessen the controversies that have been stirred upon the various sentiments of men about the Five Points. This being done, they shall proceed to bring the differences which may still remain, to an uniform opinion, or at least to make such proposals of Unity and mutual Christian Toleration, as may be embraced by all parties provisionally, and without burdening the conscience: But no absolute decision shall in any wise be made by this Provincial Synod, touching the various opinions about the Five Points, unless it be by common consent.

Moreover, to the end that all things may pass orderly and regularly in the afore said Synod, pursuant to the good intentions of the said States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, their Lordships shall appoint some persons, making profession of the Reformed Religion, to preside, direct, and moderate at the Debates of the Assembly, giving them proper instructions for that purpose, according to the present circumstances, leaving at the same time a power in the Ministers, to chuse likewise an Ecclesiastical Moderator.

The Professors of Divinity of the University of *Leyden*, shall likewise be summoned to the said Meeting.

And whereas it has been the custom here, in former times, for the neighbouring *United Provinces*, to depute some of their Clergy to the Synodical Assembly of *South* and *North Holland* respectively (as is likewise done by the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* to the Synods of other Provinces) for the maintaining a reciprocal good understanding, the Lords the States of the afore said Province, shall therefore request the other six, that they would be pleased, each of 'em, to depute three godly, peaceful, and learned Divines, with the consent of their Ecclesiastical Assemblies, to the said Provincial Synod of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, meeting at the appointed Time and Place, in order to promote the afore said desirable and necessary Unity, or mutual Toleration of the different Opinions about the Five Points; that so the said Divines may act uniformly in all matters with the other Ministers; offering, at the same time, to do the like on their part, as often as those Provinces shall request the same.

And in case the said Provincial Synod, after having been a Month, or six Weeks at farthest, together, shall not be able to bring matters to the desired Unity, or Toleration (at least provisionally) proper measures shall be taken to procure a deputation of godly, peaceable, and learned Divines (within the space of two months) from *Germany*, *France*, *Great-Britain* and *Switzerland*, to assist at, and renew the afore said Transactions; in hopes, that by their prudent assistance and management, either the afore said Unity, or Toleration, may be obtained.

But if the same (tho' we hope the contrary) can't be brought to bear: and in case the said Assembly shall judge it necessary to come to a determination or decision, they shall consider among themselves, how these matters may be regularly laid before a *General Council*.

‘ The Synodical Acts of the aforementioned Provincial Assembly of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, shall not be deemed to be final or conclusive, nor of any validity, unless they be presented in writing to the States, and by them approved and ratified.’ A^N D^O M.
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This Proposal was indeed approved of by most of the Members of the States, but rejected by the towns of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, *Schiedam*, and two or three others which adhered to them in this affair. We likewise meet with some objections against this scheme delivered in a written Representation by the Deputies of *Amsterdam*, at the meeting of the said States on the 27th of *May*; the tenor of which is as follows :

‘ **FIRST**, it is to be observed in general, that by this project, the holding of a National Synod is absolutely excluded, which will prove very much to the disadvantage both of Church and State : Of the Church, forasmuch as the troubles concerning the points of doctrine affect all the *Reformed* churches of the *United Provinces* in general, and ought not therefore to be discussed by one of the Provinces separately, in prejudice to the rest ; for it might easily happen that there might arise a dangerous schism among the churches of the said *United Provinces*, on account of the diversity of the resolutions which might be taken by this or that Province in the business of doctrine ; the dissensions also are not only abounding in the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, but have diffused themselves to such a degree, that to this common evil a common remedy must be applied, if we desire to remove the same in earnest, and after the best manner. Of the State or Polity ; because thereby the Resolution of the States General for holding a National Synod, which was unanimously taken by all the Provinces in the year 1606, and revived the last summer by most of them, is entirely disannulled. It would likewise tend to the visible prejudice of the States of the other Provinces, in case those of *Holland* took upon them the sole direction of a matter which concerned them all in general ; and if it should be attempted to liquidate this affair in a Provincial Synod, and thereby a schism should break out among the churches of the several Provinces, it might easily occasion in time a division in the State ; and how pernicious that would prove, is obvious to all men.

‘ For which reason, before we enter upon any deliberation about holding a Provincial Synod, that of a National one ought to be unanimously agreed upon, towards which this Provincial Synod should be preparatory as all the rest of the Provincial Synods ought likewise to be. But if people be fully resolved not to bring matters before a National Synod, it will be by no means proper to treat any further about the calling of a Provincial Synod.

‘ If we could unanimously agree to the holding a National Synod, and then consent to the calling a Provincial one, as preliminary to it, (which would then likewise become necessary) the said Provincial Synod ought to be appointed and holden for the following purposes :

‘ *First*, To consider what articles of doctrine are controverted at present among the Clergy of this Province.

‘ *Secondly*, To endeavour an accommodation of the differences without violating truth, and to lay before a National Synod the advices offered thereupon, and to expect a determination there.

‘ *Thirdly*, To form a State of the controversy by common consent, and to lay these Points, as the *Gravamina* of this Province, before the National Synod, in order to be liquidated there by the general advice of all the *Reformed* churches of these *United Provinces*.

‘ *Fourthly*, To consider likewise of the decay or infringement of the good order and discipline of the churches of this land, and to bring what cannot be redressed by the Provincial Synod, among the *Gravamina* of this Province, before a National Synod.

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‘ *Fifthly*, To depute from the Provincial Synod, certain persons, who may appear at the National, in the name and with the instructions of the churches of this Province, and to draw up such instructions as are proper for them, to which they must conform according to the order of the churches.

‘ After these general remarks, there are several particular ones to be made upon this particular project ; as for instance, where it is said :

‘ I. *That the present religious disputes are only about the Five Points.* Upon which it is to be observed, that it is notorious, that besides the said *Five Points*, there are many more Points of very great importance in dispute, chiefly in the doctrine, and also in the discipline of the Church ; and that besides, whilst these differences were depending, considerable scandals and offences, and several improper proceedings happened, which occasioned great dissensions among the churches of this country, for which there ought to be just amends and satisfaction made, before the peace of the Church can be settled upon a sound bottom.

‘ II. *That our only endeavours should be after a Christian Accommodation and a Mutual Toleration.* Whereby it is supposed or insinuated, that the controversies and disputes are of so little weight, that either of the opinions would be equally tolerable in a Pastor of the *Reformed* persuasion ; which is what the churches of the land do by no means grant, and ought first to be enquired into, and decided by the word of God. This likewise principally belongs to the cognizance of a National Synod ; where ought to be examined and determined : *first*, which opinion of the two parties is deemed by our churches to be most conformable to the holy Scripture ; and, *secondly*, how far, and in what manner a doctrine not consistent with God’s word, ought to be tolerated by the *Reformed* churches here.

‘ III. *That six Ministers should be nominated out of every Classis, by a majority of votes, and that the States should choose three out of every six by lot.* As to this Proposal, it is judged more convenient that the Classes should chuse three immediately, without any such lottery ; since the lot ought not to be used but where humane judgment is at a loss. Besides, by this means the Elders and other proper persons are excluded, whom the churches might think fit to depute. And whereas of late divers Magistrates have begun to appear at the meetings of Classes, it is thought that it would be better for such persons to stay away, to the end that the Classes might be free, and not seem to be over born by their authority.

‘ IV. *That all those who are deputed to the Synod, should look upon themselves as discharged from all prior obligations, which they might have entered into, either verbally or literally, and hold themselves under no other ties but those of Scripture during these transactions.* This is an exaction which is both unnecessary and offensive too ; seeing that the *Reformed* Clergy are not bound by any Formularies of Unity, so as the Popish Bishops at the Council of *Trent* were to the Pope, or to the doctrine and traditions of the Church of *Rome* ; as plainly appears even by that publick Confession which the *Reformed* Ministers have signed ; to wit, *That all of them hold the word of God, to be the only and compleat rule of Faith and of Truth*, by which all doctrines ought to be tryed and judged, as often as any dispute happens about the truth of any doctrines contained in the Confession of the Churches. But when the question among Brethren of the same Confession is, who among them has departed from the unity of doctrine contained in the said Confession, such a dispute cannot be more properly decided than by the Formularies of Unity according to the explanation of all the churches in general.

‘ But if any man should maintain, that any particular article of doctrine, as it stands in the Confession or Catechism, is not agreeable to the word of God, in such case all the *Reformed* Clergy, who being assembled in a Synod, are the judges thereof,

‘ thereof, are obliged by the same Confession and their own subscriptions to it (as *AN^o DOM.*
 ‘ indeed they ought to esteem themselves obliged even antecedently to any promises) 1618.
 ‘ to try and judge disputes by the word of God only; and consequently there is
 ‘ no occasion of discharging themselves on that account from any obligation by
 ‘ which they never were bound in any manner.

V. ‘ Whereas it is said, That *they should use their utmost endeavours in disco-*
 ‘ *vering or enquiring after Truth, and promoting Unity and mutual Toleration:*
 ‘ That expression of *enquiring after Truth*, might occasion scandal, as if the *Re-*
 ‘ *formed* churches had not yet found out *Truth*, but were now in search after it.
 ‘ Besides, there ought to be added after the words *mutual Toleration*, as far as
 ‘ the same shall be found useful or practicable.

VI. ‘ That no other *Gravamina* might be treated of but the Five Points, without
 ‘ first knowing the pleasure of the States of Holland and West-Friesland. With
 ‘ respect to this it ought to be observed (since it is already very notorious, that
 ‘ there are many more *Gravamina* in these churches, which relate both to do-
 ‘ ctrine and discipline;) that if it be intended to remedy all abuses at once, the Sy-
 ‘ nod should be allowed to discuss all of them at the same time; for otherwise
 ‘ that Assembly will be forced to break up *re in fectâ* at every turn, or wait
 ‘ with their arms across till the States are met about it, and give their directions
 ‘ concerning the same; unless they, the said States, would be pleased previously
 ‘ to declare by a solemn and unanimous Resolution, that it is their will, that none
 ‘ shall presume to innovate any thing in these churches, and that those who have
 ‘ already done so, shall be obliged to give due satisfaction; and that upon failure
 ‘ thereof, the churches shall be empowered to proceed against such persons in their
 ‘ Assembly, according to ecclesiastical discipline. It may be likewise further ob-
 ‘ served, that here is no mention made but of *Gravamina* relating to Doctrine,
 ‘ from whence we may infer, that they are not to treat of any such as relate to
 ‘ the Government or Discipline of the Church, though there be several which oc-
 ‘ casion no small trouble and disorder in that respect.

VII. ‘ That no decision be made but by common consent. Upon this it ought
 ‘ to be noted, that there can be no determination of disputes about established
 ‘ Doctrines in a Provincial Synod, even though all parties were consenting to it,
 ‘ (especially if such a determination should tend to the making any changes therein)
 ‘ without the intervention of a National Synod, in which only such things ought
 ‘ to be done. If therefore the former were to be only the fore-runner of the lat-
 ‘ ter, and if the latter (that is to say, the National Synod) were unanimously
 ‘ agreed upon, there would be no apprehension of any decision in the Provincial
 ‘ Synod.

VIII. ‘ That proposals should be made there (to wit, in a Provincial Synod)
 ‘ for Unity and Toleration. That might be done without offence, provided that
 ‘ a National Synod were to follow immediately, and that such proposals might
 ‘ be there further examined; for otherwise there might be such methods for Unity
 ‘ and Toleration proposed, and established provisionally in this Province, which
 ‘ would be either prejudicial and disadvantageous to other Reformed churches, or
 ‘ would separate our churches from Unity with the same.

IX. ‘ As for the persons who are to be deputed on the part of the States, to pre-
 ‘ side in the said Synod; there ought to be great care taken that an equal num-
 ‘ ber might be sent on each side. And further, that their Instructions might be
 ‘ also first prepared and approved in the Assembly of the States, for otherwise they
 ‘ might be drawn in such a manner, as that the Synod would cease to be free, and
 ‘ their transactions become useless; care should likewise be taken about the number
 ‘ of persons to be sent to the Synod, and it ought to be considered, whether they
 ‘ should have any votes there.

X. ‘ To-

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X. ' Together with a *President*, there ought likewise to be chosen an *Assessor* or two, as also one or two *Secretaries*, from among the Ministers there present.

XI. ' Among the *Professors of Divinity* belonging to the University of Leyden, we ought by no means to reckon *Conradus Vorstius*; as to the others, it ought to be left to the judgment of the Synod, whether they should be admitted at all, and upon what foot.

XII. ' That there should be invited three Clergymen out of each of the six other Provinces, to act jointly with those of the Clergy deputed to the Synod: There is no occasion for this neither. If it be intended that the National Synod shall follow, then such a Meeting as this may be agreed to; but otherwise, the States of those Provinces which have already resolved upon a National Synod, will probably never suffer their Clergy to come for such a purpose; and the Clergy themselves will doubtless scruple to come without a particular charge and instructions from their respective churches: whereas the Provinces which are still against a National Synod, might probably send theirs, which would tend to the prejudice of the other party.

XIII. ' As for inviting certain godly, peaceful, and learned men from *Germany*, *France*, *Great Britain*, and *Switzerland*, that may be done more conveniently, and to better purpose at the National Synod, which their High Mightinesses the States-General have already resolved upon, and whose Resolution is hereby publicly disannulled.

XIV. ' As to the holding a General Synod or Council for deciding all these Controversies, it is indeed to be wished for, but hardly to be hoped; and therefore since the state of our churches cannot bear that these differences should remain any longer undecided, the said churches ought not to be fed with such vain hopes; besides, there is no coming at a General Synod but by a National one, as the Nobles and those towns that hold with them have themselves owned in their Declaration.

XV. ' There may likewise be a provisional determination of these differences made in a National Synod, so far as to declare the sense of our churches concerning the same, and what the said Synod expects should be taught and professed by the Clergy, till a General Synod can be holden.

There was likewise a 16th Consideration about the manner of approving the Synodical Acts, but this Article is not in the Paper published by those of *Amsterdam*; neither does any thing more of it occur to me, than what may be inferred from the Answer which we are now going to mention.

This Answer, which was drawn up at that time by Pensionary *Grotius*, contained the following Matters and Solutions:

The Answer of
Grotius to the
Remarks and
Objections of
those of *Am-*
sterdam, re-
lating to the
Scheme for
holding a Pro-
vincial Synod.

IN the first place, there is no difference between rejecting the National Synod, and maintaining, that it must be absolutely appointed before the holding a Provincial one. The project of the Nobles and most of the towns reserves to the Provincial Synod the liberty of doing good, and to the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, the power of deliberating upon further remedies if necessary, after holding the said Synod.

As for the Doctrine, it is not only common to all the neighbouring churches, but also to all the rest of the *Reformed*: from whence it must follow, that in case the band of Unity cannot be otherwise preserved than by such a Synod as shall represent all the churches contained within that Band; this affair ought to be brought before a *General Council*. But on the other hand, if that Band of Unity may be preserved with all the *Reformed* churches by means of a National Synod, where the foreign churches are not represented, why not likewise by a Provincial, in which a due deference may be paid to the sentiments of all the

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Reformed churches? especially, if such a Provincial Synod be assisted by the AN^o DOM. neighbouring Clergy, and even, if it should be judged necessary, by foreign Divines too. 1618.

The Unity of Faith may remain in all points in which such ecclesiastical Unity is requisite; and yet there may be some method concerted for proposing disputable matters in an edifying manner, with a particular regard to the condition and state of each Province; of which also a satisfactory account may be rendered to other Reformed churches, without occasioning any divisions. Whereas nothing else but divisions can be expected from a Synod imposed on some of the Provinces against their will.

The evil spirit of discord has not yet diffused itself into all the Provinces, but into some only; and those who are most tormented with it, find the appointing a National before the holding a Provincial Synod, to be of no service; being of opinion, that medicines ought rather to be applied to sick than sound Members; for which purpose Provincial Synods are the most proper, especially if they maintain a good correspondence with other churches. To this may be added, that nothing will be finally agreed upon in the Provincial Synod of *Holland and West-Friesland*, without consulting first with other Provincial Synods about the provisional Remedies which are proposed.

As for what concerns the Government, it is to be observed, that the Resolution of the States, taken in the year 1606, is not now made void, but has been made so already by the Clergy's rejecting, or at least scrupling the clause of the Revision, or reconsidering the *Netherland Confession* and *Heidelberg Catechism*. That which was done last year, can't pass for a Resolution, according to the Laws of the Land; because the direction of ecclesiastical matters is entirely reserved to the respective Provinces, and consequently the name or authority of the States General cannot in that respect be made use of otherwise than by the express consent of all the Provinces, as has been hitherto the practice. They who insist upon this Resolution, give sufficient cause to all sincere friends of the rights, liberties, and prerogatives of the country of *Holland and West-Friesland*, to scruple their consent to a National Synod. They that have no right, ought not to plead any interest; for which reason the other Provinces are not at all affected with such a transaction; but on the contrary, the Province of *Holland and West-Friesland*, as it is possessed of a right of ordering all Church-matters according to its own pleasure, is highly concerned not to yield it up to the States General. The States of this Country pretend only to the direction of Ecclesiastical matters within their own Territories, leaving to their neighbouring States the like prerogatives among themselves. And if things be prudently managed, and a good correspondence with one another maintained, there is no more danger of divisions here than in *Germany* or *Switzerland*, where we find the Church governed after a different manner by those to whom the civil authority respectively belongs, without any divisions either in spiritual or temporal matters. The old *Hollanders* were used to say, *Every man understands his own concerns best*.

It will be a great prejudice to the Church and State of this Country, if there be no other use made of the Provincial Synod of *Holland and West-Friesland*, than to prepare matters for a National one: For they that are allowed to do no more than to prepare matters, though you should even permit them to advise and depute, have no judicature or authority in themselves. If any chuse to drop all further considerations about holding a Provincial Synod, in order to devolve this great and unreasonable authority upon the National Synod, all impartial men may judge whose fault it is, that no Synod is at all holden for determining our Church-differences.

This may serve by way of Answer to the general Objections; let us now proceed to the particular ones, upon which it is to be observed:

As to the *First* of them, that in the Project mention is made of the well known *Five Points*, as containing the most and chiefest matters of controversy; which being removed or adjusted, it is hoped that what remains may be cured without much difficulty.

As

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As to the *Second*; A Christian Accommodation is such as does not clash with the Word of God. Now that such an Accommodation is feasible, and even absolutely necessary, with respect to the Controversy about *Predestination* and its dependances, is thought to be quite out of dispute. And certainly, this Accommodation may be found as well in a Provincial Synod, so assisted as the project sets forth, as in a National, and may be also better apply'd to the present circumstances of the Churches of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*. It is very dangerous to suffer a National Synod to proceed to a solemn decision upon points which are known to have been controverted, and to be still in dispute among eminent Divines of the Reform'd Churches, and to declare which are most conformable to the Word of God: And there is much more reason to fear a Schism among the Reformed Churches in general, from such a method of proceeding, than from a Provisional Accommodation, by a Provincial Synod, without such a decision. They who doubt of this, let them but reflect upon the troubles which arose from a National Decision in *Africa*, about the *Baptism* of *Hereticks*, about the *Procession* of the Holy Ghost in the *Western* Churches, and not long ago about the *Lord's Supper*, and this Controversy of *Predestination* in *Saxony*, and other adjacent countries: From the determinations upon all of which, nothing but great and incurable divisions have followed. We ought therefore seriously to reflect upon the Remonstrances made against such National Decisions by the late Queen of *England*, of Glorious Memory, by the Elector *Palatine*, and other Reformed Princes, States and Potentates, in the year of our Lord 1577.

As to the *Third*; A determination by Lot is not propos'd to be us'd till after previous human judgment; and it is not without an example either in civil or religious cases, and consequently may be admitted. The reason why no notice is taken of the *Elders* is, because the Synod is proposed for the discussion of abstruse and nice cases, for which Divines are supposed to be better qualified than others. But if any of the Classes should think that there are in their Districts any Elders or other Members endowed with the necessary qualifications for such an examination, those persons might, with leave of the States, be deputed in the stead of Ministers. The presence of Civil Magistrates in Ecclesiastical Assemblies, is agreeable to what several of the Reform'd Divines of *Holland* have maintain'd to be just, and has been practis'd from the very beginning of the *Reformation*, allow'd to be useful by divers Synods even of this Country, and confirmed by publick ordinances. Wherefore their right of being present at such meetings, cannot be disputed with any show or appearance of reason. However care may be taken, that such their presence and superintendency, at the same time that it preserves the authority of the Civil Government, do not infringe the Liberty of the Church; which may as well be done in Classical Assemblies, as in Synods themselves.

As to the *Fourth*; The exacting a promise for the performance of things to which people are obliged by virtue of their office, is no new thing, but very usual both in ecclesiastical and political employments; and it is actually practis'd with respect to those who appear at the Assemblies of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*.

In the Project of the Provinces for holding a National Synod, it is said, that the promise shall be confirmed by an oath. It is therefore neither strange nor unnecessary, that at a conjuncture in which mens minds are so prepossessed and governed by passion, the persons who are to appear at the Synod, should be more solemnly engaged by promises to the discharge of their bounden duty.

It is not easy to comprehend to what purpose a distinction is made between the controversies concerning *Truth*, and those concerning *Unity of Doctrine*: For *Unity of Doctrine*, exclusive of *Truth*, is an evil unity, and is by no means obligatory in point of conscience; so that the Word of God being the only rule of *Truth*, is at the same time the only rule of *Unity*. If likewise any article of religion

religion be so obscure, that its truth cannot as yet be made very manifest from AN^O D O M.
the Word of God, the best rule of Unity, in such case, seems to be, to leave mens 1618.
consciences at liberty, without disturbing the Church. The *Confession, Cate-*
chism, and other Formularies of Unity, ought to remain in use whilst any dispute
continues unexamined; and in the mean time the peace of the Church should be
preserved: but when once we proceed to a discussion of points, the obligation to
such Formularies ought to cease, if we desire that the discussion should be free,
and made according to the only rule of Faith, the Word of God. And indeed,
if the Word of God stood in need of any crutches, it does not seem that such
particular Confessions are the proper ones, because they would give occasion to a
diversity of doctrines among the *Reformed*; much rather ought we to make use
of the decisions of the ancient Councils, and the agreement in the writings of the
Primitive Fathers, pursuant to the methods practised in *England*, and by his Ma-
jesty's Commands, communicated to the States General, by his Minister *Carleton*,
the last day of *February*.

To the *Fifth*; It is a strange offence that is taken against the words, *Inquiry*
after the Truth, when not only the Reformed churches, but even each Christian
man is daily exhorted to **Search the Scriptures**; and for what purpose, unless
it be to discover Truth? As long as we continue in this life, where our know-
ledge is so imperfect, there will always be something to seek, and something to
find. They who think otherwise, encourage us to be remiss and slothful in this
inquiry, and are not well qualify'd to judge impartially, as having already form'd
a final judgment upon all points, without desiring to search any further for what
they think they have already found.

To the words, *Mutual Toleration* is added in the aforesaid Scheme, *Christian*;
so that there is no need of subjoining the expression, *so far as the same shall be*
found edifying, because it is comprized under the word *Christian*: That some
kind of toleration in the business of *Predestination*, and its dependencies, is pra-
cticable, appears plainly enough from the confession of all who have treated about
it, and also from constant practise.

To the *Sixth*; To the end that we might not be involved in too much business,
nor be obliged to defer the consideration of what is most necessary on account of
what is of less importance, it was proposed by the aforesaid Scheme, that not
only the *Five Points*, but likewise all other matters relating to doctrine, should
be discuss'd in the Synod; but that other *Gravamina*, not relating to doctrine,
should not be entered upon, before they were communicated to the States; which
may easily be done when the Classes are met, and have drawn up an account of
the said *Gravamina*. The Resolution which is proper in this case, has, in effect,
been already past, and may, if it be thought necessary, be renewed; to wit, *It*
is the pleasure of the States, that besides the Articles relating to Predestination,
and the doctrines necessarily flowing from thence, none shall presume to propose any
thing not consistent with the established Doctrine, as express'd in the Formularies
of Unity; and whoever has done, or shall do so, shall either make satisfaction to
the Church, or undergo Ecclesiastical censures. Besides, the States are always ready
and well disposed to exert their power and authority in a just and lawful manner,
against all flagrant exorbitancies in the matter of doctrine.

As to the *Seventh*; Decisions may be made in a Provincial Synod, upon some
points that are not so problematical, nor weighty as those of *Predestination*, and
on such as may tend to corroborate, but not alter the received Doctrines of the
Church. Such a Synod may therefore be of further use, than barely to prepare
matters for a National one. Thus when the Provincial Synod has done her duty,
it will be time enough to consider, whether a National one will be either necessary
or useful.

As to the *Eighth*; A Toleration, without any decision, being adapted to times and
places, need not scandalize the other Reformed churches, nor divide ours from other
churches; whereas a decision made in a National Synod, is capable of separating

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our churches from the rest of the *Reformed*. But in order to preserve Unity the better, it is suggested, that some Deputies of the neighbouring churches may be joined to our own, to the end they may both hear the Reasons of others, and offer their own. Moreover, whatever is concerted in such a Provincial Synod, may be transmitted to the neighbouring churches, in order to the obtaining their approbation: And in case there shall happen to be any diversity in their respective counsels, measures may be taken for learning the opinion of such other *Reformed* churches as have remained neuter with respect to the controversies stirred among us.

As to the *Ninth*; The project of the States deputing an equal number on each side, is not reasonable. In the *first* place, because it has been refused before, in respect to the Clergy, and yet it was much more just, that an equality of numbers should be observed among them, as being Principals, than among the Laity. *Secondly*, because the Lay-Commissioners are to appear at the meeting as Moderators, and not as Parties. *Thirdly*, because there are many among the Laity who do not adhere either to the *Remonstrant* or *Contraremonstrant* opinion in all points, who would therefore be quite excluded by this Assortment.

The charge and instructions which the States shall give to their Deputies, ought to be; *to have nothing else in view but the honour of God, and the interest of Church and State*. And the figure they shall make in the Synod, ought to be the same as the Deputies of the Emperors made in the Councils of old, and they ought to have the same weight and influence as those in particular who were sent to the Council of *Chalcedon*.

As to the *Tenth*; There needs no objection to be made against adding of *Assessors*; and it deserves consideration, whether during those divisions among the Clergy, the States should not provide the Synod with a Neutral Secretary?

As to the *Eleventh*; Doubtless the two Professors, being in the actual exercise of their office, ought to be invited to a Synod where Doctrinal points are to be discussed; therefore it is by no means necessary to consult the Members of the Synod in so plain a case.

As to the *Twelfth*; The States of the neighbouring Provinces being well informed and convinced of the good intentions of those of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, for removing in the best manner the troubles arisen in their churches, will, as it is hoped, be easily disposed to send their Clergy to the Synod of the said Province; the rather, because the like has been formerly done, and because the States of *Holland* offer the same thing reciprocally to their neighbours. Such Clergy, being accordingly invited by the States of their respective Provinces, may likewise receive instructions from their own churches, in case they judge it necessary; but however, without suffering themselves to be bound so strictly by those instructions, as to render themselves incapable of yielding to what is more reasonable.

As to the *Thirteenth*; We have already said how much of the Resolution concerning the National Synod taken the year before, is to be adhered to. Strictly to maintain the whole of it, is no way to peace, nor can it consist with the Constitution of the land. It is not more inconsistent with the nature of a Provincial Synod to be assisted by foreign Divines, than with that of a National one; and it is reasonable to expect, that their assistance would not be without success, in case the Clergy of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, together with those of the neighbouring Provinces, should not be able to agree with reference to the finding out the necessary remedies.

As to the *Fourteenth*; We are not without hopes of obtaining a General Council, if people would act unanimously to that end, without traversing or thwarting each other. Their Majesties of *France* and *Great Britain*, the Princes and States of *Germany*, the Cantons of *Switzerland*, together with the *Reformed* churches

‘ churches of those Countries, are all of them so much interested in the welfare A N^o D O M.
 ‘ of these Provinces, that it is to be hoped they will chearfully contribute all that 1618.
 ‘ in them lies towards restoring the tranquility of the same; especially if such
 ‘ means be proposed as are proper for removing all umbrages and jealousies.

‘ As to the *Fifteenth*; A provisional Decision can operate no otherwise than in
 ‘ prejudice to the future judgment, and to the producing greater divisions in, and
 ‘ alienations of the churches from each other, considering the present situation of
 ‘ affairs; since there is not the least probability that such a decision will be una-
 ‘ nimous.

‘ As to the *Sixteenth*; The Acts of the Synod, under the direction of the Civil
 ‘ Magistrate, can be of no validity without the approbation of those by whom it
 ‘ was summoned: And since many of our Governours are eminent Members of the
 ‘ Church, this limitation, *that the said Acts shall not be considered as Laws*, to-
 ‘ gether with that which follows, is very injurious to the publick authority. The
 ‘ ancient Christian Synods which were called by the Emperors, desired their ap-
 ‘ probation without any such conditions or restrictions. The last Proposal of the
 ‘ Embassador Carleton says expressly of the *English Synod*, *ayant ainsi convenu de*
 ‘ *leur resolution, portant en Roy en toute humilité leur Articles, Canons, & Deci-*
 ‘ *sions, les quels si sa Majesté apres mature deliberation les approuve, sont aussi tot*
 ‘ *ratifiez, et confirmez du grand seel qui leur donne et autoritié*: that is to say,
 ‘ *Having thus agreed upon their Resolutions, they very humbly attend the King with*
 ‘ *their Articles, Canons, and Decisions, which if his Majesty, after mature delibe-*
 ‘ *ration, approves them, are immediately ratified and confirmed under the Great*
 ‘ *Seal, from whence they acquire life and vigour.*

Whether these Answers and Solutions were presented to the States of *Holland*
 at their meeting, or whether they were put into the hands of those of *Amsterdam*,
 I am not able to say with certainty: But the above mentioned *Grotius* having con-
 sidered with himself, wherein the greatest difficulties and scruples alledged by both
 parties consisted, endeavoured by all possible methods to bring them to uniform
 Resolutions, and at last made an overture to his Excellency, Prince *Maurice*, and
 to Count *William Lodowick* of *Nassaw* by the interposition of some considerable
 persons (both Lay and Clergy-men, of the *Contraremonstrant* perswasion) of a cer-
 tain Proposal which he, without the participation of the States of *Holland*, and even
 of the Advocate *Oldenbernevelt*, had formed in his own mind, and of which he
 afterwards caused a draught to be delivered to the said Prince, for his better infor-
 mation; the Proposal runs thus:

‘ **I**N order to put a stop to any further disputes, the States of *Holland* and *West-*
 ‘ *Freeſland* may declare, That they will not allow any other Controversies to
 ‘ be moved, besides those which relate to the *Five Points*, unless it be in a Synod
 ‘ or Council of all the *Reformed* churches: But that with respect to them, all the
 ‘ Clergy shall conform their doctrines to what has hitherto been professed and
 ‘ taught by the *Reformed* churches, and declared here in these Provinces by the
 ‘ *Netherland-Confession* and *Heidelberg-Catechism*, and that those who have acted
 ‘ or shall act contrary thereto, shall be proceeded against by ecclesiastical censures,
 ‘ and temporal punishments, if necessary, according to the exigency of affairs.

*A Draught of
 the Proposals
 for an Agree-
 ment, composed
 by Grotius,
 and presented
 to the Prince.*

‘ Other Countries may be intreated to make a like Declaration, and accordingly
 ‘ the revision and re-consideration of the *Confession* and *Catechism* (excepting as to
 ‘ the aforesaid *Five Points*) may be suspended for the present.

‘ That theresh all speedily be holden a Synod of the Province of *Holland* and
 ‘ *West-Freeſland*, under the direction of the States of that Province, assisted by
 ‘ the two Divinity Professors of the University of *Leyden*, and two other Divines
 ‘ from each of the respective Provinces.

‘ That any of the Clergy, even such as shall not be deputed by the Classes,
 ‘ may appear at that meeting, offering their Objections, and supporting the same
 ‘ by their Arguments.

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That endeavours shall be there used by reasons drawn from the word of God, to bring men to a uniform opinion, with reference to the disputes, concerning the *Five Points*.

And that in case this cannot be brought about, an inquiry shall be made according to the word of God, how many, or which of the controverted doctrines are to be deemed fundamental, and which not; and concerning those that shall appear to be non-fundamental, how far the same may be tolerated or accommodated consistent with the Church's edification.

That the Proposals touching these matters being made uniformly and reciprocally by the parties concerned, shall be afterwards laid before an Ecclesiastical Assembly of the *United Netherlands*.

That to this end, the said Ecclesiastical Assembly of the *United Netherlands* shall be jointly agreed to by the respective Provinces, after a previous declaration, that such a proceeding shall not prejudice the supreme right which belongs to every Province in Church-affairs.

That there shall be appointed a Committee of persons representing the respective Provinces, who shall prepare a Plan of the manner of holding such an Assembly, and take care that there be a just proportion in the numbers of those that shall be deputed from each Province, for the direction of the said Assembly, as also in the number of those Foreigners who may be called to their assistance, and who shall manage all other matters relating to the Assembly.

That endeavours shall be used in the aforesaid Ecclesiastical Assembly of the *United Netherlands*, to come to a uniform understanding, with respect to what may have remained undecided, with relation to the *Five Points* in the Ecclesiastical Assembly of the particular Provinces, in which they shall govern themselves by the word of God.

And if that cannot succeed, then they shall proceed by the same rule of God's word to examine into the Arguments that were offered in the Assemblies of particular Provinces, as to which of the said *Five Points* were judged to be fundamental, and which not; together with the Proposals for a mutual agreement, in order to attain as far as possible to an uniform foot of toleration or accommodation of those doctrines that shall be esteemed non-fundamentals; but without coming to any determination, or formal declaration, to the prejudice or advantage of either of the contending parties, touching the matters disputed, with respect to the said *Five Points*.

But that in case things cannot there be unanimously adjusted, then measures shall be taken for calling a General Assembly of the *Reformed* churches, in order to do whatever may lie in their power, and shall be judged necessary to be done for maintaining unity among the said churches; and in particular, to declare, according to the word of God, what part of the aforesaid *Five Points* shall be looked upon as fundamental, and what not, and what plan of accommodation may be put in practise in relation to those points with the edification of the *Reformed* churches.

That in order the better to dispose the minds of men to peace and tranquillity in the mean time, there shall be published in the first place, a Placard against all seditious and scandalous Libels, as also against writing about the present controversies, and that the same shall be strictly put in execution: As also, that all Ecclesiastical matters shall remain for the present in *statu quo*.

That the Clergy shall be earnestly exhorted to abstain from all invectives, and from charging one another with odious consequences; and as to any of the disputes about the said *Five Points*, if their ordinary Sermons necessarily lead them to it, they shall treat about them soberly, moderately, and discreetly, restraining themselves to such kind of expressions as they meet with either in holy Scripture, or in some of the Confessions of the *Reformed* churches.

The Doctrine of the churches being settled and reduced to uniformity either by the Ecclesiastical Assembly of the *United Provinces*, or by a General Council, or any other proper methods; the next thing may be to consider of making some addition to the Treaty commonly called, the *Union of Utrecht*, with respect to the business of Religion.

‘ And that being done, and the advice of a certain number of civil and ecclesiastical persons being first taken, and the common consent of all the Provinces given, there shall be a general Church-Constitution, or Scheme of Government, formed and published in the name of the States General, for the removing of all misunderstandings which have happened with respect to Discipline.

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Such were the counsels of the Heer *Grotius*; but his Excellency the Prince was already prepossessed, and brought by other Arguments to different thoughts and views: So that he continued to be of the same opinion, in relation to the Synod, with the Deputies of the four dissenting Provinces.

They talked likewise, at the meeting of the Generality, of appointing an Embassy or Deputation to *France*, on the subject of a National Synod; in order, among other things, to prevail with the King, that some of his subjects, being Reformed Divines, might be present at that Assembly; and all necessary preparations were made for holding the Synod, without the consent of those of *Holland* and *Utrecht*. But that which happened thereupon at the meeting of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* on the 26th of *June*, is thus recorded in their own Journals:

‘ Upon the motion made by the Nobles, importing, that the proceedings of the Provinces with respect to the National Synod, were not to be endured, considering the great damage that might proceed from thence to the country in general; nor yet the extraordinary Deputation to *France*, which was about to be resolved on to the hazard of all that was dear to us; and upon the request of the said Nobles, that a stop might be put to the first of these for the space of a few days, and that the second might be wholly rejected; and that otherwise Protestations and Declarations might be publickly renewed against such proceedings, and notice given that we would nor bear any part of the charges, nor be bound by what should be done: The said Motion was approved by a majority of votes; but the rest were for desiring other Provinces only to put off for some days their resolution about holding a National Synod, though they agreed to the second, as not seeing to what end or purpose it should be done at this juncture.

A Resolution of
the States of
Holland with
reference to the
Synod, and an
Embassy or
Deputation to
France.

Afterwards, the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* thought fit to appear in a numerous body at the meeting of the States General on the 28th of the said month, and in order to soften them, made them an offer and declaration by the mouth of the Heer *Oldenbernevelt*, to the following purpose:

‘ **T**HEY protested that they knew of no differences, with respect to Doctrines, except only the various sentiments concerning *Predestination* and its dependencies, contained in the famous *Five Points*; and that they always had and still did declare and ordain, that the Cletgy should teach and expound all other points of Christian doctrine, not only conformably to the Holy Scriptures, but to what was generally taught by the *Reformed* churches of this Land, and summarily contained in the *Confession* and *Catechism*, which are used as Formularies of unity among the Inhabitants of these Provinces: And that whoever acted contrary thereto, should undergo the censures of the Church, and even temporal punishments, according to the nature of the offence. Their offer was for the most part conformable to the last mentioned proposal, but with some further restrictions as to the time in which those matters were to be treated of. They likewise proposed to call a Provincial Synod of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, under their direction, within three months, and to invite thither, at their own charge and expence, divers godly, peaceful, and learned Divines from the rest of the Provinces, who should have the privilege of consulting, deliberating, and voting upon an equal foot with their own Clergy: Adding, That if within the space of one month, or of six weeks at the most, after these affairs were begun, to be discussed among them, there should be no prospect of bringing them to the desired Unity, Christian Accommodation, or Toleration, by way of provision at least; then at a certain proper time, an invitation should be made after such manner as should be thought most convenient, of other pious, moderate, and learned Divines from *Germany*, *France*, *Great Britain*, and *Switzerland*, to the end that by their assistance and intervention that good work might be resumed, and endeavours used

A Declaration
and Offer made
by the States
of Holland in
the Assembly of
the States General.

AN^o DOM. 1618. to bring about the aforesaid Unity, Accommodation, and Toleration: And if this also should not succeed (tho' they hoped in God it would) within the space of two months, the said Divines might be consulted, whether it would be of service to *Reformed Christendom*, to proceed to any definition or decision upon the aforesaid Points, and how the same might be regularly performed, and after the best and most useful manner. They concluded, with intreating the commissioners of the respective Provinces, to take this their offer in good part, and to concur with them in mutual unity, to the end that some good fruits might be produced by the discussion of those matters in such an Assembly.

They likewise desired, that the Deputies of the respective Provinces would transmit to their several Principals the declaration they had made, to the end that they might consider of the same. But those of *Gelderland*, *Zeland*, *Freeſland*, the Town of *Groninghen*, and the *Ommelands*, refused to comply with their request, alledging, That what they now proposed was just the same as had been frequently offered before on the part of *Holland*, and upon which they were already instructed. They adhered therefore to what had been resolved about the Synod, in

order to the holding of which, they had already issued the Summons to every Province, in the Name of the States-General, on the 25th of *June*, and had also given notice by Letter to the King of *Great-Britain*, the Churches of *France*, and several Princes, Republicks and Counts, who allowed the exercise of the *Reformed Religion*, in their respective Provinces, praying that they would also send some of

their Divines to the Synod, in order to assist at it. But the States of *Holland* returned their Letter of Summons unopened. The Considerations which inclined the major part of the Members of *Holland* to vote for sending back the Letter, were these: That the Deputies of the other Provinces, not regarding all their Reasons,

Protestations and Remonstrance, usurped a certain Right, which did not belong to them, but to each of the Provinces respectively over their own subjects: That they likewise usurped the undoubted Sovereignty of *Holland*, by appointing the Town of *Dort* for the place of the Synod, without the consent of the States of *Holland*, tho' Sovereigns of that Town. They said it was not necessary to refuse so prejudicial an appointment, because they thought the reasons formerly produced, were sufficiently strong, and had never been effectually answered. To have received the Letter of Summons, and held their peace, might, they said, have been injurious to the Rights of the Province; but the ancient practice of *Holland*, in such cases, when an usurpation and incroachment upon their jurisdiction was attempted, was to return the Letters unopened.

The States of *Holland*, or the majority of their Members, did likewise, at their meeting on the sixth of *July*, desire the Deputies of *Dort*, that they would not be guilty of such disrespect and injustice, as to suffer their Town to be made use of for holding the National Synod; it being a very great prejudice to their rights and prerogatives.

A few days after, the States of *Holland* caused several letters to be writ to the Kings of *France* and *Great Britain*, as also to those other Princes and States, to whom the States General had writ before, about the business of the Synod, in order to inform them of the matters in dispute, and concerning the Rights of the Province of *Holland*; intreating those Powers, that they would not suffer any of their subjects to encourage such projects as might be set on foot here against the Sovereignty of the Civil Magistrate, or the Peace of the Church. There was also a letter composed for the General Deputies of those of the *Reformed religion* in *France*, which I am not sure was ever sent them, and of which the following is a Copy:

A Letter written in the Name of the States of *Holland*, in order to be sent to the General Deputies of the *Reformed Churches* of *France*, concerning the Synods.

Gentlemen,

WE send you a Duplicate of the Letter writ to his Majesty, together with a copy of the Declaration and Proposals lately made by us to our Confederates; by which you may observe the good inclinations and dispositions we are in, to make use of all proper means for restoring the Unity of the Church (which has been broken against our will, under the pretence of certain disputable points above

¹ Uitenb. p. 959, 965.

² Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 203, &c. Epist. Eccles. | Edit. 1660, p. 492, &c. Letters printed at Amst. 1662, by J. Rieuwertz. Uitenb. p. 965.

‘ above the reach of vulgar understandings) as far as the same can be effected by A^{N^o} D^{OM}.
 ‘ our own Authority. We trust that, being informed of this, you will not ap- 1618.
 ‘ prove of any attempt against our said Authority, and the Supremacy of this Pro-
 ‘ vince (such as the holding a Synod, called in opposition to our Laws, would un-
 ‘ doubtedly be) but that on the contrary, you will employ your counsels for a *Chri-*
 ‘ *stian* accommodation and toleration of the opinions, touching the aforesaid dis-
 ‘ putable points, whereby doubtless the common cause of the *Reformed* churches
 ‘ may be greatly promoted. This will be a signal friendship to us, which we shall
 ‘ be ready to acknowledge upon all occasions. And so, Gentlemen, we shall pray
 ‘ to Almighty God long to preserve you under his holy Protection.’

Your good Friends, the States of Holland and West-Friesland.

And by Order of the same.

About the same time, the Provinces which push'd on the Synod in opposition to that of *Holland*, published several Manifests in defence of that right which they conceived to belong to them, being continually encouraged by those five or six Towns of the Province of *Holland*, which favour'd the *Contraremonstrant* Party. The States of *Holland* made several replies, as did also those of *Utrecht*, who likewise return'd the Summons for a National Synod unopened. Yet others say, they kept the Letters, tho' without consenting to the Synod. The like Letters were sent the second time to the States of *Holland*, and by them sent back the second time, or delivered to the bearer. Those of *Over-Yssel* having, as we have shown, agreed to the Synod, only upon condition that it should not be imposed upon any Province against their will, yet continued as yet passive in these transactions.

2 During all these wranglings and contradictions about the National Synod, some Members of the Generality, with whom *Amsterdam* and other Towns join'd (finding there was no hope of perswading those of *Holland*, strengthened by the Province of *Utrecht*) began to talk of discharging the Warders. A certain Gentle-
 man, one of those who were deputed to the Assembly of the States General from *Freeiland*, push'd on this affair violently, and is said to have boasted with great show of satisfaction, that they had gotten the Province of *Holland* under their feet. *Uitenbogart* has also left it recorded in certain Memoirs, that his Excellency the Prince was heard to say, *That the inlisting of Soldiers by the Towns of Utrecht, Leyden, Rotterdam and others, was in his opinion no less than Rebellion.* But the Provinces of *Holland* and *Utrecht* declared, that what they had done was to prevent seditions and tumults, and for their own security; and that they conceived they had a right to make such dispositions as they should see fitting: And lastly, that in these matters, which were ancient usages, neither the voting, nor over-voting of others, ought to avail against them. But the States of *Utrecht* finding this matter much pressed, and beginning to feel the burden of maintaining new Soldiers, a little too heavy for them, were very much inclined to ease themselves of it, if they could but be secure without it. It was likewise reported, that their Deputies were permitted to confer with the Prince concerning it; and some say they were actually commissioned so to do: But being come to the *Hague*, the Heer van *Ledenbergh*, Secretary of the States of *Utrecht*, one of the said Deputies thought it proper, first to consult with the Heers *De Haan*, *Hogerbeets* and *Grotius*, Pensioners of *Harlem*, *Leyden* and *Rotterdam*, about the same. 3 This happened on the 3d of *July*, at the house of the Minister *Uitenbogart*, who offered twice to leave the place, to the end that those Gentlemen might remain alone there; but he was twice called back again by one or other of 'em, and so was present at their conference. *Ledenbergh* discoursing with them about the affair of discharging the new Soldiers (which was intended to be proposed to his Excellency, upon condition that the ordinary Companies that lay at that time in *Utrecht*, and that were suspected by the
 Endeavours used for discharging the Warders.
 Considerations and advices on that subject.
 Magi-

² Baud. Mem. Lib. X. p. 75.
 Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 225.

³ Uitenb. in a certain MS. Memorial, ib. Journal, 6 Apr. 1618. Grot.
 See Uitenbart's Life, Lib. XII. p. 280.

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Magistrates, might be exchanged for others belonging to that Province) represented several inconveniencies in that matter, to wit, ¹ That it was to be feared, the Prince would not give any proper security to the States, and the Magistrates of *Utrecht*, particularly with respect to his maintaining the publick state of religion, as it had been settled by the Government of the said Province; and that if this Conference ended without effect, nothing would remain a secret; so that it would only serve to discourage the aforesaid Magistrates, and disoblige the old Soldiers, by the distrust which had been shewn of them, and the new ones, by proposing to discharge them.

The Heers *De Haan*, *Hogerbeets* and *Grotius*, thought there was great weight in those Arguments of the Heer *Ledenbergh*, and promised to communicate them to their Collegues at the Assembly, and also to advise with the Advocate of *Holland*, as being the most experienced in affairs of Government. The Advocate's advice was, that those three Gentlemen should confer about it with their Collegues deputed from the Cities; and also, if they thought fit, with all the Deputies of *Utrecht*, in order to try whether the affairs of the two Provinces ² might be treated of with his Excellency jointly, and with mutual confidence.

Agreeably to that Counsel, and pursuant to the Union, and other Conventions between *Holland* and *Utrecht*, the abovementioned three Pensionaries, together with the Heer *De Lange*, Burgomaster of *Gouda*, had a conference with the Deputies of *Utrecht*, at the house of *Daniel Trefel*, first Clerk of the States-General, but in his absence. Here *Grotius*, at the request of the other Gentlemen, acquainted them with what had past, and was resolved upon, at the meeting of the States of *Holland*; as likewise with the opinion of the eight Towns, as express in the declaration of *Harlem*. The design of this overture, was to see whether the Deputies of *Utrecht*, upon observing these matters, might not take it into consideration, whether it would not be for the service of their Province, and agreeable to the views of their Principals, to leave the matter entire, without any variation, till they could come into uniform measures with the States of *Holland* for their mutual security. After this there follow'd a solemn Deputation from those States, consisting of about thirty persons out of the Nobles and Towns, who by the mouth of the Advocate, represented to his Excellency Prince *Maurice* and Count *William Lodowick*, Stadtholder

A Representation of the Deputies of Holland to Prince Maurice, and Count William Lodowick, relating to the Warders.

of *Freeſland*, That, ' by the enrolling of Soldiers, they had nothing else in view but to secure themselves against riots and tumults; and that they had also been informed by the Deputies of *Utrecht*, that the States of their Province had no other intention. That consequently matters might be easily accommodated, especially if his Excellency would consent to remove certain Garrisons of Foreigners, who were not so well to be trusted, and provide the Province of *Utrecht*, as also such Towns of *Holland*, where it might be necessary, with Companies of the ' Natives of the *Netherlands*.'

All this, it is thought, might have been done with two Companies; but the proposal being made in vain, the Deputies of *Utrecht* found it adviseable to return home immediately (without saying any thing to his Excellency about the affair of the *Warders*) in order to report to their Lords and Masters, what they had learnt from the Heers *De Haan*, *Hogerbeets*, *De Lange* and *Grotius*; as also the Proposal made by those of *Holland* to the Prince, and the Scruples which the Prince had raised upon it.

At the meeting of the States General, it was in the mean while resolved to endeavour the discharging of the new Soldiers, even those of *Over-ſſel* concurring, and to exhort the States of *Holland* and of *Utrecht*, in a friendly manner, either by letters or messages to consent to it. Those of *Holland* asserted, that this was contrary to the rights and privileges of their Province; but their adversaries were of another mind.

It was likewise about this time that a certain ruling Burgomaster, a person of great credit, prudence and experience in affairs, accosted the Advocate *Oldenbarneveldt*, at the Assembly of the States of *Holland*, after the following manner: *My Lord Advocate, I told you but this morning, as I had often said before, that it was*

no

¹ From the Account of the Deputies of *Utrecht*.

² Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 255.

no longer the season of insisting upon the prerogatives, liberties, rights, and immunities of the Province, and that these matters must be adjourned and suffered to sleep for three or four years time.

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A few days after, the States-General came to the following Resolution, contrary to the advice of the Deputies of *Holland*, and in the absence of those of *Utrecht*, viz. to proceed to the nomination of certain Members of the Assembly, to be deputed to the States of *Utrecht*, in order to dispose the said States, by the most proper methods, to the discharging their new-raised Warders. Then they applied to and prevailed with his Excellency to be concerned in the said Deputation to the States of *Utrecht*. This was done on the 23d of July, after the departure of the Deputies of certain towns, who had left the Assembly of the States of *Holland* on the 20th, and were returned home, though the Assembly was only adjourned to the 24th, when business was to be resumed. On the 24th, the Advocate acquainted the Members then present, with what had been resolved the day before in the Assembly of the States-General, with reference to the Deputation to *Utrecht*. It was further proposed to the said Members to consider, whether, without delay, they should not dispatch away some Commissioners to *Utrecht*, to assist the States (between whom, and those of *Holland*, there were the strictest engagements, and to whom they were more obliged than to any others of the Provinces) with their best advice, and to assure them of their support; and in particular, to take care of concerting common measures and resolutions. After some debate it was agreed, that certain of the Members of the Assembly should be sent thither immediately for these purposes. Some have since pretended, that the meeting at which this Resolution was taken, consisted of too few Members for resolving on a thing of such importance; but it has been answered by others, that it was a known custom to look upon the absent, when summoned, as present, and as consenting to whatever was resolved. The names of the Gentlemen, who were sent to *Utrecht*, were Francis van Torenfleet, Burgomaster of *Leyden*; Master Rombout Hogerbeets, Pensionary of the same town; Richard-Jacobson Schoonhoven, one of the Committee of the States; Master Hugo Grotius, the same; and John Johnson Engelsman, senior, Burgomaster of *Horn*. But before they were sent away, they were directed by the States of *Holland* to repair to the meeting of the States-General, to pray them to delay their Deputation to *Utrecht* till the assembly of the States of *Holland* should be fuller, and till the Deputies of those of *Utrecht* (who were gone home to give an account of all these affairs to their Principals, and to procure new instructions) should be come back: And among other things, these Gentlemen proposed to the States, that if they would be pleased to promise their support and assistance to the Governments of *Holland* and *Utrecht*, against all seditions and tumults, not excepting even those which might be attempted under the pretence of religion, no scruple should be made about discharging the new Soldiers. But the Deputies of the respective Provinces did not declare themselves thereupon.

A Deputation to the States of *Utrecht*, resolved upon in the Assembly of the States-General, to dispose them to discharge the Warders.

The States of *Holland* take a Resolution to send certain Deputies to *Utrecht*.

¹ There were likewise, before the departure of the said Gentlemen, letters sent by the States of *Holland* to Colonel Ogle, and other Commanders and Officers of the troops that lay in garrison at *Utrecht*, being upon the establishment of *Holland*, by which they were required not to do or undertake any thing, but by command of the States of *Utrecht*, or of those Commissioners who should come thither on the part of the States of *Holland*, their pay-masters. Upon which, the Deputies of *Holland* began their journey, and proceeded with the utmost expedition, according to order.

They send Letters to the Officers of the Troops at *Utrecht* upon the Establishment of *Holland*.

² As they passed through *Leyden*, the Heers Thorenfleet and Hogerbeets communicated their orders to the Burgomasters, assembled at the Stadthouse, and had their approbation. The next day, being the 25th of the same month, they arrived early in the morning at *Utrecht*, where they sent to the Secretary, the Heer Ledenbergh, and opened their business to him, desiring him to procure them an audience of the States as soon as possible. He assured them of it, and that their arrival would be very acceptable to his Masters; forasmuch as they having gotten information of the Resolution taken in the Assembly of the States-General, had already dispatched away the Heer van Moorsberg to the States of *Holland*, to send Commissioners

The Deputies of *Holland* arrive at *Utrecht*.

P p p to

¹ Uitenb. p. 977. Grot. Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 265.

² From Memoirs of R. Hogerbeets.

AN^o DOM. 1618. to advise and assist them. Grotius asked Ledenbergh further, *Whether the States of Utrecht had thought of any methods whereby to satisfy his Excellency and the other Provinces?* To which the latter replied: *That in his opinion, this matter might be better transacted in Holland than at Utrecht.* —

The Proposal made by the Deputies of Holland in the Assembly of the States of Utrecht.

The above-mentioned Commissioners were about noon admitted to an audience of the States, when they represented to them, verbally, how much the States of *Holland* were concerned at the Resolutions taken by the Deputies of some of the Provinces about the business of the Warders; and also what had been done by the said States, in order to dissuade the Members of the Generality from the said Resolution; adding, that since the States-General had nevertheless proceeded to depute certain persons to their Honours, the States of *Utrecht*, therefore the States of *Holland* being sensible how nearly they were allied to the said States, not only by the further Union, but likewise by many other ancient Treaties, for the maintenance of their authority and government; and having likewise fresh in memory the singular friendship and faithful correspondence that had always been mutually kept up between them, could not forbear to inform them of all the steps that had been by them taken for these purposes, and to assure them that they continued fix'd and immoveable in their intentions of sincerely adhering to the said Union and other Treaties, and of contributing all that lay in them to the support of their authority, together with the rights, privileges, and immunities of the Province of *Utrecht*, and Members thereof; praying them favourably to receive this Deputation, as proceeding from their most ancient and closest Confederates, and to confide in the persons of the Commissioners, as those who would embrace all opportunities of shewing their readiness in serving them.

The Answer of the States of Utrecht.

Upon this verbal Proposal, which is to be found at large in the Works of the Heer Grotius, and which was afterwards delivered in writing to the States of *Utrecht*, they declared to them, that their arrival was very acceptable, and returned thanks to those of *Holland* for their friendship and favour in this affair; adding, that they gratefully received their offer of advice and assistance, and would commission some of their body to treat with them. In the afternoon, the Deputies of *Holland* made the like proposal at the meeting of the Scout, Burgomasters, and Council of *Utrecht*; by whom also they were thanked for their kind offer.

The Prince comes to Utrecht.

Soon after, his Excellency came to *Utrecht*, with some of the Deputies of the other Provinces; to wit, The Heers Vooght of *Gelderland*, Mannemaker of *Zeland*, and Swartenbergh of *Freeiland*. — The same evening the States of *Utrecht*, and the Magistrates of the city, complemented the Prince on his arrival.

¹ It was at that time the *Kermis*, or Fair of the city; and it is said, that his Excellency asked those Gentlemen, *Whether they had expected such a Guest at the Fair?*

The same day, the four Companies of the Militia were drawn out, to receive the Prince with all marks of honour, and two Companies continued in arms, one designed to be posted that night at the Stadthouse, the other at St. Mary's Church; the latter of which was likewise ordered to do duty before the Court or House where his Excellency lodged. Some say the Militia were ordered to keep guard expressly to prevent all jealousy between the Soldiers and the Warders; but others conceive it was done in order to observe whether any of the Burghers went to wait on the Prince, and take an account of them, and at the same time to check the concourse of the *Contraremonstrants*.

His Conference with the Magistrates and Clergy there.

The Clergy went likewise in a body to pay their respects to the Prince, representing the state of their churches, and intreating his protection in the present conjuncture of times and things. He entering into discourse with them about the same, said, ² *That the Church could never be settled upon a right foot, neither there nor elsewhere, but by the holding a National Synod*; and desired that they, the Clergy, would earnestly endeavour to dispose the States and Magistrates to consent to it. But they represented to him, *that things were gone too far to hope for any good from such a Synod, where, as they thought, the adversaries would be the judges, who instead of healing the breaches, would make them wider.* They therefore pray'd, that they might not be prest to such a thing. His Excellency answered,

¹ From the Memoirs of Uitenbogart, and from the Answers of the Tonkers Justus van Ryzenburgh, &c. to several Questions put to them on their Oaths, in December, 1618.

² Uitenb. Hist. p. 719, 980. and his Life, Lib. IX. p. 174.

answered, that the National Synod should not be turned to such an use; and that to prevent any such designs, there should be some Foreign Divines invited to be present at it. He said further, striking on his breast, and engaging his princely word, that he would never consent that any man should be oppressed on account of Religion and the Doctrines in dispute, and that he would as little suffer the ill treatment of the Remonstrants as of the Contraremonstrants, but would be the Father and Protector of both parties. He further assured them in private, giving his hand upon it, that none of them should be deprived of their Livings.

On the 26th, his Excellency, with the Deputies of the other Provinces, repaired to the meeting of the States of *Utrecht*, where they made their proposal in like manner; which chiefly tended to induce them to discharge their Warders, and to agree to a National Synod. This proposal was communicated by the Secretary *Ledenbergh* to the Commissioners of *Holland*, who after dinner went to welcome his Excellency, presenting to him their Letters of Credence, and acquainting him with the substance of their errand, to wit, to enter into joint measures with those of *Utrecht*, for the security of their respective towns, and to consult what to do about their Warders. They intreated his Excellency to use his good offices in their favour, for the preservation of the peace of the Provinces, and the rights of their respective Inhabitants. But they soon found, by the Answer which was returned them, that their coming thither was not very pleasing to the Prince; and observed, that his Excellency adhered to the business of a National Synod, and all that was meant by it. Upon this, the Heer *Grotius* consulted with his Collegues, whether it would be agreeable to the States of *Utrecht* that they should depart; but the said States did not think it adviseable.

On the 27th, the Heer *van Moorsberg* returned from the *Hague*, and reported what he had desired of the States of *Holland*, and the Answer they had returned, viz. That they had prevented his request, having already sent away Deputies to the States of *Utrecht*, as being resolved to assert their rights, and hoping that they of *Utrecht* would do the same. But that Answer was vehemently opposed by the Deputies of *Dort*.

On the same day, the States of *Utrecht* returned an Answer in writing to the Proposal of the Deputies of the five Provinces. In this Answer (the first draught of which was prepared by the Heer *Grotius* with the privacy of his Collegues, and at the request of the Secretary *Ledenbergh*, conformably to the intentions of the States of *Utrecht*) the said Deputies are styled the Gentlemen who were sent from among the Deputies of the Provinces of *Gelderland*, *Zeland*, *Freeſland*, *Over-Œſſel*, the town of *Groninghen*, and the *Ommelands*, met at the Assembly of the States-General, to the States of *Utrecht*; by which means they neither directly gave nor refused them the title of the Commissioners of the said States, which they assumed to themselves.

As to the business of the Warders, they asserted the right which they conceived to belong to them, of providing for their own security, praying his Excellency and the Deputies that they would be pleased to communicate their Proposal on that head to the States of *Holland* (as being under particular engagements to those of *Utrecht*, and because divers good towns in *Holland* had made the like dispositions for their security) proposing further to send their Deputies to the *Hague* at such time as should be appointed, with instructions not only to hear any proposals, but also to join in executing them in such manner as should be found most convenient for the peace, quiet, and unity of the Country, and the Towns and Members thereof, as far as might consist with the preservation of their Rights and Immunities.

As to the direction of religious affairs, they maintained, ' That it belonged to the respective Provinces, and ought so to do, as a necessary branch of their sovereignty. They added further, That they thought it very dangerous to make any decisions or limitations about the points in dispute, especially by a National Synod, during the present distractions of men's minds; and above all, considering of what persons such a Synod would be composed; affirming, that a National Synod could not be fairly summoned in the name of the States-General, whilst any of the Provinces refused to agree to it. They therefore besought the rest of the Provinces not to attempt any thing in that Affair, which should be contrary to the reserved powers of each individual Province, or to the 13th Article

AN^o DOM. 1618. of the nearer Union; but rather to consider of all such methods of accommodation, as might be consistent with the Prerogatives and Rights of every Province. For which purpose they thought the proposal, lately made by the States of Holland at the meeting of the States-General, was very proper. They therefore intreated the Deputies of the other Provinces to consider further of it.

The Prince writes to those of Amsterdam.

The day before, his Excellency writ to the Magistrates of Amsterdam, giving them an account of what the States of Holland were doing by their Commissioners at Utrecht, and showing himself dissatisfied at their proceedings, as tending, in his opinion, to the prejudice of the Country, and to the defeating the Resolution of the States-General. He desired them to send certain Deputies to the Hague as soon as possible, since otherwise some resolution might be taken by the plurality of voices, to the hurt of the publick. — He further added, that the *Amsterdammers* would do well to send Deputies likewise to Utrecht with all speed, in order to oppose the Deputies who had been sent from the States of Holland.

The States of Holland approve the conduct of their Deputies at Utrecht.

This was follow'd by a Letter from the Deputies of Amsterdam, who were then at the Hague, to the Prince, in which they signified, that they had not approved of the sending the four Deputies in the Name of the States of Holland, nor of the writing to the Officers of the Troops at Utrecht, as from the said States. — They likewise informed him that they had received his Letter, and would communicate the contents of it to the Deputies of Schiedam, Enkhusen and Purmerent, in order to their considering them jointly. — But the Deputies of the States of Holland at Utrecht, having delivered their proposal in writing, to the States of that Province, sent a duplicate of it to their Principals, who approved it; and by their letters of the 27th of the same Month, exhorted them to put in execution the things that had been already concerted, letting them know, that in order to promote the work, they design'd to send some other Gentlemen of their own body. The persons commissioned to that end, were the Heers *Wessel van Bootselaar*, Lord of *Asperen*, and *Martin Rukebaver*, formerly Burgomaster of *Harlem*, and one of the Grand Committee. ^a But from the Memoirs of the Heers *Hogerbeets* and *Grotius*, it appears that the Heers *Rukebaver*, and *John Johnson Engelsman*, late Burgomaster of *Horn*, were the persons who were actually sent thither, and that they assisted the abovementioned Deputies in their further negotiations at Utrecht.

But some of the Towns disclaim the Deputation.

On the same day the Towns of Dort and Amsterdam (seconded afterwards by those of Enkhusen, Edam and Purmerent) disclaimed the Deputation to Utrecht, by a Memorial which they delivered in at the meeting of the States of Holland, protesting that they look'd upon all their proceedings as null and void. The same day the Deputies of the said States were twice intreated to come to the meeting of the States of Utrecht, where they informed them that it was reported among the people, that the *Dissenters*, or *Separatists*, designed to seize upon one of the churches the next day by force; for which purpose, it seems, many were come from Holland, as likewise some of those that had been turned out of the town for disturbing the publick peace: They added, that there was the more cause to apprehend some trouble, by reason of the yearly Fair; which, together with the arrival of the Prince, had occasioned an extraordinary concourse of people from without. They therefore pray'd their Lordships to consider, whether it were not adviseable (with the consent of his Excellency) to give some further order about the Watch, especially at the Gates and other places of importance, for preventing all inconveniences. But by reason of the disagreement, which was then observed among the States themselves, and the turbulent humours of others, they could not come to any formal Resolution. It was then apprehended by some, that his Excellency would proceed to an actual disbanding, or breaking of the new-raisd Soldiers: They therefore began to consider what was to be done if the Prince should take such a Step. *Grotius* was of opinion, that if his Excellency should be perswaded to venture at it, there was no probability of hindring it, considering the authority and influence which he, as General, always had over the Army. But he did not believe that his Excellency would be prevailed upon to do it, for the following reasons. First, Because the advice

^a Uitenb. p. 981. Trigl. p. 1089.

^b Grot Apol. Lib. XIX. p. 262. Hogerbeets, in his Memoirs.

advice of the Council of State, given in the presence of his Excellency, recommended the inducing the States of Utrecht, by all amicable methods, to discharge their Warders. Secondly, Because the Resolution of the States-General went no further, than, to bring them to consent to a discharge by the most convenient methods. Thirdly, Because his Excellency, as Stadtholder and Captain General of the Province of Utrecht, was, by the articles of his commission, subject to the States of that Province; among which articles we find this: *And in consequence thereof, his Excellency shall not bring the Province of Utrecht under the subjection of any other Prince, nor even of himself, so far as relates to the Government of that Province, but only that of the States-General of the United Provinces, and the Council of State, to whom the Government of the Provinces is provisionally committed in military matters.* Whereas he, the said Grotius, thought, this business had no relation to the War, but only to the particular security of the Civil Magistrate. And, Fourthly, Because the Heer Ledenbergh had said, he was well informed, that if his Excellency should be desired to disband the new-raised Soldiers, he would excuse himself on account of the said Commission.

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But when the Deputies of Holland were informed on the 30th, that one Hartfelt the eldest Captain or Commander of the Warders, scrupled to take upon him the direction of the Watch, or to obey any orders which the States should give him, they easily inferred from thence, and from the divisions they observed among the States themselves, that matters were not likely to proceed according to their instructions: They therefore thought fit, with the approbation of the newly arrived Gentlemen, in order to the executing their Commission, to deliver to the Officers in the Pay of Holland, the Letters brought along with, and sent to them, and communicate to them the form of the Oath they had taken, and accordingly to require them to submit to the Orders of the States of Utrecht.

The Heer Hogerbeets relating this whole affair in his Memoirs, says, That they first acquainted his Excellency with it, and told him plainly, that they had delay'd executing this part of their charge till then, but could not put it off any longer, lest the consequences of such an omission should be laid at their door. His Excellency answered them as plainly; *That if they should deny the Soldiers their pay, there would come other Deputies from Holland* (meaning those of Amsterdam, and the other confederated Towns) *who would do them justice.* However, the Deputies discharged their commission, and in the first place repaired to the house or lodgings of Count Ernest of Nassaw, to whom they communicated the abovementioned Letters, and declared by word of mouth their further instructions. Then they summoned before them the rest of the Officers, to wit, the Colonels Veere, Ogle, and other Captains who were in the Pay of the States of Holland; and at the delivery of the Letters, read to them the form of the Oath, which the Heer Grotius translated *verbatim* for the benefit of the Foreigners, requiring them moreover to conform themselves to the said Oath, and the tenor of the said Letters, which came from their Paymasters. The substance of those Letters was, 'That they were bound to bear true and faithful allegiance to the States of Holland, from whom they received their Pay; as also to the States of those other Provinces in whose service they were, and to assist them in maintaining their resolutions, upon the penalties therein mentioned.'

At the same time the Heer Grotius declared to all the Officers, that, 'The States of Holland and Utrecht, had never attempted any thing to the prejudice of the States-General, or of his Excellency, but only for the preservation of their own Civil Rights: and that they the Deputies of the States of Holland, did not arrogate to themselves any authority over the said Officers, but only admonished them, on the part of the States, who paid them, not to attempt any thing against the States of Utrecht, or their Orders, relating to the Civil Government of their own Country.'

The Answers, which almost all the Officers gave, were ambiguous, and in general terms. Here the Deputies left the matter, being informed, that his Excellency, and the Deputies of the other Provinces, intended the next day to proceed to the actual Cassation, or breaking of the Warders; and that the States of Utrecht, being now convinced, that his Excellency himself would see them discharged (which they did not believe before) were resolved to connive at the same, rather

The States of Utrecht understanding that the Prince would himself disband the Warders, resolve to connive at it.

AN^oD O^m. than to bring matters to extremities. And the Deputies of *Holland* themselves advised them also to yield to the times.

1618.

The Deputies
of the States
of Hol. leave
Utrecht.

In the evening Colonel *Ogle* waited on the Deputies at their Inn, informing them that his Lieutenant had received orders to rendezvous with the Company at four o'clock next morning, on the Market-place, called the *Neu*, but that he himself had not been made acquainted with it, and therefore desired their advice, how he should behave himself. They told him the best way was for him to appear there likewise, to see what was doing, and to use his utmost endeavours to prevent the effusion of blood. But a few hours after, he acquainted the Deputies by letter, that he also had received notice, and that he designed to go; to which they returned answer, that he was free to go, and that they left it to his discretion. A little while after, they heard the Drums and the Horses passing very early in the morning of the 31st of *July*, thro' the town, and saw two Companies of Foot marching by their Inn. Upon this occasion, most of the Members of the States of *Utrecht*, together with their Secretary the Heer *Ledenbergh* had withdrawn themselves from the City, or lay concealed, since they found that they had no more business there, and agreed to hasten back to the *Hague*. But before their departure, they saw the arrival of the Deputies of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, *Schiedam*, *Eukbusen*, *Edam* and *Purmerent*, who came thither to contradict the Message and Orders of the Deputies of the States of *Holland*, and to put in execution, contrary directions, in the name of their Principals. Thereupon, in great haste, and without speaking to them, or any body else, they set out, and used such expedition, that they reached the *Hague* at seven o'clock the same day, and gave a summary account, that evening, to the Advocate, of all matters, as they did the next day to the States of *Holland*.

The Nobles of most of the Towns were satisfied with their negotiations, but the six dissenting Towns found fault with their Commission. Afterwards the Fiscal, Mr. *Peter van Leeuwen*, was heard to say, that if those Deputies of *Holland* had staid but one half hour longer at *Utrecht*, they would all have been committed to the prison of *Hafenburg*, for having presumed, as he said, to exercise such acts of authority in another Province.

The Prince dis-
bands the War-
ders.

His Excellency, in order to facilitate the disbanding of the Warders at *Utrecht*, had early in the morning of the day just now mentioned, caused the Soldiers, which were garrison'd in that City, and some other Companies that he had brought in the day before, to possess themselves of the avenues that led to the Market called the *Neu*, and other places of note. The Deputies of *Amsterdam*, as it is said, had promised the Soldiers belonging to *Holland*, that they would be answerable for their Pay, in order to hinder them from hearkening to the Letters delivered them from the States of the said Province; which *Triglandius* thinks, was one of the most effectual methods used to bring about the disbanding. His Excellency coming to the said Market-place at half an hour after three in the morning, attended by the Deputies of the Generality, and a long train of Colonels and other Officers, found half a Company of Warders keeping watch; upon which he ordered, that the other half, posted elsewhere, should join them; and when they were altogether, he commanded them to lay down their Arms, discharging them both from their Oath and Service; and they immediately obey'd him. Then the other Companies, being five in number, were called together by beat of Drum, and acquainted that they must likewise lay down their Arms, which they did accordingly. Thus were all the Warders of *Utrecht* disbanded; in the relation of which, with the several observable circumstances, I have been the more particular, because of the great consequences with which it was attended both in our Civil and Ecclesiastical affairs.

After the disbanding, his Excellency was complimented upon his success by some of the Members of the States of *Utrecht*, who either secretly favoured his design, or who chose to side with him, after matters had succeeded as they did. These further desired him and the Deputies of the Generality, to take care of the safety of the Town and Province of *Utrecht*.

In certain Memoirs written in those times by a Gentleman of that city, which were found among the papers of *Grotius*, it is said, That the same day, after the dis-

¹ Trigl. p. 1090, &c. Baud. Mem. Lib. X. p. 56. Uitenb. p. 986.

discharge of the Warders, his Excellency appeared at the meeting of the Magistrates, attended by the Heers *Vooght*, *Mannemaker*, *Hugo Muis van Holy*, and others; where he complained of the great wrong which he conceived had been done him by the raising the new Soldiery, and otherwise; as also, by the opposition that was made against the National Synod. Our said Author adds, That there appeared at the same time, several warm *Contraremonstrants* (about seven in number) requesting, in their own names, and in the names of many others of the Burghers (or of the Community as they pretended) that the Government might be changed. But some of the Burghers afterwards declared, that those seven persons were only directed to desire the use of a Church for the *Contraremonstrants*.

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What was chiefly disliked in the Administration at that time, was the custom of choosing the first Burgomaster out of those of the *Ridderschap*, or Equestrian order, which being a branch of the Legislature, and the second Member of the States, it gave that Magistrate, as some thought, too great an influence upon the city. After several consultations holden with the States and the Magistracy, the matter was brought so far, that his Excellency was to chuse (out of the *forty* Gentlemen possess of the Government of the City, and *forty* more, to be by them named, being persons of the best quality, and all of them professing the true *Christian Reformed* religion, and *twenty* more, which his Excellency was to add, making in all the number of one hundred) *forty* men, who were to be a perpetual standing Senate or Council, and who every year were to lay a list of four persons before him, the Stadtholder, out of which he might chuse two Burgomasters; and another of twenty four persons, from among whom, he, the Stadtholder, might chuse twelve Schepens to sit as Judges for the year ensuing. But for the first time, his Excellency was to chuse the two Burgomasters out of the new Senate, and the Schepens out of the Senate and Burghers, according as he thought fit, for the service of the current year. It was likewise ordered, that the Senate should be composed of none but such as were actual Burghers, exclusively of all such who belonged to the two other branches of the States, or who were engaged by oath, or otherwise, in the service of any foreign powers, or received any pension from them; neither was any person to be admitted among them who was illegitimate, or not born in lawful wedlock, or a murderer, adulterer, or perjured; neither any two brothers, or father and son, or others related in the first degrees of Consanguinity or Affinity.

This new regulation being forced upon the States and the City, by the influence of his Excellency, and the Deputies of the States General, was attended on the 4th of *August*, new stile, with the turning out of the old Magistrates, and on the fifth, with appointing new ones, and the change of the usual form of Government, according to the request of the above-mentioned Burghers, by appointing a Perpetual Senate in the room of an Annual Magistracy: And according to our aforesaid Author, five of the seven Burghers who petitioned for this Alteration, were chosen into the new Senate; among whom there were likewise several that had been before in the Government of the City, but were always zealous against the *Remonstrants*, or were at least of the contrary party at that time; as on the other hand, all that were *Remonstrants*, or favourers of them, were quite deprived of their employments.

The Govern-
ment is chan-
ged.

The Heer *Ledenbergh*, Secretary of the States of *Utrecht*, being sensible how obnoxious he was to the new Magistrates, on account of his kindness and zeal for the *Remonstrants*, and for promoting the business of the Warders, treated with one of his friends about resigning his office to him, in case he could get leave to do it. But upon his discoursing with one of the Burgomasters upon that subject, they were both taken up and examined about it on the 8th of *August*, N. S. at the meeting of the States, in the presence of his Excellency; and notwithstanding all the excuses made by the said *Ledenbergh*, and his desiring time to consider about resigning, they turned him out of his office, which he had filled for the space of thirty years.

The Heer Le-
denbergh, Se-
cretary of the
States of U-
trecht, displa-
ced.

After this, there were great Alterations made in the two Members of the Province, the Clergy and Nobility, and by consequence, in the body of the States. The principal persons then divested of their share in the Government, and the direction of publick Affairs, were the Yonkers *Justus van Rysenburgh*, Lord of the same place; *Adolphus van Waal*, Heer van *Moorsbergen*, *William Bor van Amevongen*, Heer van *Sanden-*

AN^o D^o M. 1618. *Sandenburgh, Frederick van Bacxen, Heer van Koningsfry*; ¹ whose Parents or Relations had been imprisoned in the time of the Earl of *Leicester*, on account of their zeal for the rights and privileges of their Country, and obliged to undergo many troubles. It has been likewise observed by some writers, that after these general changes, two of the new-elected Gentlemen were presently discharged; and the Heer *Gilbert van Hartefelt*, one of the secular Canons of the Cathedral Church of *Utrecht* (who had formerly been the Commander, or eldest Captain of the Warders) and one person more, were obtruded upon the States, and they obliged to admit them.

The Buur-church at Utrecht is granted to the Contraremonstrants.

The day after the establishment of the new Senate, being the 16th of *August*, some of the *Contraremonstrants* laying hold of this favourable juncture, petitioned in the name of the distressed Members of the true *Reformed Church*, for liberty to exercise their Religion publicly in the Town of *Utrecht*. This was granted them immediately, with the approbation of his Excellency and the Deputies of the States General, and the Buur-church yielded to them on the said account. *Ralph Peterson*, a Minister of *Amsterdam*, preached the first publick Sermon there, on *Tuesday* the 7th of *August*, N. S. at which, besides the Inhabitants, there was so great a concourse of strangers, who came the *Sunday* before from *Amsterdam* and other parts, that there were not Waggons and Boats enough to bring them, nor Inns and Publick Houses to receive them. So great was the zeal of those people to be spectators of the beginnings of the *Triumph of Truth* (as they phrased it) upon the Revolution in the Government of this Province.

Yet some are of opinion, that it was so contrived in order to give a reputation to the *Contraremonstrant*-party in *Utrecht*, and by the appearance of such numbers, to draw over the Burghers and Inhabitants of the town, who, though they had hitherto adhered to the *Remonstrant* Ministers, would, it was thought, be easily enticed away (as usual) by numbers and novelty.

The next step they took, was to introduce the *Contraremonstrants* into the Cathedral, under the pretext, that the Buur-church was too small for them; though it was made appear by the *Remonstrants*, that the Nave of the latter, in which the Sermon could be conveniently preached and heard, was as large as the space in the Cathedral appointed for the same purpose; and that all they meant by it, was only to procure to their party the greater credit.

The Remonstrants are obliged to quit the Cathedral Church.

The Senate however sent three Gentlemen to the Consistory, to induce them to part with the Cathedral to the *Contraremonstrants*; but the whole body of them maintained, that it was a very unreasonable request; yet they said, that if the Senate thought fit to command it, they would submit. Upon this, the Magistracy sent a written positive Order, requiring them to yield up the Cathedral, and content themselves for the future with the Buur-church, with which they complied on the 16th of *September*, N. S.

In the mean while, the late Secretary of the States of *Utrecht*, the Heer *Ledenbergh*, together with the Minister *Jacobus Taurinus*, (who by his writings had done good service to the cause of the *Remonstrants*) withdrew privately from the town, and retired to *Gouda*. But *Ledenbergh*, to his great damage, returned afterwards to *Utrecht*, the result of which was, his being seized upon and carried prisoner to the *Hague*. *Taurinus* also came back to *Utrecht*, but after a few days stay, upon a report which was spread, that *Uitenbogart* was taken up, he fled in the night to *Bommel*, and from thence to *Antwerp*; fearing particularly to be brought into trouble for writing the book called *The Balance*.

A few days before, the Professor *Episcopus*, with *Adrianus Borrius*, and *Bernardus Dwinglo*, Ministers of *Leyden*, had waited upon the Advocate of *Holland*, begging his advice, in the presence of *Uitenbogart*, as to what assurances they might give the Burghers, to encourage them to persevere in their duty to their Governours? But he answered them, that he knew not what to say to them. Whereupon, they left him with great fear and anxiety for future changes. And *Uitenbogart* himself tells us in his Journal on the 7th and 8th of this month of *August*, that a certain Gentleman of the Province of *Utrecht* meeting him at that time, cried, that the house was betrayed by its own domesticks.

His

His Excellency having settled matters, both political and ecclesiastical, in that AN^o DOM. Province, according to his mind, set out the 12th of this month for the *Hague*. 1618. The Magistrates of *Leyden* had given him an intimation before, by the means of Prince *Frederick-Henry*, and Count *William* of *Nassau*, of the apprehensions they were under of a riot or sedition, in case his Excellency should pass through their town, having desired the said Lords to acquaint him with it; which for the preventing all inconveniences, they promised to do. But whether it was for this or other reasons, that his Excellency avoided the said town, it does not appear. However, several of his followers came into the town, and went to the Inn called the *Unicorn*, where the Schepens feast was then holden; notwithstanding that the Draw-bridge of the *Hoogwoordse-poort* or gate was up, for preventing the passing of waggons and carriages to the *Hague*, because the bridge of the gate that leads to that place was mending, and could not be used. Others of them endeavoured to pass through the *Low-gate* with their waggons, but the Guards that were posted there, prevented them, by drawing up the bridge. This occasioned no small disturbance in the town, and things seemed disposed for much worse, if the Warders, by their diligence, had not prevented it.

The Magistrates of *Leyden* represent to the Prince the danger of his passing through their City in his return.

The King of *France* being in the mean while informed of the dissensions and quarrels that reigned among the *United Provinces*, and that they daily increased, sent *Monf. de Thumery*, Lord of *Boissise*, to *Holland*, to exhort them, as his Ambassador, *Monf. de Maurier*, had done hitherto, to make a good end both of their religious and civil differences. Many persons had very great expectations and hopes of this Embassy: For *Monf. de Boissise* was esteemed by every body to be a man of singular wisdom, experience, honesty, and temper, who, though he was of the *Romish Church*, yet had been always most highly acceptable to the Protestants in *Germany*, and to those of the *Reformed Religion* in *France*. He made his proposal at the meeting of the *States-General* on the 14th of *August*, addressing himself to them in the following language:

Monf. Boissise is sent as Ambassador by the K. of *France*.

My Lords,

THE King, my Master, has sent me to your Lordships, to let you know how much he is concerned at the discords and differences which at this time infest and disturb your State, and which also seem to threaten it with very dangerous consequences, if your wisdom does not timely interpose. I am likewise come to continue those good offices of advice and warning, which were formerly rendered you on his part by his Ambassador *Monf. du Maurier*, whose care and fidelity in the discharge of his duty in that respect will hardly admit of any addition. And this being now repeated, it ought to pass for yet a more express testimony and assurance of the hearty wishes of his Majesty, for the peace and security of your State, as being both the undoubted Heir of the heroick virtues of the late King, his Father, and his Successor in his Friendships and Alliances. And indeed, if God had been pleased to have spared a little longer the life of that great Monarch, (worthy of immortal memory, and the most faithful friend that ever this State was blest with) your Troubles had never proceeded thus far. He would have stifled and pacified them at the very beginning; looking upon it as the chiefest fruit of his labours and conquests, that he was rendered capable of serving his friends and allies, and of communicating the blessings of Peace, which he had acquired for his own Subjects, to all Christendom. The King, my Master, following this example, cannot suffer any injury or affront to be offered to his friends, without hastening immediately to their assistance, as was shown at the beginning of his reign, in the affair of *Fuliers*, and has been lately experienced by the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Republick of *Venice*; to the great comfort and repose of all *Italy*. But we were not worthy any longer to enjoy those eminent virtues of so extraordinary a Prince, since it has pleased God to deprive us of him. The sense of his benefits ought to be so dear to your Lordships, and the remembrance of his wholesome counsels so fresh in your minds, that both the one and the other should induce you to put an end to your differences, and to return to unity and concord, which he has so often recommended to your Lordships, and to which you

His Majesty to the States General, pressing them to Union in matters of Policy, and Moderation, with respect to the Ecclesiastical Differences.

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you are beholden for the very existence, form, and name of your Commonwealth.

My Lords, The King, my Master, has commanded me most earnestly to entreat and exhort you, and even to conjure you by the memory of the late King, his Father, by the trust you ought to repose in the continuation of his friendship, and by the compassion you owe to your Country, as well as for your own sakes, that you would turn all your thoughts and counsels towards uniting and composing the minds of your Burghers, divided and estranged from one another by these too nice and subtil disputes about religion; ceasing those controversies that do not edify, putting away jealousies and distrusts, and promoting civil harmony and concord: And on the contrary, exhorting and encouraging each other to labour for peace and unity, for the increasing and strengthening your State; like the *Lacedaemonians*, who at the beginning of their Commonwealth, invited and excited one another to augment and adorn their *Sparta*.

All States and Kingdoms, like natural bodies, are supported by the same causes and means by which they were at first formed and established; as on the other hand, they are corrupted and destroyed by the contrary methods.

The basis and foundation of your State, is that Confederacy reciprocally made among your Provinces, upon certain terms and conditions, relating to the preservation of your Commonwealth in general, and that of each Province in particular. These terms and conditions ought to be esteemed as the soul and spirit of your State, without which it can neither live nor subsist. These should be most religiously observed by you, and nothing allowed to be lessened or altered therein, if you love the welfare of your State, which has raised it self to so high a pitch, as to equal and even surpass the most ancient and powerful Commonwealths of the world; for it had never attained to such greatness and glory in so short a time, but by the union, concord, and good correspondence among your Provinces, by the bravery of his Excellency the Prince, and by your own wise counsels, with the concurrence of the help and support of our great King *Henry*, and the continuance of it by the King, my Master. These, my Lords, are the Forts and Bulwarks of your State, without which, all other strong places, whatever pains you take to fortify them, will not be able to resist the smallest attacks of your enemies.

The King, my Master, knows nothing of the motives or causes of your divisions, you have not thought fit to communicate them to him; and yet, as your particular Friend and Ally, he forbears not to offer his mediation.

The most likely spring of this evil, is the diversity of opinions hatcht in the Schools, and openly propagated from thence; and of opinions too upon certain points of Divinity, which for many ages have been judged so deep, as not to be fathomed; insomuch that the best advice which can be given in these cases, is to practise what we are taught in the word of God, concerning his secrets and mysteries; namely, To proceed with discretion and caution, and not to look into those things which he has been pleased to conceal and hide from us with the veil of reverence and wonder. It is a learned ignorance to abstain from prying into what God is not pleased to reveal to us; for he unfolds and discloses to us so much of his judgments as he knows to be necessary for our salvation. He does not call us to holiness of life, by curious and difficult questions. He that would come to him, must seek him in simplicity; and to comprehend him well, we must believe, confess, love, fear, and honour him, without imagining that our wit or sagacity will bring us closer to him. He will be worshipped in spirit and in truth. If your disputes are about *Predestination*, seek the knowledge of it with temper; for in the whole study of Divinity, there is no one point that requires to be handled with more tenderness, by reason of the abstruse and thorny matters which occur in that enquiry. Lay aside all animosities and bitterness, which hurry you on to unjust and improper actions, such as do not become Christians. Tolerate and forbear each other, as charity requires; otherwise, you know better than I, how dangerous the consequences will be. The Ecclesiastical and Civil Government are like those Twins famous in the *Greek History*, which would not live without each other, and always went together.

‘ Do you desire that it should go well with your Republick, handle this point of religion, about which you differ, with the utmost gentleness, and let the resolutions you take about it, be, if possible, unanimously approved; for **force and violence ought never to be used in the business of Religion.** We have sadly experienced the truth of this Maxim in *France*. In the case of Religion, men are to be won no other way but by mildness: You can never prevail with them by extremities; but if you can find out some middle way, that is equally tolerable to both parties, nothing is more easie.

‘ It is by such means you will be able to put a stop to the suspicions and animosities which reign among you, and which have brought things to such a pass, that some of your Towns have sought their safety otherwise than in that of your State; which will find its hands so weak, that you will be obliged to make use of your Garrisons to restrain and curb your own inhabitants, instead of being in a readiness to face your enemies.

‘ The Truce is near expiring, and in case the War surprizes you in the present situation of affairs, full of discontents and suspicions about the events of these disputes, I can’t see what will save you. What a pleasure will this afford to your enemies? How will they scorn and despise you? What hopes do you give them, of being revenged upon you, without running any kind of risque? But turn you their joy into sorrow: engage your selves to one another anew; double and corroborate the bands of your alliance; lay aside that mistaken zeal, with which each of you endeavours to make his opinion prevail; cleave to that which is most for your common good, and save the State which has cast itself into your arms; that so it may long endure, and that the memory of your victories and triumphs may be transmitted to posterity. Confirm, *my Lords*, and establish by your wise counsels, that which begins to totter, and put it upon such a foot, that neither time nor tempests, nor any other accidents may ever be able to move it; and that the protection and confederacy which you enjoy from, and with the Crown of *France*, may ever endure. See that you your selves, and your subjects, by the acknowledgment of the particular benefits you have received, give an occasion to the King, my Master, to continue them. Stir up, and encourage his Majesty to increase them by the addition of new favours, as knowing that he will never be tired with dealing out the same, provided that you don’t stand in your own way; and that you set such a value upon his Counsels, his Mediation, and the Concern he testifies for you, as the sincere inclination he bears you deserves; for he wishes nothing more than an increase of your tranquillity, greatness, and security.’

‘ In the answer to this Proposal and Harangue of the Ambassador *Boissise*, which the States-General return’d him in writing, some days after; and of which, nothing but a short abstract ever came to my hands, their High Mightinesses declared, ‘ That they owned themselves obliged, in the highest degree, for the benefits they had received both from the present King, and from his Father of immortal Memory, and the concern his present Majesty likewise shew’d for this Republick, by sending to them a Minister of so great reputation, as the *Sieur de Boissise*. But that as for the divisions mentioned in his Speech, which seemed to trouble this State, the dangers, they thank’d God, were not so great as, to their great grief, they found them to be reported to his Majesty, who might be perswaded, that if it had been otherwise, they would not have failed to give him an account of it, which they had forborn to do, to avoid causing him any uneasiness. They had indeed desired his Majesty to give leave, that three or four learned and godly men, his subjects, and professing the *Reformed* Religion, might come to the National Synod, which was appointed to meet on the first of *November* at *Dort*, to consider of the diversity of opinions about certain points, which then obtained in some churches; to the end that the consciences of the people might be quieted, and the Government consequently made easie; which they hoped his Majesty would not refuse, as being a thing from which so much good was to be expected, and by which the service of his Majesty might be promoted.

The Answer of the States-General to the Harangue of the French Ambassador.

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‘ They

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‘ They further declared, that thy laboured, without sparing any pains, to adjust other differences resulting from the former, and would employ all the most reasonable, proper and soft methods imaginable for that purpose; hoping, by the blessing of God, to bring things to a happy issue, by which means they should be in a better capacity of serving his Majesty.

In vain did the Deputies of *Holland* press the Generality to delay this answer a little, till their Principals could consider of it, as being of opinion, that it required some amendments, both as to the matter and form.

A report of the
Transactions at
Utrecht is
made in the
Assembly of the
States General.

In the main while a report was made to the Generality of all the steps that had been taken in discharging the *Warders* at *Utrecht*; upon which account his Excellency, and the Gentlemen that were with him there, had the thanks of the Assembly, and the said Report was ordered to be drawn up in writing. Those of *Holland* were also again intreated, at that time, to conform with the rest of the Provinces in all points, and accordingly to discharge their Warders, and to consent to the calling of a National Synod. The Deputies of *Holland* made answer, that they would communicate the report to their Principals, that so they might act therein as they saw fit: But they added withal, that they ought to be left in possession of their rights and privileges.—— But the Gentlemen of *Dort* contradicted them, on the part of the six Towns, so frequently mentioned, and thank’d his Excellency, and the other Deputies, for what they had done at *Utrecht*.

A Petition of
some of the
Militia at
Leyden to the
States General,
complaining of
the insolence of
the Warders.

On the same day, or the next, there was a Petition delivered by some persons, in the name of the Militia of *Leyden*, complaining of the insolencies committed by the Warders of their Town, without sparing the Magistrates themselves, who, as they said, neither forbade, nor punished them; or even their own Sovereigns, the States of *Holland*, to whom they said, they had made the like complaints in vain; wherefore they besought the Generality to do them justice. The Deputies of *Holland* there present, declared, by the mouth of *Grotius*, that they knew nothing at all of such insolencies, nor that there were ever any such complaints brought to the States of their Province; who, if they had found the matter to be, as represented by the Petitioners, would not have failed to take due care about the premises. But notwithstanding all they could say, it was immediately resolved and decreed, by the Deputies of the other Provinces, to order the disbanding the Warders, by a publick Placard. The Deputies of *Holland* told them, that their Principals had already proposed certain methods, not only relating to the dismissal of the Warders, but likewise the consenting to a National Synod; of which, some of their Collegues were gone to make a report, and to bring back the further advices of some towns against the next *Tuesday*; for which reason they desired them to suspend the execution of their resolution till then. 2 The *French* Ambassador being apprehensive, that the publication of such a Placard could hardly be made without bloodshed, desired the same thing of the States-General the next day. But nevertheless, the Placard was approved of, and ordered immediately to be printed. Hereupon the Deputies of *Holland* renewed their motion, and added, ‘ That they firmly hoped, that at the

A Resolution
taken for dis-
banding the
Warders by a
Placard.

The Deputies
of *Holland*
desire the exe-
cution of the
Resolution may
be suspended.

‘ return of the Deputies of several towns, there would be full satisfaction given to the other Provinces, both as to the *Warders* and *Synod*; putting the Assembly in mind, at the same time, of the good services which *Holland* had formerly done, and was still able to do, to all the Provinces in general, and to each of ’em in particular; and that such precipitation as this, had not been used in the case of *Utrecht*.’ However, they went on with the Placard; which being printed, was brought to the meeting of the Generality, on the 21st of *August*, where, with the concurrence of the six aforementioned Towns of *Holland* (who promised to stand by the States in the matter) it was further agreed, to publish it immediately in the *Hague* by the Provost, and to transmit copies of it to the Magistrates of *Leyden*, and other Towns, as also to the the Officers of the Warders, with orders: ‘ To conform themselves thereto, to renounce their Oaths, and to lay down their Arms in the space of twenty-four hours, on pain of being treated as Rebels, both in their persons and fortunes, for an example to others.’ It was further resolved to write to the Committee of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, desiring that they would likewise cause the said Placard to be publish’d and

The contents of
the Placard.

and comply'd with. It was also ordered, in case the Officers of the Warders should refuse to obey, that then the Placard should be put into the hands of those Deputies, who had disbanded this new Militia at *Utrecht*; and who, by the advice of his Excellency, should consider of enforcing the execution of the said Placard, by proper methods; and the aforementioned six towns of *Holland*, namely, *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, *Schiedam*, *Enkbusen*, *Edam* and *Purmerent*, were desired to depute some of their people to assist the Commissioners of the States-General in this affair. The Heer *Grotius*, being at that time one of those Gentlemen who were deputed by the States of *Holland* to the Generality, begged them, for the preventing all inconveniencies that might ensue, to defer this resolution and publication till the next day, when all the Towns of *Holland* would meet together, to consider and agree about these matters; for which reason, there would be no occasion to go out of the ordinary method. But the other Deputies of the Generality, did not think fit to grant any delay. The Placard was therefore publish'd the same day in the *Hague*, by beat of Drum, and afterwards dispersed further. It was even said, by some, that the Placard was publish'd in *Holland*, and in the Court too, without having ever been communicated to the States of that Province, which they said was absolutely repugnant to all the ancient Laws, and established Customs of these Countries, and without a precedent: to which they added, that none of their Princes were wont immediately to send their Orders from the places of their residence, in order to their being publish'd, but to transmit them to the Councils of the respective Provinces, to the end, that if their Placards had any thing in them contrary to the rights of any Province, they, the said Princes, might have notice of it; and if not, that the publication might be made lawfully and regularly, with the assistance of the Councils. The Heer *Hogerbeets* relates in his Journal, that on the 14th of this month, he and his Collegues went to the meeting of the States from *Leyden* to the *Hague*, but that they adjourned on the 16th, in order to report the transactions to their Principals, and to return the following week; and further, that those Towns of *Holland*, which had inrolled Warders, having lost all courage, and fearing for greater troubles, and domestick broils, began likewise to deliberate about the discharging those new Soldiers. But the most danger was feared at *Leyden*, by reason of the divisions among the inhabitants of that place. Therefore the Magistrates of that Town agreed, first, to consider about uniting the old Militia, before they proceeded to the discharge of the Warders. It was likewise thought proper, in order to give the matter the greater weight, to communicate it to his Excellency, with request that he would allow them to make use of his name, for the service of the publick. The Prince having been applied to about it on the 17th, deferr'd giving an answer till the afternoon, when he said, *That he approved of the Plan that had been agreed upon, but would not have his name used.* The Heer *Hogerbeets* subjoins, that the Magistrates of *Leyden* were informed on the 18th, that the States-General (laying hold on the opportunity of the adjournment of the Deputies of *Holland*, in order to consult their Principals, as they had often done before) proposed to publish the Placard for discharging the Warders: That the said Magistrates, fearing least some troubles should arise in the Town of *Leyden* on that account, had intreated his Excellency, for preventing the same, to suspend the promulgation of the Placard there, upon which he promised to do his best. The day following, being the 19th, the Magistrates gave notice to the Prince, that the Senate or Council of their Town, were that day come to a final resolution to discharge their Warders, and proposed to begin the next Day with uniting the Train-bands, praying him, once again, that the Town of *Leyden* might not be put in a combustion by publishing the Placard. But notwithstanding all this, on the 22d, when the Militia was put again upon its ancient foot, and united, and that directions were giving to discharge the Warders early the next morning, the said Placard (which, as has been said, was already published in the *Hague*) was sent to *Leyden* that evening, by a Messenger of the States-General. Upon which the Officers of the Warders were extremely provoked, but with good words pacified again, and the disbanding was performed on the 23d in the morning.

The Magistrates of *Rotterdam* had discharged their Warders three days before the Placard was published, in which affair their Pensionary, *Grotius*, took no small pains, in order to give his Excellency full satisfaction.

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The Placard is
published.

Consultations
about disband-
ing the War-
ders in the Ci-
ties of Hol-
land.

The Resolution
of the Council
of *Leyden*.

The Warders
are disbanded
at *Leyden*,
and in other
Cities.

The

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The discharging of the Warders followed immediately upon the publication of the Placard in other towns, tho' not without solemn assurances, as ¹ *Grotius* tells us, that all things should be quieted, and return to their former tranquillity. Many of the Magistrates thought now of the faying of the Wolves in the Fable, to the Sheep, viz. *That the Dogs were the cause of the quarrel between them, and that there could be no peace, till they were put away.* But they did not think it adviseable to hinder those proceedings by force; insomuch that, as the same *Grotius* writes, ' they would not make even the necessary defence; whereas it was very probable, ' that if they would have exerted themselves, they might have kept their footing: ' But they thought they had done enough, in that they had asserted the privileges of ' their Country during their administration; chusing rather, when it came to such ' violent methods, to resign the Government to others, than to bring the State into ' further danger, by involving their Country in a Civil War.

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. X. p. 106. Lib. XIX. p. 227, 249, 280, 285, &c.

The End of the Thirtieth Book.



THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N
I N and A B O U T the
L O W - C O U N T R I E S.

B O O K X X X I.



FEW days after the discharging the Warders, the Members of *Holland* brought in their several opinions about the calling of the long-desired Synod. The States of *Holland*, or the Nobles and the major part of the Towns, did now consent to the holding a National Synod, but not without certain limitations and restrictions; but those of *Dort*, *Amsterdam*, *Schiedam*, *Enkbusen*, *Edam*, and *Purmerent*, adhered to what had been already resolved, with respect to the affair of the Synod, by a majority of votes at the meeting of the Generality.

But perhaps it will be neither disagreeable nor unprofitable to our Reader, to see the Declaration which the Nobles made at that time in the Assembly, and caused to be registred in the Journal of the States of *Holland*; as also the opinions of the other towns: The said Declaration of the Nobles, Opinions of the Towns, and further Declaration, run as follows:

The 24th of August, 1618.

‘ As to the chief affair; after a long debate, the Nobles delivered the following Declaration in writing, and prayed, that it might be entred upon the Journal of this Assembly.

‘ **T**HE Nobles of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* do hereby declare, That it has always been their opinion, with respect to the Ecclesiastical Differences, that the questions contained in the *Five Points*, are of such a nature, as to admit of a Christian Accommodation and Toleration, consistently with the preservation of Ecclesiastical Unity: For which reason they think, that the Resolutions formerly taken upon this matter, ought to be perused and put in execution provisionally, at least until the minds of men being calmed, a further and impartial inquiry might be made into them; in order to which also, they the said Nobles consented, that a certain number of Lay and Clergy-men should be appointed to meet

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A Declaration of the Nobles of Holland, made in the Assembly of the States of that Province, touching the Ecclesiastical Differences and the Synod.

together.

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‘ together : They afterwards agreed to the calling a Provincial Synod for *Holland*
‘ and *West-Friesland*, and thereupon frequently declared, as they still do declare,
‘ That as to all the other Articles of Christian Doctrine, nothing else shall be taught
‘ but what shall agree with the Doctrine of the Reformed churches, taken out of the
‘ word of God, and professed and testified, in these countries, in the *Netherland*
‘ Confession and *Helvelbergh Catechism* ; and that in case any person shall presume
‘ to act otherwise, he shall be punished by the Censures of the Church, and even (if
‘ necessary) by the Civil Powers.

‘ The said Nobles never rejected the holding of a National Synod of the *United*
‘ *Provinces*, provided that the same might be lawfully summoned, according to the
‘ rights of the respective *Provinces*, and for the ends above-mentioned ; yet before
‘ their consenting to a National Synod, they would gladly have seen how far God
‘ should be pleased to bless the transactions of a Provincial one. But the said No-
‘ bles observing, that other *Provinces*, as also some of the Towns of *Holland* and
‘ *West-Friesland*, do vehemently insist upon a National Synod ; they therefore, in
‘ order to comply as far as possible with the desires of their Confederates and Fellow
‘ Members, do hereby declare :

‘ First, That although the Members of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* do profess
‘ the true Reformed Religion in common with the afore-mentioned *United Provinces*,
‘ as well as with other Kingdoms and Countries, yet nevertheless, they hold it
‘ as an undoubted truth, that the publick disposition and direction of Ecclesiastical
‘ matters does particularly belong to the Sovereign powers of every Province respec-
‘ tively ; and that the States-General have no right to meddle therein, but by the
‘ unanimous consent of all the *Provinces*.

‘ They further declare it to be their opinion, that the decision or determination of
‘ the aforesaid Five Points (since it concerns all the Reformed churches) ought not
‘ to be made in a National Synod, especially whilst the minds of men, on all sides,
‘ are so much prepossessed ; but that indeed endeavours should be used in such a Sy-
‘ nod, to bring matters to such an accommodation as may be consistent with God’s
‘ word, and may accordingly be received with a safe conscience. And that in case
‘ it cannot be done to mutual satisfaction (which however it is hoped it may) but
‘ that some determination or other be thought necessary, then a General Synod
‘ or Council of the Reformed churches ought to be agreed upon, in order to declare,
‘ with respect to the said controverted points, which are fundamental, and which
‘ not, and to consider of and adjust a Christian Toleration of the Non-fundamen-
‘ tals.

‘ They the said Nobles are further of opinion, that no Act or Decree, either of
‘ a Provincial or National Synod, ought to bind the Country or Inhabitants of
‘ *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, without the express consent and agreement of the
‘ States of that Province, lawfully convened for that purpose.

‘ They are also of opinion, that the said States ought to send some Lay Com-
‘ missioners, double in number at least to those of any other Province, (on account
‘ of the greatness and power of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and their particular
‘ interest in the common concerns) and that the said Commissioners should vote per
‘ capita, and not by representation.

‘ Lastly, The said Nobility are of opinion, that no alterations ought to be made
‘ in what has been settled by all Negotiations or Treaties ; to wit, That every
‘ one belonging to the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, shall enjoy entire
‘ liberty of conscience, with respect to his religious persuasion, and that none shall
‘ be examined, imprisoned, or in any wise molested on that account, unless he him-
‘ self freely consent and submit to some other regulation : Upon which stipulations
‘ and declarations, but not otherwise, the said Nobility consent to the holding the
‘ National Synod.

‘ The towns also desired, that each of their opinions might be entered in like
‘ manner into the Journals ; and that it might be afterwards considered how to
‘ proceed further in these matters ; which being debated, the Deputies of *Dort*
‘ declared :

‘ That

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*A Declaration
of the other
Members of the
Assembly.*

‘ That they adhered to the summons issued by the States-General, there being
‘ no probability of bringing matters to any issue by any other method; wherefore
‘ they also intreated the other Members to consent to the same.

‘ Those of Harlem desired a copy of the Nobles Memorial, in order to see how
‘ far it might consist with their instructions; after which, they would declare their
‘ minds further.

‘ Those of Delft said, they were directly to consent to a National Synod, on
‘ condition, that a Provincial one should be first holden; provided also, that the
‘ Acts of the said Synod should be communicated and approved by the respective
‘ Provinces, before their being received as obligatory.

‘ Those of Leyden declared, That to convince the world they were not obstinate,
‘ they would yield, for this time, to the calling and holding a National Synod;
‘ provided it might be without prejudice to the rights of the land, and that nothing
‘ else should be treated of there, but the Five Points, and those likewise by way of
‘ accommodation, and without obliging any one to submit to the same before the
‘ Decrees were approved: As for other matters, they were of opinion, that they
‘ should not be treated of in the National Synod, but in lesser Assemblies, and so
‘ gradatim: As also, that there should be more Deputies for the Province of Hol-
‘ land than for any other; and that the Acts should be transmitted hither, to be
‘ considered and agreed upon in order to their being made binding.

‘ Amsterdam was of opinion, That nothing could be done by Restrictions and
‘ Post-clauses; and resolved therefore, to be for a National Synod, so as it was
‘ summoned by the States-General, and not otherwise; and should gladly see the
‘ rest of the Members (as they were requested) to come into the same measures.

‘ Those of Gouda said, They could not consent to the National Synod, but
‘ were impowered to declare, that they resolved to adhere to their Religion as it
‘ had been received and was still maintained, according to the settlement made by
‘ the late Prince of Orange, and continued ever since.

‘ Rotterdam was disposed to do all that was possible, but not further than was
‘ consistent with the preservation of the privileges and authority of the Provinces,
‘ and only upon condition, that matters should be accommodated, but not formally
‘ decided; that no Decrees should be obligatory, until approved by this Assembly;
‘ that the greatness of this Province should be considered, and the rights thereof
‘ asserted; that none should be obliged, by way of compulsion, to be present at the
‘ Synod, but every man be left entirely to his own choice; and that the Decrees of
‘ the Synod should be no less free; upon which foot they were ready to consent to
‘ the holding of the Synod, saving always the prerogatives and supremacy of the
‘ Province, and provided, that the consent thereto were unanimous or uniform.

‘ Those of Gornichem, or Gorkum, were absent.

‘ Schiedam agreed to the National Synod, and looked upon it as settled ac-
‘ cording to the summons.

‘ Schoonhoven was for proceeding only by the way of accommodation; and would
‘ agree to a National Synod, provided the rights of Holland could be secured,
‘ and that the authority in Ecclesiastical matters might be preserved inviolably in
‘ the States; and further, that no Decree might be valid till examined and re-
‘ ceived here.

‘ Those of the Brill pleaded, That they had written instructions, which they could
‘ not go beyond; which instructions were read, signifying their consent to the
‘ National Synod, but without departing from the rights of Holland in Church-
‘ affairs,

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‘ affairs; which also they would not allow to be settled otherwise than by accom-
‘ modation, and with a regard to the privileges and greatness of their Province,
‘ insisting, that no man’s conscience should be violated; as appears more fully by
‘ the said written instructions remaining in their hands.

‘ Those of Alkmaer declared, That these matters passed their understandings;
‘ that however, they would come into measures for a National Synod, provided it
‘ could be holden consistently with the preservation of the publick liberties and privi-
‘ leges; and that it were calculated for an accommodation by fair means, conform-
‘ ably to the Memorial of the Nobles, which seemed to agree with their instru-
‘ ctions.

‘ Horn approved of what had been drawn up by the Nobles, provided none were
‘ compelled to come to the Synod, nor to submit to the decisions thereof.

‘ Those of Enkhufen declared, That they were for the National Synod, in
‘ consequence of the summons that had been issued; and that they therefore looked
‘ upon it as settled, and exhorted the other Members to agree to the same.

‘ Edam was of the same opinion; and intreated the rest of the Members to con-
‘ form themselves thereto.

‘ Monik-Edam was absent.

‘ Purmerent agreed with the Provinces, on the same foot upon which the Na-
‘ tional Synod was summoned; intreating other Members to do the like.

‘ All which being considered, the Nobles desired and exhorted each of them to
‘ deliver their opinions in writing, in order to their being further debated, and for
‘ coming to such Resolutions as should be judged proper.

The 25th of August, 1618.

‘ The Nobles having exhorted the several towns to declare their opinions more
‘ particularly, upon the holding of a National Synod, and to deliver them respec-
‘ tively in writing, in order to be entred upon the Journals, and to be considered
‘ as the Reasons of their consenting to the holding a National Synod on the 1st of
‘ November ensuing.

*A further De-
claration of
the six Towns,
Dort, Am-
sterdam,
Schiedam,
Enkhufen,
Edam, and
Purmerent.*

‘ **T**he Deputies of the towns of Dort, Amsterdam, Schiedam, Enkhufen, Edam, and
Purmerent, said, That they had frequently declared their Instructions, with
‘ respect to this matter, to be, that their Principals had consented to the National
‘ Synod, and looked upon it as settled, in consequence of the summons issued for
‘ its being holden, and were willing it should be accordingly holden upon the an-
‘ cient foot; and that they thought it a good and desirable thing, if the rest of the
‘ Members would come into the same pure & simpliciter, without any limitations
‘ or restrictions; by which means, that affair would be best promoted; but that
‘ otherwise, they were for revoking the summons.

*A further De-
claration of
several other
Towns.*

‘ The Deputies of Harlem agreed with the written Declaration of the Nobles,
‘ about the holding of a National Synod, on condition, that the following clause
‘ should be added; to wit, That none should be obliged, against their consciences,
‘ to appear at the afore-mentioned Provincial or National Synod, nor compelled
‘ thereto by the authority of the Civil Magistrate.

‘ The Council of Forty, and the rest of those concerned in the Government
‘ of the town of Delft, to whom the Articles drawn up by the States-General about
‘ the holding of a National Synod had been transmitted, together with the Act
‘ of Non-prejudice pass by the said States on the 25th of June; gave it in
‘ charge

charge to their Deputies, who were appointed for the meeting at the Hague, to consent to the National Synod; but upon condition that the two particular Synods of Holland and West-Friesland should first meet, as preparatory to the National one; and that the Acts or Decrees pass by the said National Synod should be transmitted to the respective Provinces, in order to receive a sanction from the States of each of those Provinces.

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The Deputies of the town of Leyden declared, That having considered of the Memorial of the Nobles, containing the terms of their consent to the National Synod, they found it to agree in substance with the instructions they had received from their Principals; for which reason they should conform to the said Memorial. They likewise thought it adviseable, that the following clause should be added thereto: That none should be compelled by the Temporal Powers to appear at any Classis or Synodical Assembly against his conscience; but that every man should be left to his liberty.

This day, the 21st of August, 1618, the Deputies being returned from the meeting of the States, made their Report; after which, a Letter from the States-General to the Magistrates of Gouda was read, bearing date the 27th of July last, and another of the 15th instant, in which they exhorted the said Magistrates to consent to the holding of a National Synod. And after the subject matter of those letters had been considered and debated, the said Magistrates unanimously agreed to adhere to the Resolutions which have been taken from time to time, ever since the beginning of our troubles on account of Religion; to wit, To suffer no over-voting in the business of religion, but that the Burgo-masters, Schepens, Council, and the rest of those concerned in the government of their Town shall have such regard thereto, and act after such a manner as they are perswaded will best tend to the peace and tranquility of their Burghers and Inhabitants; protesting, however, that their town does by no means intend to allow the open exercise of any other religion, than that which is now established and exercised in the publick churches: For which cause, their town cannot consent to the holding the said National Synod.

The Deputies of Rotterdam likewise agreed to the holding of a National Synod, conformably to the Declaration of the Nobles; their Principals having instructed them so to do; but upon this condition, That such as scrupled to appear at any Classis or Synod, should not be obliged thereto by the power of the Magistrate.

The Burgo-masters and Government of the town of Brill declared, That from the beginning of the Ecclesiastical disputes about the points of Predestination, and the things belonging thereto, they had always been of opinion, as they still were, that a christian and reasonable Toleration might and ought to be exercised in those matters, according to the Resolutions provisionally taken, in the years 1611 and 1614. But that if any body should swerve from any other Articles of the Reformed churches, as contained in God's holy word, or in the Confessions and Catechisms of these Provinces, the same ought to be prosecuted by spiritual, or even temporal censures in general, if it should be thought necessary: That they had likewise consented to divers proposals, in order to a further accommodation; neither did they ever positively neglect a National Synod, so far as the calling and holding of it was consistent with the rights of the Province, and towns belonging thereto, on condition it should tend to an accommodation, but no further.

And forasmuch as some of the Provinces, and even some of the towns of Holland and West-Friesland, were very urgent for the holding of such a Synod, the said Burgo-masters and Governours of the town, in hopes of once again attaining to the desired unity, declared their consent to the aforesaid National Synod; provided, that the disposition about Ecclesiastical matters should not be laid open by the said consent, nor be in common to all the Provinces together, but that

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each of them should retain their respective privileges, and that the Generality should exercise no authority but by the unanimous approbation of all: That in like manner nothing should be done in the aforesaid Synod, but by the way of accommodation; and that where-ever it should be found necessary to proceed to any determination, it should be deferred till the meeting of a General Council: Moreover, that no Synodical Act or Decree should bind the Province of Holland and West-Friesland, without the previous consent of the States thereof lawfully called together for that purpose: That on behalf of the Province of Holland and West-Friesland, there should be deputed twice as many Lay-men, to preside at and order matters in the said National Synod, as should be sent by each of the other Provinces, because of the great interest and weight of the afore-mentioned Province in the public affairs: Also, that none should be molested on account of their religion in the Province of Holland and West-Friesland: And lastly, That those of the Clergy who made any scruples of appearing at any of the Classes and Synods, should not be obliged or forced to come thither by any power of the Civil Magistrate.

Conformably to these Declarations and Conditions, the aforesaid Governments have impowered their Deputies to give their consent to the holding a National Synod; provided, that the Nobles and all the towns do likewise consent to the same upon the same terms; and that all be done with a Salvo to the liberties and privileges of the Province of Holland and West-Friesland; if not, then the said Deputies are to abide by the former instructions.

Done at the Stadthouse of the Town of *Bril*, this 22d of *August*, 1618.

And lower:

By me, as Deputy-Secretary,

FRANCIS BRAAT.

* The Deputies of *Horn* communicated to the *Sieur Duik*, Secretary of the States, on the 4th of *September*, their further Instructions touching the summoning a Provincial Synod, which he accordingly reported to the Committee of the States.

The 4th of *September*, 1618.

The Letter of the Burgomaster and other Magistrates of the town of *Gouda*, dated the 4th of *September*, being the same that came to hand yesterday evening, was opened, in which they declared, by way of answer to what was writ to them the last of *August*, in relation to the summoning of the Provincial Synod, that they had delivered their Resolution to the Secretary *Duik*, in order to its being entered into the Journal, and that they adhered unanimously to the same Resolution.

Secretary *Duik* reported, that there had been with him, at his house, the Peers *Cornelius Veen* and *Cornelius Soop*, Burgomasters and Deputies of the town of *Horn*, acquainting him, that they were instructed by their Principals to consent to the holding a Provincial Synod, pursuant to the summons; adding, that they had consented to the National one, according to the Declaration made by the Deputies of their town, viz. That they approved of what had been drawn up by the Nobles about the same, provided, that none should be forced to appear at it; and that this should be entered accordingly.

From these Declarations and Restrictions, we may learn upon what foot most of the Members of *Holland* were disposed to consent to the meeting of a National Synod, in order to an accommodation. — But it has been observed by some, that the Deputies of *Zeland*, *Freeiland*, the Town of *Groninghen*, and the *Omme-lands*,

* The Burgomaster and the rest of the Magistrates of the Town of *Gouda*, transmitted, in writing, their further Resolutions about the summoning of the Provincial Synod; the same were received by the Committee of the States on the 3d of *September*, opened on the 4th, and afterwards delivered to Secretary *Duik*, as further appears there.
Grot. Apol. Lib. V. p. 51.

lands, would never consent that there should be any mention made in the summons for a National Synod, of an Accommodation or Toleration; which gave still the greater umbrage to those of *Holland*, with respect to the consequences of the Synodical Acts and Judgments. According to the opinion of some of the Gentlemen of that Province, it gave cause of suspicion, that the other Provinces which differed from them, were so stiff in their Resolutions, and seemed bent to force them upon the Province of *Holland*. The Reflexions of an eminent and ancient Magistrate, upon the transactions and events of those times, which he has left in writing, are remarkable.

‘ It was, as he thought, intolerable, and never to be forgotten, that the Provinces of *Gelderland*, *Zeland* and *Freeſland*, with the help of *Groningben*, which that of *Holland* had redeemed from the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, should, by the plurality of their votes, take upon them to prescribe Laws to the said Province of *Holland*, in manifest contradiction to the *Union*. They of *Holland* and *West-Freeſland* had not only, thro’ God’s assistance, thrown off the yoke from their own necks, but had likewise abundantly exerted themselves, to deliver the other Provinces and Countries from the same burden. From them they chiefly received their liberty, and by them they were furnished with the means of preserving it: by them alone were greater sums paid towards the common taxes and subsidies, than by all the rest together.—What trouble and pains had it cost *Holland*, as well on account of their negligence in bringing in their Quota’s, as by reason of other oppositions and contradictions in other affairs? How often had those of *Holland* complained formerly of their sloth and misbehaviour, upon which the Advocate of *Holland* was used to say, that this Province ought to shew itself wiser than the rest? How often had the Province of *Holland*, to prevent such disorders and mutinies as daily happened on the enemies side, been obliged to take up great sums of money, and advance them for the other Provinces, laying upon their own shoulders those burdens from which they will not be easily freed? And shall, says he, this Province now suffer itself to be over-powered by those very people, in matters which they think they have no right to meddle with? This is a poor return for so great kindness. It was the opposition which the other Provinces made against this of *Holland*, that rendred those turbulent spirits, who sought to overturn the Government, bold and seditious, and at the same time weaken’d the hands of our Rulers, who, to obviate their attempts, were obliged to burden the people in so heavy a manner, by raising new Soldiers for the defence of the inland Towns, that they became unable to pay the Troops that cover’d the Frontiers of those other Provinces which lay most exposed to the enemy; which was extream dangerous to those very Confederates, and might in time have produced the most pernicious effects. But whom could they have reproached for it but themselves? If they did not scruple at their own peril, to create so much trouble to *Holland*, in order to prescribe Laws to us in the business of Religion, directly contrary to the *Union*, and it may be with design to proceed much further, making use of those Troops that were mostly paid by this Province; what would they not have attempted, if they had been the cause of the Deliverance of *Holland*, as *Holland* was the occasion of theirs? If those of *Holland* and *Zeland* had been willing to act according to the Rules of War, against a great part of the other Provinces, they would have had no part, nor share in the Government of this Country; they would not have been treated as Allies, but Subjects, as they themselves treated several of the conquered Towns in *Flanders* and *Brabant*. How ill was the Civility of this Province requited? They made at several times, and upon several occasions, Ecclesiastical Constitutions and Ordinances, according to their own fancy, without any interruption on this side; and yet they would take upon them to controul *Holland* in this, and all other matters.’

Many other *Hollanders* made the same reflections on the proceedings of their Confederates: But some were of opinion, that what was done in the name of the other Provinces, ought to be imputed to a few persons only. Others again thought that *Holland* was grown too big for the rest of the Provinces; and that having assumed too much power to itself, both in Civil and Ecclesiastical affairs, it ought to be restrained after the manner above-mentioned.

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1618.

Considerations
of a certain
eminent Magi-
strate, relating
to the proceed-
ings of the
other Pro-
vinces.

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The Heers Ol-
denbarne-
velt, Hoger-
beets and
Grotius, are
taken into Cu-
study.

¹ In the mean time there suddenly happen'd a thing which was attended with great consequences; the Deputies of some of the Provinces, at the meeting of the States-General; or as others say, seven or eight persons making use of the Authority of the said States, resolv'd to apprehend the Advocate of *Holland* (who not long before had been taken into the protection of that Province) together with the two Pensionaries of *Leyden* and *Rotterdam*, the Heers *Hogerbeets* and *Grotius*, at that very time Members of the States of *Holland*. ² This was executed on the 29th of *August*, and that, just at the time, as the Advocate declared before he was put to death, when if they had waited but three hours longer, they would have had the entire consent of the said States, to the holding of a National Synod. The Heer *Hogerbeets* says, in the Memoirs which he left behind him, that this their imprisonment was never propos'd, much less resolv'd upon at the meeting of the States-General, to the end that those of *Holland* might have no knowledge of what was design'd; but that the stroke was contriv'd by those Deputies that were sent to *Utrecht*, executed by his Excellency, and then propos'd and approved at a subsequent meeting.

³ Some think it was likewise done with the knowledge of the *English* Ambassador, *Carlton*, who arriv'd the evening before from *England*, and had been in conference with his Excellency till late the preceding night. The Advocate had been advis'd, some weeks before, to retire from the *Hague*, and to reside in some wall'd town devoted to him, as he had formerly done in company of the Prince, to avoid the snares which *Leicester* had laid for them: but he would not hear of it, saying, *That he was resolv'd to expect the event of things at the Hague, where his residence was, and where he had served his Masters with fidelity; chusing rather to suffer for the sake of his country, whatever evil it should please God to bring upon him, than that any town should be involved in troubles or inconveniencies on his account.*

Uitenbo-
gart's last con-
ference with
the Advocate
Oldenbarne-
velt.

Uitenbogart likewise related, in his Journal upon the 28th of *August*, what the Heer *Vander Myle* told him, long after this event, viz. that the Counsellor *Berkhout*, in company of another Gentleman, came to the Advocate the same day, and acquainted him, that he would be certainly imprison'd: Whereupon the old Man hearing it, went leaning upon his little Staff, and sitting down said, *They are malicious people;* and then taking off his hat, added, *Gentlemen, I thank you for this notice.* We find likewise in the same Journal, on the 29th of *August*, the day on which he was taken up, that *Uitenbogart* coming to him into his Study at seven in the morning, to desire he would present to the States a certain Remonstrance concerning the Synod, did not find him employ'd in writing and dispatching affairs, according to his custom, but sitting upon a chair, with his back turned to the table, and in a melancholy posture; which mov'd him briefly to exhort the Advocate to constancy; praying him, *To comfort and strengthen himself with the examples of so many brave men in all times, who having done the greatest services, had been the worst rewarded.* ⁴ Having said this, he embraced the Advocate for the last time, recommending him to the protection of God, and felt, during their discourse, such extraordinary emotions in his soul, as if he had foreseen some great approaching evil that should befall him. *Uitenbogart* relates in the same Journal, that he since understood from the mouth of the Heer *Vander Myle*, that he the said *Vander Myle*, together with the Heer *van Veenbuse*n, President of the High Court of Justice, both of 'em Sons-in-law to the Heer *van Oldenbarnevelt* the Advocate; as also the Heer *Groonvelt* his own Son, waited on his Excellency, in the afternoon of the same day, begging that by reason of the great age of their Father, he would be pleas'd to allow him to be a prisoner in his own house, upon good security; and that his Excellency, at the first, return'd them this soft answer: *The States-General have done it, but your Father shall suffer no more harm than I my self.* But when the Heer *Veenbuse*n, thinking to excuse his Father-in-law for having been against the Cloister-Church, had only nam'd that Church; the Prince fell into a great passion, and said, *He that pretends to oppose the Cloister-Church, shall never go away from this place upon his own legs.*

² Grot. Apol. Lib. XIII. p. 138. Vel. Chr. of Horn. p. 302, and the Placard Book of Holland, p. 485.
³ Trigl. p. 1091. Uitenb. 975. Baud. Mem. Lib. X. p. 62.

³ From the Memoirs of W. L. Kitterstein, one of the Council of the Town of Delft. See also Uitenb. p. 994.
⁴ Uitenbogart's Life, Lib. IX. p. 182.

It was about the same time that the Heers *van Schagen*, and *van Asperen*, two principal Members of the Equestrian Order in *Holland*, rushing through the Guards, placed by his Excellency's order before the chamber-door, where the Heer *Oldenbarnevelt* was imprisoned, desired he might be released; but his Excellency hearing the noise they made, caused those Gentlemen to be disarmed, and detained, till the pleasure of the States-General might be known concerning them; declaring, that, in his opinion, they ought not to be discharged without bail, and a reprimand besides, which happen'd to them accordingly.

With relation to the apprehending the Advocate, and the two Pensionaries of *Leyden* and *Rotterdam*, several matters occurred the same day, and the next; first in the Assembly of the States-General, and afterwards in that of *Holland*, which we find recorded in the Journals of the said States, after the following manner.

AUGUST 29. 1618.

A Report being made to the States-General, of the seizing upon the three Persons, the Deputies of *Holland* declared, they were extremely surprized at such a procedure, without their knowledge, and with the violation of their jurisdiction; and were resolved to communicate the same to their Principals, in order to learn how they would take it, and what they design'd to do about it.

AN^o DO M.
1618.

An attempt to
release the Ad-
vocate.

A Declaration
of the Depu-
ties of Hol-
land, with re-
ference to the
seizing those
three Gentle-
men.

From the Journal of the States of *Holland*, the 29th of August, 1618

It was reported by the Heer van Mathenes, and the other Deputies of this Province, that having been this morning at the meeting of the Generality, after the reading of two Petitions, the Assembly was informed, that it had been thought proper by his Excellency, and the Deputies, whom the States-General had sent to *Utrecht* for disbanding the *Warders*, to apprehend the persons of the Heer van *Oldenbarnevelt*, Advocate of the Province of *Holland*, and the Pensionaries, *Wasser Rombout Hogerbeets*, and *Wasser Hugo Grotius*; and that it was likewise proposed to seize upon the said Advocate's Papers, but that the same was rejected: That they the said Deputies had shown their dislike of such proceedings, as being without their knowledge, or that of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*; upon which they were answered, that Deputies should immediately be sent from the Generality to the said States, to impart to them the reasons and causes of the detention of the said Persons; and accordingly five Deputies were dispatched to them forthwith, who informed them, That the imprisonment of the three Persons was designed for the service of the Land; it having been found, that the Ecclesiastical disputes were but small and inconsiderable at the first, but that by reason of impunity, they had afterwards spread further in the State: That the remedies which some would have applied, were from time to time rejected or retarded: That afterwards, in order to support the authors of the divisions with authority, a new kind of Militia, called *Warders*, was established, which occasioned disturbances throughout the country: That for the putting an end to those disturbances, and restoring the publick peace, it had been found necessary to discharge the said *Warders*, as obstacles to the holding of the Synod: That when what had happen'd at *Utrecht*, by which the Union was contravened, and the band thereof endeavour'd to be broken, was lately examin'd into, it was discovered, that the said three Persons had been the chief promoters and contrivers of the same: That it was impossible for the country to bear such factions, and that therefore what had been done, appeared absolutely necessary: That as soon as they should have enquired and examined further into the matter, they would lay the whole before them; and in the mean while, they pray'd the assistance of this Assembly, to the end that justice might be done in such manner, as should appear requisite for the good of the Land.

A further ac-
count of what
happened after
their imprison-
ment.

Certain Depu-
ties of the
States-Gene-
ral give an
account of the
reasons of their
seizure and
imprisonment.

^a From the Journals of the States-General, and those of *Holland*.

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The said Deputies being withdrawn, and their Message afterwards considered, the Nobles, and most of the Members, were of opinion, that the following answer should be returned.

The Answer of
the States of
Holland.

THAT they, the States of *Holland*, were very much surprized and troubled at those proceedings, forasmuch as those Gentlemen, being Members of the Assembly, and in publick Employments, were more especially under the protection of the States, whose faith ought to be kept with them; so that if there was any cause of complaint against them, it ought to have been laid before them, the said States, in order to be considered: but that, as matters stood, they desired satisfaction might be given, it being a procedure, that tended to subvert the liberties and privileges of the Province: And further, that his Excellency should be requested, as Stadtholder, to defend and protect the rights of the land, and to join in procuring the liberties of those persons who were in the service of the Government.

But the six Towns were of opinion, that this was a matter of great weight and consequence, regarding the State and the Province in general; and with respect to which, they did not find themselves sufficiently instructed; adding, that therefore leaving things in statu quo, they should communicate the same to their Principals. Against which proceedings, tho' the Deputies of the States-General (when called in again) made some opposition, with respect to the rights and jurisdiction of the Generality, yet the matter was agreed upon, as is above mentioned.

Afternoon.

A Resolution
of the said
States.

The States having entered again upon the consideration of the aforesaid matters, and of the manner of their applying to his Excellency about them, the Nobility, and most of the Towns declared, that the injury done to the sovereignty, liberties and rights of the Province of *Holland*, by such proceedings, was unconceivably great; that his Excellency should be freely told the same, and intreated, as Governour and Stadtholder, to help adjust matters, and not to proceed any further, but to take care that unity and friendship might be maintained among the Provinces.

This is oppos'd
by the six
Towns.

But the other six Towns declared, that if the Assembly went this way to work, they would likewise deliver their own opinion, without agreeing to such advice; tho' they were as much inclined as any others, to concur in preserving the sovereignty, rights and privileges of their country, at the expence of their lives and fortunes: Whereupon both parties attended his Excellency; the one making their declarations, and the other their objections against the same; and both brought back the following answer:

A Declaration
of his Excellen-
cy the Prince.

THAT what had been done was not by his order, but by that of the States-General, who ought not to be supposed to have done any thing without sufficient reason; and as for the Prerogatives and Jurisdiction of *Holland*, he did not pretend to dispute them, but left them to be adjusted with the Generality.

Thus we find the Prince's Answer recorded: But *Uitenbogart*, in his Journal upon this famous day, adds something more; to wit, that his Excellency said, among other things, to the Deputies of *Holland*; That he was sorry for what had happened; the Advocate had been a wise man, and had formerly great credit with the Generality, which being afterwards somewhat sunk, it seem'd he was endeavouring to raise it again, by methods which the States-General would not endure. But however, he was in no danger, it would not last long, and he should be well used. The affairs of the following day are thus entred in the Journal of the States of *Holland*.

The 30th of August, 1618.

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The consideration of the debates that past here yesterday, about the apprehending the three Persons being resumed, and it being asserted, that those proceedings were inconsistent with the sovereignty, rights, and privileges of the land, and that satisfaction ought to be given for the same, or else that the matter should be brought before this Assembly; and that if those persons could not be admitted to their respective posts, yet that at least they ought to have their houses for their prisons, and liberty of repairing to their Masters and Principals, but the Votes of the Members disagreeing therein; it was however, after some deliberation resolved, that matters relating to those Gentlemen should be left in statu quo; and that the States-General should be admonished, not to proceed any further against them till the return of some of the Members, who intended to give their Principals an account of these and other things; and that after the consideration of their report, the rights and jurisdiction of the Province of Holland, and of the States-General in the said affairs, should be likewise further considered; and that the mean while, care should be taken that the prisoners should be well used and accommodated.

Further Debates in the Assembly of the States of Holland, relating to the imprisonment of the three Gentlemen.

Upon this same day there was a motion made in the Assembly of the States of Holland, about calling together the particular Synods of North and South; and in the midst of that distraction of minds, on account of the seizing the mentioned Gentlemen, they came to the following Resolution.

Debates relating to the holding of Particular Synods, and a resolution taken thereupon.

Upon the motion made about summoning the Particular Synods of Holland and West-Friesland, by reason of the shortness of time, it was proposed by those of Delft, that the said Synods should be holden in each distinct quarter, and upon the old foot; to wit, that where the Classes continue undivided, the deputations should be made as formerly; and where they are divided, each party should send two persons to the Synod. This proposal, as the most equitable was embraced by the Nobility, and the majority of the Towns, and thereupon it was look'd upon as agreed, that the Provincial Synod should meet in both quarters; and that accordingly the Classes of Dort and Enkhufen (whose turn it is to summon the particular Classes) should take upon them the care of preparing all things for the said Synod: But as the Deputies of the Towns of Gouda, Schoonhoven, Brill and Alkmar, did not think themselves sufficiently instructed; and since those of Leyden and Rotterdam referred themselves to their Pensionaries, in whose hands the pieces and documents relating to these matters remained: It was proposed, that the silence of such of 'em, as within four or five days should not declare their minds further, should be reputed as full consent, which was generally agreed to.

Shortly after, viz. in September, the Magistrates of the Town of Rotterdam presented to his Excellency, the Prince of Orange, that the Heer Grotius being sent by them, as their Deputy, to the meeting of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, and accordingly being become a Member of that Body, therefore his person ought, in consequence of the liberties and privileges of that Province, to remain unmolested during the Session: And moreover, that they the said Magistrates had great need of the good Counsel of Grotius in several weighty matters: To this they added their request, that he would be pleased to intercede with the States-General, and interpose his Authority, as Stadtholder of Holland, to the end that the said Grotius might be released from his confinement; offering to secure the said Grotius in his own dwelling, or some other safe place in Rotterdam, in order to his answering for his behaviour, and whatever might be laid to his charge by their High-Mightinesses.

A Memorial and Petition of those of Rotterdam, presented to the Prince.

The Magistrates of Leyden petitioned, that their Pensionary, the Heer Hogerbeets, might be discharged upon bail, affirming that whatever he had done was by order of the Council of that City, which they would justify, and that according to the privileges of the said City, he ought to be try'd there. His Excellency made answer, That he could do nothing in the matter, and referred them to the States-General;

A Petition of those of Leyden.

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It is related by some, that the States of *Holland* having broken up, or else adjourned, to the end that the Members might consult their Principals ; some of the Towns resolved to lay the following Memorial before the next Assembly, by their Deputies, concerning the three imprisoned Gentlemen.

A Resolution taken by several of the Cities of *Holland*, with respect to the seizure of the three Gentlemen.

‘ That they thought it very strange, that those three Gentlemen should be apprehended and confined without the knowledge of the States of *Holland* ; — the rather, because it was said, that some of the Deputies had taken upon them to make such a step, without the instructions of their Principals. — That all things ought to be restored to the former condition : — That they were ready to hear what the said Gentlemen were accused of, and to do what should be just and fitting concerning them. — But that in case the charge which was brought against them, arose from the domestick quarrels, they were of opinion, that the States of *Holland* alone had the right of judging their own officers and servants on that account, and no other persons. — That they would desire his Excellency, as Stadtholder, to maintain their privileges. — That if this were not immediately complied with, they would not consent to any tryal or examination of the prisoners, but under the direction of the Deputies of all the Members of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* (and in the presence of the Ambassadors of *France*, *England* and *Sweden*) without whose knowledge and consent there should be no further proceedings. — Moreover, that the persons deputed to the Assembly should consider of means for the defence of innocency, and the security of their privileges. — But in case it should appear, that these prisoners, or any one of them, had holden a correspondence with the *Spaniards*, with the Arch-dukes, or any of their Adherents, to the prejudice of the *United Provinces* ; then the same being fully and sufficiently proved, they should be treated as villains and traitors are wont to be, without any mercy, for an example to others.’

But before the meeting of the States, appointed for *September*, came about, there happened several memorable changes among the Magistrates, which likewise occasioned great alterations in the resolutions of their representatives at the said Meeting ; of all which, we shall presently give an account.

At the same time, *Henricus Arnoldus vander Linde*, a Minister at *Delft* (and soon after President of the *South-Holland* Synod, and afterwards, Deputy to the National Synod) writ a certain Letter, dated from the *Hague*, to *Martinus Gregorius*, Counsellor in the Court of *Gelderland*, and afterwards President of the Deputies of the States-General at the National Synod ; which may serve to give some light into matters, and which, being translated from the *Latin*, runs thus :

2 S I R,

A Letter of *Henricus Arnoldus*, a Minister of *Delft*, to the Counsellor *Martinus Gregorius*.

‘ I Spoke this day with the Prince, whom I found much perplex’d ; for the Towns of *Holland* urge him to release the three prisoners, to the end they may be tried before their own Tribunal ; and if this be refused them, they declare it to be a breach of their privileges. In the mean while it is certain, that if his Excellency yields to them, those Gentlemen will be acquitted, and the State will be involved in ruin. In some towns indeed the Senates will perhaps call their Deputies to account for their actions. They may likewise proceed to a scrutiny ; if that happen, we hope all will be well again ; but if any obstacles be thrown in the way, we shall not know which way to turn. The States of *Holland* are now less averse to the National Synod than formerly. The two Provincial, or Particular Synods, are to meet within three weeks : The places of their meeting are not yet settled, but the Synodical Classes will shortly fix them. We are in hopes that the Deputies of the *Geldrian* Churches will be there. We wait with great impatience for the

² Uitenb. p. 1009.

² Ex Epist. Eccles. p. 1660. Edit. p. 507. See likewise the Life of Uitenbogat, XI. 251.

‘ the Acts of that Synod, and their Letter to those of *Bleiswick*, to the end they
 ‘ may give us some light. The people who are extreemly pleased at the imprison-
 ‘ ment of these three men, are no less apprehensive of their escape by some wile
 ‘ or other. If that should happen, my mind gives me, and others think the same,
 ‘ that many and very dangerous tumults will arise. The only preservative is, to
 ‘ recommend both State and Church to the Almighty by our fervent prayers; whom
 ‘ I likewise beseech, *most honoured Sir*, to preserve you from all evil.’

A^N° D^O M.
1618.

Dated in haste from the Hague, this 4th of September, 1618, N. S.

From this Letter it appeared how far that Minister was let into the secret of af-
 fairs; and accordingly things fell out as he wished and desired. They who endea-
 voured to set matters upon a different foot, finding they were not able to effect it by
 their own power, sought to do it at last by that of the Prince. ‘ They made him
 ‘ believe ‘ (*as Grotius writes*) that the lawful Magistrates were enemies to his Au-
 ‘ thority; whereas they partly consisted of the same men, who brought his Ex-
 ‘ cellency into the Government, and who always faithfully assisted him with good
 ‘ advice, and the necessary supplies, cheerfully allowing him as much authority as
 ‘ belong’d to him, and being disposed to acknowledge his services, as far as the laws
 ‘ of the land permitted; and above all, by a thankful remembrance of them,
 ‘ which is the highest acknowledgment.’

‘ But the Prince had, at this time, another notion of many of the Magistrates,
 and accordingly resolved to change the Governments of most of the Towns in *Hol-
 land* and *West-Friesland*. Having put that design in execution, he deposed most of
 those Magistrates who were of the *Remonstrant* persuasion, or that favoured them
 in the business of the *Toleration*; and filled up their places with *Contraremonstrants*,
 or such as promoted their Interests, or at least were averse to the other party, mak-
 ing use of the Troops of the States to obviate all opposition. He declared (as shall
 be more fully shown in the sequel of this History) in several places where he chang’d
 the Government, out of the proper time, and without any previous Election, that
 he was forced to do it, thro’ the necessity of affairs, saving to them their privileges,
 and without making it a precedent, as well as without prejudice to the honour, name
 and fame of those who were deposed. ‘ Some were surprized to find this affair ex-
 cused with the pretence of necessity; because they looked upon the ejected Magi-
 strates, as persons who had served both the Country in general, and the Towns in
 particular, for many Years, with great fidelity; and who, some of them at least,
 had undergone the Sieges of *Harlem*, *Leyden* and *Alkmar*. The cry was against the
Warders, but that sort of Militia had been already disbanded; and as for *Amster-
 dam*, there could be no complaint against *Warders* in that City: On the contrary,
 those who had been most for increasing the *Warders* there, were the same persons
 that caused their fellow Magistrates to be turned out; among whom there were per-
 sons of as unblamable life and conversation, and as eminent for their piety and love
 to their Country, as *Holland* ever bred.

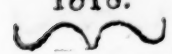
Prince Mau-
rice changes
the Govern-
ment in most of
the Cities of
Holland.

Some were of opinion, that the Necessity which required such a Revolution con-
 sisted herein, that the old Magistrates would not have been forward enough in exe-
 cuting the Synodical Decrees that were expected, and the consequential Placards:
 But to that it was answered, That there was no occasion of coming to such a *Ne-
 cessity*, seeing that the *Toleration* was reasonable, practicable and serviceable. But
 others judging that the *Toleration* which was aimed at, was unchristian, impracti-
 cable and pernicious, were of opinion, that the violent State-sicknesses, which arose
 from Church-quarrels, and which enervated the Common-wealth, and exposed it as
 an easy prey to its enemies, were not to be cured by any gentler remedies; and that
 therefore his Excellency had never rendred a greater service either to Church or State,
 than by this change in the Magistracy; there being, as they thought, no better
 means of extricating the land out of its confusions, and restoring it to a state of secu-
 rity. The Heer *John van Sande*, Counsellor in the Court of *Free-land*, writes in
 his *Netherlandish History*, that the Prince, and some of the best and soundest Mem-
 bers

S f f 2

bers

¹ Grot. Apol. Lib. IX. p. 96. | Baud. Mem. Lib. X. p. 67. Uitenb. p. 1009. Trigl.
² Velius Chron. of Horn, p. 302. Beverwick’s p. 1097.
 Hist. of Dort, p. 360. Sandes Netherland. Hist. p. 214. | ³ Grot. Apol. Lib. IX. p. 96, — 103.

AN^O DOM. 1618.  bers of the States of *Holland*, thought it necessary to depose the Magistracies and Senates in *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, for the recovery of the publick affairs from their ruinous condition.

It would be too tedious to attempt a description of all the particulars and circumstances of this Revolution ; yet because of their importance and consequences, we can't omit relating some passages, and among them diverse incidents and transactions that are worthy of notice.

He changes the
Magistracy at
Schoonho-
ven.

The design was put in execution first at *Schoonhoven*, where his Excellency having sent some Souldiers into the Town, did, upon the 7th of *September*, nine days after the seizing the three Gentlemen, cause the Magistracy to be changed. Of which change, we find the following account in the Register of the Stadthoufe: ' His Princely Excellency has, for several reasons, and particularly for preventing all inconveniencies which might proceed from the present divisions in this Town, discharged the Magistrates, Council and Electors, from their Oath and Offices ; and instead of them, appointed for Electors.' — Then followed the names of the seven and twenty new Electors, together with those of the two Burgomasters, and seven Schepens, appointed a-new by his Excellency, for the like reasons ; and in the same Register we find it said ; *Without prejudice to the privileges of the Town*. And lastly, the names of the Perpetual Council, whose number consisted of twenty one Persons. Eight or nine of the old Magistrates were admitted again among the Electors, and into the Council, but the rest entirely excluded ; namely, the Heers *Jacob Borter*, Burgomaster, *Barent Lam*, *John van Wijubergen*, *Helmich de Brown*, *Henry Veewetlo*, *Walter van Nets*, Schepens and Members of the Council, and divers others, whose names are unknown to us. And in the room of these ejected Gentlemen, there were brought into the Council the Persons following ; to wit, *Roger Hugenson*, *Adrian Kookebakker*, *Antony Sybrandts*, *Richard de Leeuw*, *Arent van Houteghem*, *Baptista Regemorter*, *George Knoop*, *Hubert Bakker*, *William Flemming*, *Hans Tak*, *William Kopman*, and *Andrew Schoonmaker*. These Gentlemen, with nine of the old Magistrates that were restored to their offices, made up the Council of XXI.

These new Magistrates (among whom were some that had served the *Contraremonstrants* at the beginning of the Schism for Elders and Deacons) took the usual Oaths in the Presence of his Excellency.

At the Bril.

On the 10th of *September* the Prince appeared in the Council at the 2 *Bril*, and gave an account of all that had lately past in the business of Justice and Religion, and what had been attempted, as he pretended, against his own Person, telling them, ' That he had intreated the Government of that Town to direct their resolutions to peace and unity : but that on the contrary, they had not only proceeded with great violence in all matters, but had likewise agreed to make use of the Militia at *Utrecht*, both against the *Generality*, and his own Person, which would have been sufficient to expose the country to extreme danger : For which cause he thought it necessary to take such care, that nothing of this nature might ever happen again, to the end that the service of the land, and the publick Tranquillity, might be again restored : Hereupon he declared the Council dissolved, and discharged from their Oaths ; adding, that he would settle matters upon such a foot, as should be for the good of the Province.'

Having thus dismissed the whole Council, his Excellency summoned those whom, with regard to the present conjuncture, he had thought fit to create Members of the Council, to whom he declared, ' That he found himself obliged to proceed in this manner, thro' the utmost necessity of affairs, but that it should be without prejudice to the rights and privileges of the Town, and without being made a precedent.' He then appointed nineteen new Members of the Council, among whom were some of the old ones. His Excellency likewise declared, that tho' the time of chusing Magistrates was not yet come, he had nevertheless thought fit, on account of the most pressing necessity, but without prejudice to the rights of the Town, or making it a precedent for the future, to choose new ones for that time only ; and accordingly he chose two Burgomasters, seven new Schepens, and two that had formerly serv'd ; as also two Counsellors out of the new Senate.

* See Boud. Mem. Lib. X. p. 66.

² From the Registers of the Bril.

On the 15th of the same month, his Excellency changed the Government of *An^o D^o M. Delft*. Here he dissolved the old Council of Forty, but re-admitted some of them into the new. 1618.
At Delft.

On the 27th, he proceeded to *Gornichem*, where seven Gentlemen were turned out of the Council. Ten of the old were continued, and in the room of the seven that were dismissed, and three that were dead, the Council of Twenty was filled up with ten new ones.

On the 28th, his Excellency changed the Magistracy of *Oudewater*. Sixteen of the old Council were taken in again, and eight new ones appointed. At Oudewater, and in other Towns.

At *Worden*, the change of the Magistrates was made on the 29th of the said month. Nine of the old Council were entirely discharged, and as many new ones chosen; who, with the eleven of the old that were re-admitted, composed the Council of Twenty.

This was followed, on the 15th of *October*, with the displacing of those of *Horn*; concerning which, there are some circumstances worthy notice, which for the greater certainty, shall be mentioned in the very words of the Heer *Richard Velius*, the author of the Chronicle of *Horn*, who was at that time one of the Council, and present at most of the transactions in these changes. Some think, that his Excellency, as early as the Spring, had endeavoured to secure this town, and to turn out the Magistrates. This, however, is certain, that a detachment of Soldiers, who were sent that way, were prevented, by the ice and contrary winds, from arriving at the appointed time in a body, and so were shut out by order of the Burgomasters.

But when his Excellency had (according to the language of those times) unhinged the Governments of *Schoonhoven*, *Bril*, *Delft*, *Schiedam*, *Gornichem*, *Oudewater*, *Worden*, and *Monikedam*, he went by the way of *Amsterdam* to *Edam*. And the said Heer *Richard Velius* is of opinion, that the only reason of the Prince's coming at that time to *Edam*, was to see what countenance the towns of *North-Holland* held, especially the town of *Horn*, upon which he kept a watchful eye; finding the greatest difficulty of making any change there, because he knew, that the principal part of the Burghers held a good correspondence with their Magistrates. *Velius* says further, That his Excellency, for that time, would have passed by *Horn*, if the people could have been easy. But they assembled the Council, and put it to the vote, what was to be done in case the Prince came, and whether they should receive and introduce him with the usual Honours or not? He says, no other answer could be given by the Council but in the affirmative, because all that past in the Assembly was told again to the Prince by some of his spies who were among them, and who represented every thing in the worst sense: And it was by some of these that the Resolutions of the Council were transmitted immediately to his Excellency, which caused the Prince to alter his intentions of not coming. The next day, being the 2d of *October*, his Quartermaster arrived at *Horn*. The Burgomasters, instead of calling together the Council, spent the whole morning with the Quartermaster, and did not meet till about noon. And then likewise they past the time without coming to a resolution, in many unnecessary arguments and disputes; but at last it was resolved, that a Deputation should be made to the Prince, to intreat him, in a friendly manner, not to bring much company with him into town, for avoiding tumults and inconveniences; for they were informed, that he had brought 5 or 600 chosen Soldiers, and among them, several Gentlemen of note and Officers. This Resolution was taken too late. The Prince was by this time just at the town, before the messengers came to him; and the request was consequently very unreasonable. Which made his Excellency return for Answer, *That if they of Horn would not have him come in, he was ready to take another way; but he should see afterwards what he had to do: And as for his attendants, he would not lessen the number of them, even by a single Page.* In the mean while, he detained the Deputies with him purposely, till he came to the place called the *Hooft*. He found the Boom laid across, and the Gate shut, all but the Wicket. Within were the Militia standing to their arms. Being come to the *Hooft*, the Deputies went and reported to their Collegues, who were expecting them there, the Prince's Answer. After many debates it was agreed, that it would be most convenient to admit the Prince and all his followers. He was

AN^o DOM. 1618. was then received with all respect, and conducted by the Council to his lodgings; the Train'd-bands making a lane for him, from the *Hoof* quite to his quarters. His Soldiers, who were all of them Musqueteers, were accommodated in a large Watch-house, made with deals for that purpose, in the great Church-yard, directly opposite to the place where the Prince was lodged. This and the dinner past with all the demonstrations of friendship that could be. But when one company of the Militia, as they were marching off, secured the Stadthouse and the Weigh-house by a private order, and another, all the gates and watch-houses round about the town; and when the Prince's people, walking about the town after supper, did not only find it to be true, but were also forceably hindered from passing by the watch, it occasioned great discontents and jealousies. It was observed, says *Velius*, by many tokens, that the Prince began to be afraid, for he did not go to bed the whole night, and almost every quarter of an hour he sent some of his Gentlemen about the town, to get intelligence of what past, and often wished himself more elbow-room. Neither were his fears vain, as it has been since believed, for several of the Burghers, says the above-mentioned writer, got together privately, some of them compleatly armed; and it would have ended very tragically, if they could have procured the least directions from one of the Burgomasters, whom they enquired after at his house that night; or if any one had but rung the bell; or if but one musquet or two had been discharged, the people being ready for an insurrection: For not only the Mob, but most of the Train-bands themselves, burnt with zeal to defend their Magistrates, and secure the privileges of the town, as they called it. But the Magistrates thought it more adviseable to be quiet. Such of the Burghers, who favoured the Prince, were also upon their guard, some providing themselves with arms, others with men, in order to assist him, if any attempt were made upon his person. Thus was the town in the utmost danger of some great mischief, by the mutual jealousies of the Parties. The next morning early, the Prince sent for the commanding officers of the Militia, and asked them, *why, and by whose orders, they kept such a strong guard?* adding, *that he heard it was against him, though he had not given them the least occasion to mistrust him, and he therefore desired they would send their people home.* The officers civilly pleaded the directions of their Magistrates. Then he sent for the Burgomasters, desiring them to dismiss the Train-bands; but the Burgomasters urged the orders of the Council. Then the Council met, and agreed to go in a body to him, and unanimously to request, 'That he would not make any alteration in the Government of their town; adding, that such proceedings were contrary to their privileges, which they were bound to maintain; that he would do well to consider the great discontent it would occasion among their Burghers, and the troubles and quarrels that might ensue; that if any man had done amiss, he ought to be prosecuted according to law, and be heard in his own defence; that if such persons could not justify themselves, his Excellency was at liberty not only to discharge them, but to punish them further, according to their demerits, since none would oppose it: That as for themselves, they were all ready to purge themselves by oath of such crimes as should be laid to their charge; as for instance, that they had endeavoured to deprive his Excellency of, or in any wise to lessen his authority.

The People inclined to an Insurrection.

The Prince seem'd to be pleas'd with what they said, and promised to consider of it, but earnestly entreated them again to disarm and dismiss their Militia. Soon after, some of the principal persons belonging to the Prince, and the Scout himself, *Albert Boolison*, industriously spread a report about the town, and particularly declared it to several of the Magistrates, that the above-mentioned request of the Council was very agreeable to the Prince, and that it was highly probable he would comply with it; nay, some of them said very positively that he would, on condition that the Magistrates were inclined so far to gratify him, as to dismiss their Soldiers. Afternoon, the Council met again, and resolved to renew the request and proposal they had made to his Excellency before noon, and to the end it might be the more acceptable to him, they first discharged the Militia. This he took very kindly. Then they pray'd him to do no more, but only to augment the number of the Senators; representing to him, *that this might easily be done, seeing that their number was too small, in proportion to the largeness of the town; and that this expedient was approved unanimously in the Council, one only Member excepted* (which

was

was Oliver Barentson) adding, that they must be allowed to know best the temper of A^ND O^M their Citizens, and that this might be done with the least uneasiness, and the greatest 1618. unity.

To this, the Prince made answer, *That he had not yet been able, by reason of the continual hurry, to consider sufficiently of their desires, but that he would do it as soon as possible, and then send for them again.*

From these transactions, some people thought it was easy to see which way the Prince inclined, and that he only sought to gain time, in order to strengthen himself with more Troops; having no intentions to comply with the desires of the Magistrates. But others were of opinion, that the Prince himself was dubious, and might easily have been brought to softer measures, had he not wanted good Advisers. Thus the day was spent. And the Prince whiled away the following day, under pretence, says *Velius*, of considering matters. But the third day, being the 5th of October, after several companies of Soldiers were that evening, and the night before, arrived in the haven, from *Freeſland* and elsewhere; his Excellency sent word to the Magistrates, that they should meet at eight of the clock in the morning at the Stadthouse, where he would tell them his mind. The Council being assembled, the Prince, attended with many Gentlemen, and some hundreds of Soldiers, who were drawn up in the figure of a half-moon in the market-place, came thither. Then, after some little discourse, which he broke off short, he thanked them for their service, and discharged them all from their oaths. Some of the Council desired to know the reason why they were thus dimitt? to whom he replied, *That the publick peace made it necessary. That the circumstances of affairs required, that the Resolutions transmitted to the Assembly of the States should be uniform. But that without such changes it would be impossible. That he was perswaded they meant well, and that they had served their Country faithfully, but for this time things must pass thus.* This was all the satisfaction they could obtain, which made some of them show him but little respect; nay, one of them did not scruple to tell him; *You will repent it sooner than we.*

The same day, his Excellency re-admitted eight of the Council into their office, and filled up the places of the other twelve with new ones. The twelve dismissed Senators were, the Heers *Evert Wit*, *Cornelius Veen*, *Peter Janſon*, *John Soutmaet*, at that time ruling Burgomasters; *William Haſes*, *John Engliſhman*, *John Merens*, *Simon Meliſon*, *Jacob Rippertſon*, quondam Burgomasters; *Dr. Richard Velius*, *William van Someren*, and *William van Nek*; and those who were put in their places, were, *Nicolas Veen*, *Otgar Jacobſon*, *Simon Hug*, *Cornelius Claſſon*, *Albert Burritſon*, *Zeger Simonſon*, *Sebastian Reindertſon*, *Adrian Thyſſon*, *Martin Groot*, *Mr. John van Foreſt*, *Teunis Peeterſon*, and *Nicolas Crap*. Those who were made new Burgomasters, were, the Heers *Oliver Barentſon*, *Nicolas Veen*, *Jacob Symonſon*, and *Otgar Jacobſon*. Among the twelve new Counsellors or Senators, there were several who came from the Country to live in the Town, and among them too, some who had not been resident in the town long enough to qualify themselves for their office, and one who had never been a Burgher at all; which, says *Velius*, was partly against the ancient customs, and partly against the privileges of the Town.

Several of them were people of mean fortunes, who not long before had got their bread by little and despicable trades, having but small experience in affairs, and who never once expected to be let into the Government of Town or Country.

There was one man, says *Velius* again, among the new Governours, concerning whom it being asked who he was, his own Collegues appeared to have no knowledge of him; which made the Prince himself laugh. It is likewise related, that as mention was afterwards made of a certain very indifferent Election which happened in these times, his Excellency said, *Do I know the people?* This he spoke by way of reproach to some of those Magistrates whose advice he had used, for not taking more care in their recommendation of Candidates to him.

After dinner, the Prince sent for the Officers of the Militia, of whom such who were least agreeable to him, were turned out, and others put in their places. The Schepens, Governours of Hospitals, and other publick Officers, were suffered to continue, though several of them were of the number of the discarded Senators. And even when the Scout asked the Prince, what should be done with them? he answered, *There are enough turned out, ay, and too many.*

The

AN^o DOM.
1618.

He proceeds to
Enkhufen.

To Meden-
blik.

To Alkmar.

Where he chan-
ges the Go-
vernment.

The next day, the Prince went by Sea to *Enkhufen*, leaving about 900 or 1000 Soldiers, under the command of the Lieutenant-Colonel *Eisinga*, an able Officer and Gentleman in *Freeſland*, in order to ſtrengthen the hands of the new Magiſtrates againſt the diſcontented Burghers. From *Enkhufen*, where his Excellency ſtaid all *Sunday*, the 7th of *October*, he went, without making any alteration in the Government, to *Medenblik*, where, on the 8th, he diſſolved the Magiſtracy. Here he left five of the old ones remaining in the Government, but turned out eleven, and put others into their places. From *Medenblik* he paſt on to *Purmerent*, and from thence, without any alterations, to *Alkmar*, followed by a hundred Waggon, ſome of the foremoſt of which, carried about a hundred Soldiers.

On the 10th of this month, he was received into the Town by the Magiſtrates and Burghers, divided into four Companies, with all tokens of honour and reſpect, and brought to the Stadthouſe, which was already ſurrounded by his Guards, who had taken poſſeſſion of it two days before. There lay alſo in Town one Company of *Scots*, who were likewiſe drawn out to receive him. Upon the 11th in the morning, his Excellency changed the Government. The whole Council, to the number of ſeven and twenty, were all diſcharged from their oaths, and a new one appointed, conſiſting of twenty four perſons. Nineteen of the old Senate were entirely diſmiſt. Eight of the old and ſixteen new ones were choſen. Among the latter, there were five of thoſe who had been turned out of their places in the Year 1610, by the Commiſſioners of the States of *Holland*.

During this circuit of his Excellency, and changing the Government of the towns of this Province, the States of *Holland* met again in the month of *September*, and among them ſeveral Deputies of the new Magiſtrates, which preſentiy gave occaſion to the change of affairs, and to the accommodating them more and more to the mind of his Excellency and the other Provinces.

Among other matters, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, the ſaid States reſolved, on the 12th of *October*, to depute ſome of their Body to complement his Excellency upon his return from the Northern parts of this Province to the *Hague*, which Reſolution we find entered in their Journal of the 19th of the ſame month, in the following words :

His Excellency
makes a Re-
port in the Af-
ſembly of the
States of Hol-
land, of what
he had done
with reference
to the change
of the Magi-
ſtracy in ſome
of the Towns.

The States come
to a Reſolution
to thank him
for what he
had done, and
to leave it to
his Diſcretion
to make the
like Altera-
tions in other
Towns.

HIS Excellency having informed the Aſſembly, that he had been obliged, though very unwillingly, (for reſtoring the publick peace and unity of the Land) to transport himſelf with great pains, trouble, and not without danger, to ſome of the towns of *Holland* and *West-Freeſland*, and there to diſcharge, for a ſhort ſpace of time, the Burgomaſters, Schepens, and Senators, and to fill up their places with others; yet without thereby intending to violate, in any wiſe, the rights and privileges of the reſpective towns, or to advance his own private intereſts, but only to promote the publick good : As alſo, that the like change has not as yet been made in the Government of ſome towns, though his Excellency judged it to be no leſs neceſſary than in others; adding, that he deſires to know the minds of this Aſſembly, that ſo he may the better be able to proceed, and to execute every thing ſo as may be moſt for the ſervice of the State, and tranquility of the Land : After ſome debates, it was agreed hereupon by the Nobility, and almoſt all the other Members, That the Thanks of this Aſſembly ſhould be returned to his Excellency after the beſt manner, on account of the pains and trouble he has been at for the good of the Land; and that it ſhould be declared as our belief and opinion, that whatever his Excellency has done, is without any deſign of prejudicing the rights and privileges of the reſpective Towns, but only for reſtoring the peace, unity, and good underſtanding among the Members of the Land, for their common benefit; and that this ſhould be ſignified to his Excellency by certain Deputies, who ſhould at the ſame time acquaint him, that this Aſſembly leaves it to his diſcretion, and prays him to do the like in other places, if he thinks it neceſſary; and that in ſuch caſes, this Aſſembly will ſtand by and ſupport him.

But the Deputies of *Harlem*, *Leyden*, and *Rotterdam* declared, That they could not conſent to this Reſolution without further Inſtructions from their Principals : The Deputies of *Gouda* ſaid, That as for what related to their Town, all was left to the diſcretion of his Excellency.

‘ This Resolution having been notified to his Excellency by some Gentlemen of A^N^O D^O M.
 ‘ the Assembly, they made the following Report : That his Excellency declared to
 ‘ them, and desired them to acquaint this Assembly, that in whatever his said Ex-
 ‘ cellency has hitherto done or shall do, his sincere intention has been or shall be
 ‘ nothing else but to promote the service and peace of the Land, without ming-
 ‘ ling any private interests, and without prejudice to the common rights of the
 ‘ Country, or the rights and privileges of the Towns : And that his said Excellency
 ‘ further requested, that an entry might be made of this his Declaration, for the
 ‘ better manifesting his good and sincere intentions.

After this Information, Declaration, Address of thanks, Approbation, and full Powers, his Princely Excellency marched for *Leyden*, being attended by a great number of all sorts of Officers both of Horse and Foot, having sent his Guards and some Soldiers before him into the Town. On the 22d of *October*, he was received by the people with great acclamations of joy, and respectfully welcomed by the Magistrates, and in the evening treated by them with a splendid supper. The next day he discharged the whole Senate or Town-Council from their Oaths, but presently restored some of them again. Two and twenty were entirely dismiss’d, and as many new ones brought into their places. Among these last, there were some who had been very zealous against the late Government, on account of the Warders, and the new Oaths, and one who had signed the Circle mentioned in our XXIXth Book.

After the displacing the Magistrates, his Excellency sent for all the Officers of the Militia, and exhorted them to unity and obedience to their new Governors, and caused them likewise to make a solemn promise, that they would discharge their duty faithfully. After which, to prevent all insolencies, and to suppress the Mob, who implacably hated the *Remonstrants*, and began to stir already, the following Ordinance was promulgated from the Stadthouse.

‘ **W**HEREAS his Excellency has been pleased to appear in person here in this Town
 ‘ of *Leyden*, in order to establish the former peace and tranquillity : Be it
 ‘ therefore known, that his said Excellency, with the approbation of the Magistracy
 ‘ of this Town, does expressly will and require all and singular persons to abstain
 ‘ from all insolencies and disorders, and from giving contumelious and reproachful
 ‘ language to any of the inhabitants, or offering the least injury to their persons,
 ‘ houses, or goods, or otherwise ; and on the contrary to behave themselves in the
 ‘ streets or publick places modestly, as becomes peaceable men ; upon pain, in case any
 ‘ one be found to transgress this Ordinance, by attempting any thing to the dishonour,
 ‘ or prejudice of others, by word or deed, of being made an example to others, and
 ‘ of being severely punished corporally or otherwise, without any connivance or fa-
 ‘ vour, according to his demerit.

Done at Leyden, the 23d of October, 1618.

From *Leyden* his Excellency went to *Harlem*, where two Companies of Soldiers arrived on the 24th of the same month, in the morning, and another in the afternoon, besides that of his Guards ; these last were posted at the Stadthouse, and the House called, the *Prince’s Court* ; and the rest of the Soldiers at the *St. John’s*, *St. Anne’s*, and the *French Church*. Some say, that the six Companies of the Militia were drawn out by order of the Magistrates, and stood to their arms for the reception of the Prince, but that his Excellency caused them to be acquainted, that they should lay down their arms, and depart ; but his own Soldiers stood to theirs, at his arrival. About four in the afternoon he made his Entry into the Town, being attended with eighty Waggon. Many of the inhabitants met him with great demonstrations of joy ; and one of the Burghers, who had been formerly banished, came along with those of his train. Being arrived at his lodging, he was welcomed by the Magistrates. The Heer *Richard Schryvelius*, at that time one of the Town Council, or Senators, and Rector of the *Latin School*, relates in his description of *Harlem*, that his Excellency appointed the whole Senate, and all the Magistrates,

T t t

to

AN^o DOM. 1618. to come together next morning about eight o' clock, at the Stadthouse, where meeting them, after salutations, and wishes of all happiness, he made the following Speech :

Gentlemen-Burgomasters, Senators, and Magistrates of this Town of Harlem.

His Speech to the Magistrates.

‘ **T**HERE is no Man in this Assembly that can be ignorant (for it is but too well known to all) of the miserable state of our Country, which, if not speedily assisted, is in great danger of being set in a combustion, and utterly consumed, together with the whole Body of the Commonwealth, and the state of all the *United Netherlands*. It is for this reason that this dangerous, as well as troublesome, employment, is committed to me, by the sovereign Powers the States-General, with instructions to put a stop, by all possible means, to the evil which daily increases. You will easily believe that I took this burden on me with great reluctance; and that I come with no other dispositions, but what are favourable and kind to you: Neither ought you to be under any terror on account of the Soldiers that are come into this town; for they are not design'd to incommode, but protect you. I have been long concern'd for the common Welfare, but could not think of any more proper expedient than the discharging the Magistrates, who have govern'd this town for many years, from their employments, with a Salvo to their honour, and the choosing new ones; to the end, that all animosities being laid aside, peacemay be reestablished both among the Laity and Clergy; to which God grant a blessing! to whose protection I recommend you all.’

He changes the Government.

After this he discharged them all, and commanded them to depart. Presently after he summoned those whom he intended for the new Government; to wit, thirteen of the old Senators, and nineteen new ones, which together made up the Council of XXXII.

Then having tendred the Oaths to the new Magistrates, his Excellency sent for the Officers of the Militia, and ask'd them, in the presence of the new Burgomasters, whether they intended to perform the Oaths they had taken to the States, and their own Town? Which they solemnly promised to do.

The same day there was a prohibition of all insolencies and riots, like that at *Leyden*, publish'd from the Stadthouse, in the presence of the Prince, of several other Nobles and Gentlemen, and the Magistrates of the Town. On the 26th the Prince departed for the *Hague*, causing the Soldiers to embark, in order to be employed elsewhere.

The same is done at Rotterdam.

On the 29th, two Companies, the one of Count *Ernest*, the other of Count *John de Nassaw*, arrived at *Rotterdam*, where there lay one *French* Company before in Garrison. Then followed his Excellency's Guards, which were quarter'd about the Stadthouse, and in the *Kennipwage*, over-against the Prince's Lodgings. He himself arrived there the same day in the evening, and was met and complimented by the Magistrates in the High-street. The next day he went to the Stadthouse, where he discharged the Magistrates (who were assembled there by his order) at once, both from their Oaths and Offices. And some other persons being immediately called up, were appointed to constitute the new Council, and to serve as Burgomasters and Schepens. Seven of the old ones were re-elected by his Excellency, fifteen quite dismiss'd, and two were dead. It is reported of those Magistrates who were ejected, that they look'd upon this their dismissal, as an honour and ease to them, and thereupon promised each other to celebrate the day when it happen'd, namely the 30th of *October*, as a Festival every year as long as they lived, rejoicing together, and thanking God for being released from such a burden in those troublesome times. After this, the Prince sent for the Officers of the Militia, and told them, *That he was not come to oppress any man, but only to restore peace and unity to the Town*; asking them at the same time, as he did every where else, *whether they would obey their present Governours, and assist in quelling all disorders?* To which they answered in the affirmative.

A change of Government at Gouda.

The same day his Excellency sent one Company to *Gouda*, and the next day his Guards, which took post at the Stadthouse. In the evening came the Prince himself, and

* See Sam. Ampsing's Description of Harlem.

and on the 1st of *November*, the following day, he changed the Government : But he AN^o DO M. 1618.
 ceeded here after a different manner, leaving a considerable number of *Remonstrants*, or well-wishers to 'em, in the Government ; whether induced to it by the great number of those of that persuasion (who were by far the greater part of the people) or by other views, is uncertain. The Minister, *Edward Poppius*, speaks of this change in a letter which he writ a few days after, in the following manner.

‘ His Excellency has made fewer alterations in our town than any where else :
 ‘ He has turn'd out ten of the principal persons of the Council. Among them are
 ‘ three of the ruling Burgomasters ; the fourth is likewise out of the Burgomaster-
 ‘ ship, but continued in the Council. Ten young people are appointed in their room,
 ‘ but most of 'em Burghers. He has made four new Burgomasters, all of 'em well
 ‘ disposed towards us, unless they have alter'd their minds. There are also three
 ‘ or four *Contraremonstrants* got into the Council.’ — The seven Schepens re-
 mained in their places. The Officers of the Militia promised here likewise to obey
 and assist the new Magistrates.

From *Gouda* his Excellency took his journey to *Amsterdam*. We have said already
 how the resolution of opposing the majority of the towns, at the meetings of the
 States of *Holland*, pass'd sometimes in the Council of this City by a very small
 ballance of voices : but I have since met with a *Memorandum* of Professor *Episco-
 pius*, writ in his Diary with his own hand, containing the following words : *On the
 17th of October, 1617, it was resolved in the Senate of Amsterdam, to conform
 to the resolutions of the towns of Holland and West-Friesland, in bringing about a
 Provincial, and not a National Synod ; and this resolution was carried, without
 much debate, by five or six votes.* What became of this resolution, and whether
 the Professor was well inform'd of the fact, or even whether the same was not soon
 after annull'd by a contrary resolution, I am not able to say with certainty. But
 this, however, is sure, that the Party in the Senate, which sided with the States-
 General, was not so strong, but that it might have been easily over-powered and de-
 feated by several accidents, which induced those who were now at the head of affairs,
 to take the resolution of securing their interest in the said Senate. — And the effect
 which the arrival of his Excellency produced was very favourable to this design.

On the 2^d of *November* the Prince was received at *Amsterdam* with all imagina-
 ble marks of respect, twenty Companies of the Militia, and the three Compa-
 nies of the Town Soldiers being drawn out for that purpose. The Council was
 summon'd to meet against the next morning, by order of his Excellency. He him-
 self appeared in the Council-chamber about ten o' clock, and made there the follow-
 ing Speech :

Gentlemen,

‘ **W**Hereas there have been in this Council, as well as in others, many disputes
 ‘ about political and religious matters, from whence further troubles might
 ‘ arise ; I am therefore come, by the order of the higher powers, to take some
 ‘ care about it, as I have already done in other places ; for which purpose I thank
 ‘ this Council of XXXVI for their past services, and discharge them from their
 ‘ Oaths, in particular from that Oath, and the Right arising from thence, of choosing
 ‘ Burgomasters ; adding, that he should have been glad to have been excused from
 ‘ this troublesome commission, but that the utmost necessity of affairs, and the ser-
 ‘ vice of the land required his accepting of it, in order to put an end to all those
 ‘ discords and divisions that disturbed these Provinces, and to prevent the same for
 ‘ the future.

‘ Upon this Speech, all the Gentlemen rose and were going away, when the
 Heer *Cornelius Hooft*, a *quondam* Burgomaster, thought fit to ask two of the ruling
 Burgomasters, *Jacob Hoing* and Dr. *Richard Bas*, (the other two being absent)
Whether they did not desire to be heard ? they answered, no ; neither did any body
 besides make any motion towards speaking. Whereupon the said Heer *Hooft* de-
 clared, That for the sake of his oath and conscience, he found himself obliged to

T t t 2

Speak

AN^o DOM. 1618. speak a word or two, begging his Excellency's leave, and adding, that he should otherwise have held his peace. The Prince consenting, he spake to the purpose following :

Most Illustrious Prince,

*A Speech of the
Heer C. P.
Hooft to the
Prince.*

IT will be thirty-five years, next *Candlemas*, since I had the honour to serve in this Senate; during all which time, I have frequently shown my affection to the House of *Nassau*. I have also been often deputed from this Body, both to the Assembly of the States of *Holland*, and that of the Generality. Several differences have arisen within that time between this Town and those of *Harlem* and *Leyden*, which burst out into sharp, judicial, and other proceedings, and seemed to threaten us with worse consequences; infomuch, that it was found necessary to beg your Excellency's interposition and mediation, whereby, at the last, those misunderstandings were adjusted: For which reason, I think my self happy that I have an opportunity of discharging my conscience in the present situation of affairs before your Princely Excellency. I shall only trouble you with these few words: The whole body of the Senate has been bound by a solemn oath, to maintain and defend the liberties and privileges of this City, in which the Senators have hitherto proceeded with great zeal and unanimity; particularly with respect to three Points which now occur to my mind: The *First*, is the establishing here a Jurisdiction over persons and estates, by the means of Arrests and Seizures, and the preventing the transferring of causes to other Courts; which rights we have been sometimes obliged to assert with great trouble and vexation, against some of our neighbouring towns, especially *Rotterdam* and *Middelburgh*. The *Second* is the privilege *de non Evocando*, importing, that none of our Citizens shall be liable to be sued before a strange Judge or Tribunal. And the *Third* is, the securing all such from imprisonment who are able to give sufficient Bail for their appearance before the Courts of Justice, whenever required. But it seems, these points are by no means to be compared with those that are now in dispute. It is true indeed, the good of the State ought to be the supreme law; but I am perswaded, that none of the Council here, how great soever the difference of opinions among them has sometimes been, have ever on that account endeavoured to pass any Resolution to the prejudice of the weaker party of their Fellow-Senators, as if they were not as honest men, as good Patriots, and as much enemies to *Spain* as others. And although the Gentlemen who composed the weaker party, were wont strenuously to propose and assert their particular notions and sentiments relating to the present differences, as it was their duty; yet none of them ever attempted, by base and sinister methods, to bear down the opposite party: Which is the occasion that our affairs are reduced to the condition we now see them in. And such who have pretty much frequented the meetings of the States of *Holland*, or those of the Generality, are not ignorant what heats and contentions have passed among the Members, and how they have been obliged to adjourn from one time to another, till at last they brought matters, by patient and seasonable delays, to a happy issue, without ever attempting to come to such extremities as these; for if such things had been done on account of diversity of opinions, how often would they have been repeated, and what end would there ever have been? I therefore earnestly entreat your Excellency, that you would be pleased to spare this good Town, and this honourable Assembly, as you ought to do.

The Prince returned him this short Answer: *It must be so now, Father, necessity and the service of our Country require it.*

When the Prince had spoke thus, the Senate, consisting of XXXVI, broke up immediately. But his Excellency, the same day, appointed twenty-nine of the said Council anew, and seven he quite discarded; namely, *Isbrandt Ben*, *Herman van de Pol*, and *Peter Martiisson*, quondam Schepens; *Dr. Sebastian Egbertson*, *Jacob de Graef*, quondam Burgomasters; *Richard de Fleming*, late a Schepen; and *Lawrence Spiegel*, then in the same post. In whose places he appointed the Heers *Giles Beth*, *Arent vander Burgh*, *Peter Fink*, *Jacob Hoogbkamer*, *Simon vander Doofe*, *Henry Hudne*, and *Dr. Albert Burgh*. These new Magistrates were likewise sworn by the Prince. The Burgomasters and Schepens continued in their posts; and some

some of the ejected Council were permitted to keep their other employments. The *Heer Lawrence Spiegel* continued in the office of Schepen, *Sebastian Egbertson* in that of Treasurer, *Herman van de Pol* still remained one of the Directors of the Hospital, *Isbrandt Ben* Commissioner of Matrimonial affairs, *Peter Matbijsen* Master of the Insurances, and *Richard de Flemming* Commissioner of the Bank. The A^{N^o} D^O M.
1618.

His Excellency declared likewise at the same time, That these alterations should not be drawn into a precedent, to the prejudice of the rights and privileges of the Town, being only made for the reasons above-mentioned, and charged the Recorder, or Town-Clerk, *Jacob de Haan*, to enter upon the books all that had passed in the affair.

In this and the like changes, his Excellency for the most part took the advice and approbation of some of those Magistrates who, in opposition to the major part of the towns of *Holland*, joined with the other Provinces in pushing on the National Synod, and who likewise seemed, in this turn of affairs, to aim at strengthening their party in the Government, by introducing their own friends, and supplanting such who stood in their way.

It will not perhaps be unacceptable, on this occasion, if I give some account here of certain incidents and contrivances at that juncture, which I learnt from the relations of credible persons, and such as could dive into the secret, some years ago, and which, as far as my memory will serve me, I shall faithfully set down here, leaving the probability of the facts to every man's own judgment.

One of the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, who at that time had a great influence on the publick affairs, and ordered them for the most part according to his own fancy, must be here exposed for his dishonest conduct. A Gentleman whom he looked upon as his adversary, was continued in the Magistracy contrary to his intention, one of his friends turned out, and the misbehaviour of another charged upon himself. A certain *quondam* Burgomaster of the city of *Amsterdam*, a great stickler for the cause of the *Contraremonstrants*, and who resided almost constantly at the *Hague* on the said account, returned one day to the above-mentioned City, in order to consult with those of his party in private, about forming a list of those Members of the Senate whom his Excellency was to turn out. They met for this purpose in the night-time at the house of one of their Confidants in the *Warmoes-street*. After some debates, they agreed pretty unanimously on such a list, which they caused one of the Burgomasters then present to write, or put it ready written into his hands, in order to be delivered to the Prince; the prime Manager of this business departing in the mean while for the *Hague*. Upon the said schedule or list stood the name of one of the Council, and a *quondam* Schepen, against the mind of one of the party, who had not power enough to hinder it at that nocturnal Assembly; but he, whetting his invention, goes privately to the man's house, and discloses to him, upon his oath of secrecy, what was brewing to his prejudice, and advises him how to ward off the blow, by the help of his Brother, married to a Daughter of the Burgomaster that was to carry the list to the Prince. The man followed his advice, and went to his Brother; who, at his request, spake thus to his Father-in-law: *Well, Father, what is this I hear? Do they intend to turn out my Brother? And can you suffer, that mine and your own Daughter's children, sprung from your loyns, shall be hereafter reproached with their Uncle's being turned out of the Government as a Traitor?* The Burgomaster, shrugging up his shoulders, cried, *How can I help it? It is too late.* The other, having been instructed by his concealed friend, made answer, *It is not yet too late, Sir, I can put you in the way to save my Brother; scratch his name out, and put in that of the man who affronted you so impudently some time ago.* With these or such-like arguments, the Burgomaster was soon persuaded; and accordingly made the rasure in the list, and afterwards delivered it to the Prince, who complied with the contents, and turned out the man whose name was foisted in. This ejected person, who had bestowed one of his Daughters on the Son of the aforesaid *quondam* Burgomaster, (who was supposed to have had the chief hand in all the management) knowing what power he had with the Prince, and putting the worst construction upon the matter, reproacht him with it, and even forbade his Son-in-law to come near him, neither would he believe him, how solemnly forever he protested his innocence. It is probable, that he accused the Burgomaster who presented the list to the Prince, who perhaps either denied it, or excused

A secret meeting at Amsterdam, in order to a change of the Magistracy.

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cused himself. Afterwards, the other Gentleman endeavoured to make the matter up, and to re-establish his Son's Father-in-law in the Magistracy, procuring for that purpose a letter of recommendation from a great person in favour of him, in which it was said: 'That whereas the last year some of the Magistrates had been turned out of their offices in most of the towns of *Holland*, but with a *salvo*, that neither the privileges of their Town should be thereby hurt, nor the persons so discharged be thereby wounded in their honour or good name, pursuant to the Declaration of the States of this Province, made in the year 1618. It was therefore thought proper, for reasons of moment, earnestly to pray and intreat, that the Heer *N. N.* might be restored or admitted into the State —' When this Letter was read, one of the oldest Members of the Senate stood up in his turn, (some say, it was the Heer *John Hidekooper*, others, *Cornelius Hooft*) and said: 'That which is there writ of the discharged Gentlemen, to wit, That neither their honour, name, or fame are violated by this dismissal, is very true; but it does by no means follow from thence, nor is it reasonable that we should begin with readmitting the youngest. Let us rather begin with the seniors, or with them whose Parents were obliged to mourn the loss of their Country's liberty in a dungeon, and whose bodies were beheaded, after they died there, upon a scaffold, such as the Father of *Dr. Sebastian Egbertson* —' This Speech had influence enough to keep out the person whom they sought to introduce. But instead of bringing in one of the oldest Senators, it was found adviseable to admit another certain Gentleman, and by him, who was likewise married to a Daughter of the aforesaid deposed Magistrate, to exclude for ever the Father-in-law out of the Government; and so to render irreconcilable the enmity between him and the Burgomaster, to whom, tho' unjustly, he imputed his dismissal. After this, the misunderstanding between these two Burgomasters grew to so high a pitch, that it had like to have proceeded to blows. The business of altering the list gave the first occasion, doubtless, to their disagreement; but it was much more increased by their contending each of them to bring in his own friend into a good place that was vacant. I have dwelt a little the longer upon these matters, though they do not directly relate to church-affairs, because they had their influence on the same, and because they have since been the occasion of a favourable gale to the *Remonstrants*, from that very corner from whence the black clouds of their trouble and oppression chiefly arose.

A Change of
the Magistracy
at the Hague.

¹ The last alteration his Excellency made, was in the *Hague*; where, on the 8th of November, he dismissed the Magistrates. The whole Senate were here likewise discharged from their oaths. He declared at the same time, as soon as the new Magistrates had taken their oath of office, that he did not think it fitting that the Governour of the *Hague* should have any authority or vote either with the Burgomasters or Schepens, or in the Senate, but that he should confine himself to those matters only that belonged to his office. The Prince likewise declared, That it was not designed by this alteration of the Magistrates, to deprive the people of the *Hague* of their liberties and privileges, but only to restore the Province to its former peace and tranquillity; ordering, that the same should be entered upon the books. This is the sum of what past in *Holland*, on account of the Revolution which happened in the Government of that Province: In relation to which, it is observed by some writers, that Prince *Frederick-Henry* had no hand in it. ² And it is related by *Uitenbogart*, in his Memoirs, that his Brother, Prince *Maurice*, having desired him to accompany him in the Tour he made with intention to change the Magistrates, the said Prince begged his Excellency to excuse him from attending him on that account, to any of the towns of *Holland*.

The like change
proposed at
Dort.

³ Some would gladly have seen, that the Magistracy of *Dort*, the first Town of this Province, had likewise been changed; and the Heer *John van Beverwijk* tells us, in his description of the said Town, that the Burgomaster *Reinier Pauw*, of *Amsterdam*, prest the Prince very much to it, in opposition to the Heer *Muis*, Scout of *Dort*, both which Gentlemen had at that time great credit with his Excellency; but that the latter represented, that such an alteration could not well be brought about then, by reason of the Alliances and Friendships that subsisted among the Magi-

² Trigl. p. 908 *Uitenbogart's Life*, Lib. IX. p. 127. ³ See *J. van Beverwijk's Description of Dort*, p. 360.
² See *Uitenbogart's Journal on the 8th of September*, 1622.

Magistrates; infomuch, that the injury done to a few, would be resented by all. AN^O D^O M. 1618. But he was, as the said *Beverwijk* affirms, terribly threatned in private by the Burgomaster, the Heer *William van Beveren*, who was likewise among the eleven, being all of them the chief men of the town, with being shamefully deprived of his post.

The Prince hereupon being arrived at *Dort*, was complimented by the Scout and Treasurer, and after much discourse, invited to see the Magazine of the Town. But as he passed by the Stadthouse in his way thither, the Halbardeers went to post themselves on the steps, as was usual in other places when the Prince went to the Stadthouse to change the Magistrates. His Excellency observing that, called to them to return; which they not well hearing, the Treasurer called out pretty loud, that they should come down on the further side. Upon which, the Prince said, smiling, *Mr. Treasurer, you don't desire to be deprived of your post.* In the mean while, the Burgomaster (being unwilling to see the approaching affront, as he thought it) stayed at home. But in the evening he was desired to come to the Prince, who talked very kindly to him, and happening to speak of the *Indies*, took a fine book out of his trunk, and presented it to him.

After so many changes in the Governments of so many towns, the States of *Holland* resolved again to thank his Excellency for what he had done, and not only to approve and confirm the alterations that were made, but likewise to assure him, that they would acknowledge the new Magistrates, and support and maintain their authority by all kind of means, and declare, that all the inhabitants should do the same, and obey them upon pain of being treated as disturbers of the publick peace.

In this Act of Approbation we find it declared, That the dismissal of the late Magistrates was done without prejudice to their good name or reputation; the States likewise added, ' That in case his Excellency should think it necessary to make any further alterations for the preservation of the peace of some of the towns, or for other reasons, they, the said States, would approve thereof, and second the good intentions of his said Excellency; but nevertheless, they were of opinion, that according to several Declarations of him the said Prince, whatever had been done was without any derogation to any of the treaties, privileges, rights, and liberties of the Province in general, or of the towns and inhabitants in particular, and with a *salvo* to the honour, name, and fame of all parties concerned, publick or private; and that it was only for the service and tranquility of the land, and because themselves, the States, thought the same to be expedient.

The Government of *Holland* being now thus settled upon quite another Basis, the three imprisoned Gentlemen found themselves entirely deprived of that protection which they found before the late Revolution. Nay, those changes in the Magistracy were hardly half made, when it appeared, that most of the Members of *Holland* were willing to conform to the pleasure of the other Provinces; witness the following Minute, as we find it entred among the Resolutions of the States:

THE Nobles having moved the States to consider of the case of the Three Prisoners, and of the things here alledged against them, to the end that care might be taken for preserving the prerogatives and authority of this Province, and that all such exorbitant proceedings might be restrained, pursuant to the mutual oaths and obligations of the Members, especially with respect to the cognizance of those matters which (as they concern certain persons and officers of this Assembly, who are here accountable for the actions) ought to be submitted to the judicature of this Tribunal; it was resolved, after mature deliberation, That those matters should be left to the cognizance of the States-General, and of his Excellency: But the Nobles desired they would defer coming to a conclusion till *Monday* or *Tuesday* next, when they would appear in a competent number, and resume the consideration of this affair. —

But now the case was altered still more to the prejudice of those Gentlemen. Wherefore we find *Grotius* saying, in the words of *Cato*, That *it was hard to have lived with one sett of men, and to be obliged to justify our actions before another.* And

A^N D^{OM}. And accordingly, those imprisoned Gentlemen soon perceiv'd, that they had lost their old Masters, and were now fallen into the hands of those whom they considered (a few only excepted) as their sworn enemies: Some of whom, as the said *Grotius* tells us, had even without orders of the States-General, and before any Commissioners were appointed for their tryal, and even before any judicial resolutions, threatned them with the rack, and given them very ill language more than once. And, says he, as it is not to be doubted but that they treated the Heer *Ledenburg* after the same manner, it is easy to conclude who were the cause of his death: 'Tis likewise a maxim of law, *That whatever was extorted by unlawful threats from persons of timorous natures, being in the hands of their enemies, ought not to be produced as an evidence of crimes.*

The Heer Ledenburg lays violent hands on himself.

The sad end of this Gentleman, who, as it was thought, to avoid the tortures of the rack, laid violent hands on himself in the night, between the 28th and 29th of *September*, after having fervently pray'd to God, as ² *Uitenbogart* informs us, thus finishing his days in an unlawful manner, was lamented with tears by many, especially by those of the *Remonstrant* party, who always greatly esteemed him.

The only hopes that were left to the friends of the prisoners at this time, centered in the mediation of the King of *France*, who endeavoured to extricate them from their troubles by his Ministers at the *Hague*, the *Sieurs de Boissise* and *du Maurier*. And there has fallen into my hands a copy of a speech of one of them to the States-General, taken by the Heer *Sebastian Egbertson*, formerly a Burgomaster of *Amsterdam*, in which, soon after the imprisonment of the three Gentlemen, he express'd himself thus:

My Lords,

A Speech of the French Ambassador to the States-General, occasion'd by the imprisonment of the three Gentlemen.

THE progress of this odious contrivance, and the things that have happened since the last time I had the honour to address my self to you here, are very sensible afflictions to me; and I am heartily sorry to have been an eye-witness of your late disturbances, especially those occasioned by the imprisonment of the Heer *van Oldenbarnevelt*, who by his discreet and wise conduct for these thirty years last past, has gain'd the affections of all the neighbouring Princes, and particularly of the King my Master, in such a manner, that when I take the pen into my hand to give an account of it, I find my self at a loss what to write, being fearful to offend either against the dignity of your Lordships, or the merits of that Gentleman. I ought not to believe that this illustrious Assembly does any thing without mature and wise consideration; but since neither the Nobles, nor Towns of your Provinces have been informed of such a step, I know not how to think of it. And I am the more surprized to understand that your Lordships Assembly was not complete, which 'twas highly necessary it should have been for passing a resolution of so great moment. My Lords, be upon your guard, and reflect seriously upon the situation of your affairs, for there are great discontents ready to break out among your people. Hitherto union and concord have been the principal occasions of your strength: but now I fear, least the King my Master, the Founder of your renowned State, will be highly offended at your having concerted these measures with other Princes, without communicating your intentions to his Ambassadors; for his Majesty did not send him hither merely to take minutes of what pass'd among you, but also to assist your Lordships with his Counsels, to the end that your affairs might be peaceably transacted. It was not many days ago that the fidelity of the Heer *van Oldenbarnevelt* was attested, and applauded by a publick Placard; and is it possible that you should find your selves mistaken in so short a time? I conjure your Lordships once again on the part of the King my Master, to lay aside all passion and prejudice, and to let me know what I shall tell his Majesty concerning this great event, which is so variously related, that I know not how I shall be able otherwise to give him an accurate and faithful information of the state of your affairs; which obliges me to press you to admit me into the secret springs and motives of your conduct. The most understanding men of your country speak so strangely of this whole business, that it would

¹ Velius Chron. of Horn, p. 302.

² Uitenb. p. 1006.

‘ would be no wonder if the King should give me order to take the Heer *van Oldenbarnevelt* into his protection : And if it should so happen, I dare say, your Lordships would not oppose it. I entreat you once more to exert your wonted wisdom, and not give occasion of offence to any of your neighbouring Princes, especially to the King my Master, who heartily wishes that you may flourish, and will do all that lies in his power to assure your Lordships of the affection he bears to these Provinces.’

A^N° D^O M.
1618.

How this harangue was received, is not said ; but it is recorded by ¹ some, that the *Sieur de Boissise*, the last Minister from the King of *France*, did, on the 6th of *September*, a few days after the imprisonment of the three Gentlemen, take his leave of the States-General with visible tokens of dissatisfaction, (chiefly upon some political differences ; the detail of which may be seen in ² other Authors) and refused to accept of the usual presents at his departure : But by the time he had reach’d *Antwerp*, he received Letters from his King, requiring him to turn back, and to assist in rectifying those misunderstandings. This obliged him to return immediately to the *Hague*, where receiving an audience of the States-General, on the 18th of the said month, he spoke to their High Mightinesses in the following Terms :

My Lords,

‘ MY sudden return is owing to no other cause, but an excess of favour and goodness, wherewith the King my Master is inspired for the advancing the welfare, peace and preservation of your Republick. His Majesty is not ignorant, that you are always watching and labouring, with great prudence and foresight, for the publick good. But having considered the great convulsion with which the whole Body of the State is affected, he cannot but be as much troubled at it, as if it were his own business ; neither can he be at rest, till he sees your State entirely settled upon the former foot of unity and concord : For his Majesty having freely consented to guarant those conventions, pursuant to which your Republick is now governed, and having contributed more than any of your confederates towards your security, and the augmentation of it, he thinks himself to be obliged, and to have a right to interpose, in all transactions that relate to the quiet of this land, in order to avert all dangers or difficulties, which might disturb the same. It is therefore your duty, my Lords, (least it should look as if you slighted so good and necessary an assistance) frankly to lay before us the condition of your affairs, and to let us know how we may be most useful and beneficial to you. For the *Sieur du Maurier*, and I, are directed by the King our Master, to offer you, on his part, every advantage that his Name, Authority, Power and Counsels can procure you, with positive and expresse orders, to employ them for you, in the best manner, which we solemnly promise to do, with the utmost care, diligence and fidelity, that you can expect of us, as the Ministers of so great a Monarch, who is justly entituled to the first place, among the Friends and Allies of your State.’

A Proposal of
the *Sieur de Boissise*, made
to the States-
General.

This proposition, which the Ambassador delivered the same day in writing to the States-General, was the next day laid before those of *Holland*, where it was read, and resolved by majority of votes, that the most humble thanks of that Body should be returned to his Majesty of *France*, on account of the paternal care he had shown for the repose and welfare of the land, and also to the Ambassador, for the trouble he had taken in returning ; with expressions, signifying their hopes, that all this would tend to the entire restoration of the publick peace.

It was the opinion of some of the Members, that the true state of affairs, and the occasions of all the late troubles, should be fully explained to him. But this was rejected by the major part, whose opinion was, that they ought to proceed with caution, as was practised in other States with respect to ours. The following day it was likewise resolved in the Assembly of the said States of *Holland*, that letters should be written to the King of *France*, and to the Deputies of the *French Churches*,

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¹ Baud. Mem. Lib. X p. 66.

² Uitenb. p. 1003 — 7 — 8.

AN^O DOM. 1618. to the end that some godly, learned, and peaceful Divines might be deputed to the approaching National Synod, in order to be present at the same, and to assist in bringing matters to a good issue; and the rather, because, on the 20th of *July* last past, there had been a different application made on the part of *Holland*. That Article was likewise taken notice of in the Answer of the States-General, to the proposition of the *Sieur de Boissise*, which being sign'd the 28th of *September*, was of the following tenour.

The Answer of
the States.

THE States-General having heard the proposal made in their Assembly, on the part of the most Christian King of *France* and *Navarre*, by the *Sieur de Boissise*, Ambassador extraordinary of his Majesty, and Counsellor in his Council of State, upon his return to the *Hague*, on the 17th of the current month of *September*, by virtue of his Credentials from the said King, bearing date the 6th instant, and which was afterwards delivered in writing, they felt an extream satisfaction on that occasion, as perceiving the said proposal, and letters of credence, contained fresh assurances of the care and particular affection which his Majesty was pleased to show and bear to them, for promoting the good success of their measures, which they esteem so great an honour, that they likewise, on their part, will never neglect to embrace all opportunities of meriting the continuation thereof, by all kinds of dutiful and grateful actions. His Majesty shall find them very well inclined and disposed to this, not only from the consideration of the innumerable favours, by which he has been pleased so many ways, to bind them to him, but likewise on their own account, being sensible how great a weight and reputation, the honour of his strict alliance, and good dispositions towards them, adds to the security and dignity of their Republick; to the founding of which, his Majesty has vouchsafed to contribute his assistance. But they cannot forbear signifying at the same time, how much they are troubled at the concern and apprehensions his Majesty has entertained upon so slight reasons and occasions, as if their affairs were in a very dangerous condition; whereas they themselves, God be praised, are not aware of any thing of so great weight, as to be capable of disturbing the peace and tranquility of their Government; much less any thing of such consequence, as justly to alarm his Majesty, on account of that sincere affection, with which he does them the honour of watching for their preservation: For the Civil Government of their Provinces has been gently and gradually brought into such a condition by the wise management of the Prince of *Orange*, that they not only promise themselves, thro' God's grace, firm and solid quiet at home, by the union and harmony of all the towns and provinces, but also such credit and influence abroad, through the support and countenance of his Majesty, that none shall dare attempt any thing contrary to their rights and treaties in prejudice of the peace, which they are sure his Majesty will be glad to hear, since he can have no other view in their establishment, but only the rendering them more and more capable, and worthy to evidence to him and his Crown, the services, duties and confidence of good and faithful Allies. Neither should they, as such, have so far fail'd of a due concern for their own preservation, and of the respect they are bound to bear his Majesty, as not to have had recourse to him for his favour and assistance, had their affairs been in such a condition as his Majesty's offers of interposition and mediation seem'd to import.

But as for what relates to the situation of Ecclesiastical affairs, the said States-General have indeed been extreamly sorry they should give birth to so many rumors which have been spread about the uncertainty of their success, through the imprudent behaviour of certain persons, who have shown little respect to the laws and antient customs, confirmed by the mutual convention of the Provinces. Notwithstanding which, they doubt not but by the holding the National Synod, which they have appointed to meet at the Town of *Dort*, on the first of *November* next, the differences which have created so much disturbance here, may be treated of, and compos'd, especially if his Majesty would be pleased to favour them with the effect of that remedy, which he has caused to be offered, for the putting an end to their misunderstandings, and to grant the request which they formerly made him; and do now most humbly renew, *viz.* that he would give leave to some of his subjects of the Reform'd religion, men of learning, and of a sober life and conversation, to pass over to this country, where, by their presence

and

‘ and wife conduct, they may be of use to the said Synod, which will be im-
 ‘ powered to take proper cognizance of the points in dispute. And the said States
 ‘ have conceived the greater hopes in this matter, because it is a pious work, and be-
 ‘ cause his Majesty has been pleased, of his own free will, and self-motion, to offer
 ‘ all the help and assistance which the weight of his name, authority, power
 ‘ and counsels can bring, in order to avert all those inconveniencies that are capable
 ‘ of disturbing the repose of their country. For which purpose they likewise beg
 ‘ the *Sieur de Boissise* to subjoin all that care, diligence and assistance, which they
 ‘ can promise themselves from his good dispositions towards them; and faithfully to
 ‘ set before his Majesty the present state of affairs in this Republick: And they the
 ‘ said States shall be ever ready to give his Majesty all possible demonstrations of the
 ‘ reverence and respect they owe to his grandeur, and to pay the *Sieur de Boissise*
 ‘ all the acknowledgments he can expect on account of his trouble and wife con-
 ‘ duct.’

AN^O DOM.
1618.

*Done at the Hague, in the Assembly of the said States-General,
 the 28th of September, 1618.*

The Revolution in the Magistracy of the Towns of *Holland* had its influence im-
 mediately upon the affairs of the *Contraremonstrants*. In several towns and villages,
 where they held separate meetings, they were allowed to preach by turns with those
 of the *Remonstrant* party. At *Schoonhoven*, where the former Magistrates had op-
 posed them more than in any other place, by forbidding their Conventicles, by levy-
 ing fines and otherwise, in a perswasion that they had made a separation without just
 cause, and that they carry'd it on in a disorderly manner; the new ones did, at the
 request of the said *Contraremonstrants*, the very next day they enter'd upon their
 administration, publish the following ordinance, and cause it to be printed.

The Contraremonstrants are allow'd in several Cities to preach by turns with the Remonstrants.

‘ **T**Hese are to make known to all men, that the Burgomasters, Schepens, and
 ‘ Council of the Town of *Schoonhoven*, at the request of the distressed
 ‘ Members of the true, Reformed Christian Church within this Town; and by and
 ‘ with the advice of his princely Excellency, as Stadtholder of this Province, have
 ‘ willed and granted; and by these presents do will and grant, that they the said
 ‘ distressed Members, shall enjoy the publick exercise of their religion, *per vices al-*
 ‘ *ternas*, or by turns, in the Parish-church, jointly with those who are at present
 ‘ possessed of it: Moreover, that the Cloyster-church shall be fitted up as soon
 ‘ as possible, to the end that they who shall have had the last turn in the
 ‘ said Parish-church, may preach and exercise their religion in the Cloyster-church;
 ‘ and that this be done on both sides peaceably and decently, according to the
 ‘ resolution taken about it yesterday by the said Council. All and singular per-
 ‘ sons, of what state, condition, sect, or party soever, are strictly required and
 ‘ commanded, not to offer them any injury or hindrance, nor to abuse or mis-call,
 ‘ much less to treat each other ill on this account, upon pain of such severe corre-
 ‘ ction, as the said Council shall think proper to inflict; but all this provisionally,
 ‘ and till matters shall be ordered otherwise.’ —

An Ordinance in favour of the Contraremonstrants, publish'd at Schoonhoven.

Done at the Stadthouse, in the presence of — 18 September, 1618.

2 The Ministers of *Forne* and *Putten* delivered also a Petition to the States of *Hol-*
land on behalf of the *Contraremonstrants* in *Gooree* and the *New Tonge*. And on
 the 14th of the same month it was agreed to send two Gentlemen thither to make
 instances to the Magistrates of those places; and if they judged it necessary, to use
 their authority too, in order to bring matters to such a point, that the complaining
 party might enjoy the exercise of their religion, and preach and administer the Sa-
 craments in the publick churches by turns with the others. The like petitions were
 afterwards presented to the said States, in the name of the *oppressed Members*, pro-
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A^N° D^OM.
1618.

restoring the antient Reformed christian religion at Flardingen, Maastrand, Schipluy, Harserswoude, Sootermeer with Segward, Neukoop, Arlanderveen and Warmenbusen; who, on the 19th of *October*, consented to their desires, requiring and commanding the Magistrates, Scouts, and Officers of Justice, to take care that the same should be performed without admitting any excuse, for which they were to give proper directions, so as that all might be done to edification, according to the real intention of the States.

But it does not appear, that those of *Warmenbusen* did at first submit to these directions; for on the 16th of *November*, upon a new petition of the aforesaid *oppressed* party, the States ordered, that the one side should preach in the publick church one week, and the other the next; and that the *Contraremonstrants* should begin.

At *Rotterdam* it was agreed by the new Magistrates (on the 1st of *November*, being the next day after the change of the Government, his Excellency also approving the same, [and the Ministers and Consistories on both sides consenting]) and publicly declared; 'That for the future, both the *Remonstrants*, and *Contraremonstrants*, with their respective Consistories, should have the use of the publick churches by turns, upon such a foot as the Magistrates should now or hereafter establish to their mutual satisfaction. But that the early Sermon should be preached on Sunday mornings, in the great Church, by the *Remonstrants* only: And all this by way of provision, till the States could come to further resolutions about the religious differences. And all Ministers, Consistories, ordinary Members of the Community, and all other persons whatever, were required to conform themselves thereto, living together like good and peaceable citizens, without reproaching or abusing each other by word or deed, on account of the aforesaid differences. The whole on pain of being punished corporally, or otherwise, as disturbers of the publick repose.'

After the promulgation of this order, the Minister, *Peter Nieuwenrode*, who had formerly taught the *Contraremonstrants* in their Barn, preach'd the 4th day of *November* in the great Church, for the first time; rejecting in his Sermon several offensive points that were usually imputed to his party. But the Minister *Grevinkhovius* ascending the Pulpit in the afternoon, declared that *Nieuwenrode* had spoken against his conscience; or, if he was sincere, then there was no difference, and he ought to acknowledge the *Remonstrants* for his Brethren; but the matter rested there. About the same time *William Teeling*, a famous preacher of the Town of *Middelburg* in *Zeland*, was sent for by the *Rotterdamers*, to add weight to the cause of the *Contraremonstrants*, by his reputation of gifts, and to draw the people by degrees from the other party.

The *Contraremonstrants* of *Gouda* petition for a Church.

After this, the complaining *Contraremonstrants* of *Gouda* presented a petition to the Committee of the States, praying, That they might be allowed the use of a publick Church in that Town, for the exercise of their religion; whereupon there was a Letter sent to the Burgomasters and other Magistrates of the Town by the Committee on the 27th of the same month, with the approbation of his Excellency, desiring them to accommodate the Complainants with a publick Church, (either the Hospital-Church or any other in their Town) and insinuating, that it would be well taken of them. Accordingly the said Magistrates were so favourable to the *Contraremonstrants*, that they fitted up the Hospital-Church for them against the following Sunday, when *Gisbertus Voetius*, Minister of *Heusden*, preached in it for the first time.

H. Rosæus is restored to his Ministry in the Hague.

A little while before, *viz.* on the 19th of *November*, the States of *Holland*, upon the petition of *Henry Rosæus*, restored him to the same condition he was in before his suspension, which happened in the year 1616, permitting him the exercise of the Ministry both in the great and other churches of the *Hague*, in his turn, and otherwise, as was practised by the rest of the Clergy of that place; and commanding the Magistrates and Consistory to give such directions as that all might pass quietly and without confusion, to the edification of the people. But there happened some disputes upon this order, occasioned by the Consistory of the Prince's Church (for so they called the Cloyster-church, where the separate *Contraremonstrants* met) upon which an explanation was desired of the directions given in writing to *Rosæus*: and on the 16th of *November* the States declared, That when the said *Rosæus* preached

preached in his turn at the great Church, he should be attended by the Consistory A^N° D^{OM}. 1618. made up of those Elders and Deacons that belonged to the Prince's Church, and that they should sit in that part of the Church which was appropriated to the Consistory, and that as often as *Roseus* preached there, the Elders and Deacons of that Church should forbear sitting within the pale or rails before the pulpit.

This tended to give greater credit to the party of the *Contraremonstrants* in the *Hague*. For several months together they had likewise caused some of the most famous among them to preach in their Assembly, the better to confirm their *separation*, which they judged absolutely necessary. Those Ministers were, *Godfry Udemans*, and *Antony Waleus*, of *Zieriksee* and *Middelburgh*; *Balthasar Lydius*, of *Dort*; *Ralph Peterson* and *Jacobus Triglandius*, of *Amsterdam*; *Johannes Bogermannus*, of *Leeuwarden*; and others.

About the same time great alterations happened at *Worden*. In this Town, at the beginning of the year 1617, some few *Contraremonstrants* separated themselves from the publick Church, and deputed two of their number to the Assembly of the Clergy, which was then holden at *Amsterdam*, for promoting the separation. Afterwards; four of the separatists presented a Memorial to the Magistrates, in which they said, 'That the two Ministers of the Town were gone from the old, true, Reformed Religion, since they did not, *these are their very words*, preach God's Holy Word purely, and according to the *Netherland Confession* and *Heidelberg Catechism*, nor perform Divine Worship as they ought; and requested, that they might have another Minister, who being addicted to no other sect, might serve there, according to the examples of *Horn*, *Alkmar*, the *Bril*, and the *Hague*.' This request, without being either granted or rejected, was laid, by the Magistrates, before the States, who desired them to live peaceably with each other, till such time as they could come to further Resolutions about the differences among the Clergy. But the petitioners not thinking fit to wait so long, called one *Joseph vander Rossen*, a Minister in the district of *Heusden*, who preached in the barn the same year, on the first Sunday after the *Worden-Fair*. They afterwards kept their meetings publickly in the *Haver-street*, till the month of *September* of this year; when, upon the change of the Magistrates, there came orders from the higher powers, that the *Seperatists* should, from thence forwards, preach by turns with the *Remonstrants* in the great Church. This was done accordingly, on the last day of the month. *Peter Cupus*, one of the Town-Ministers, preached in the morning, and seeing none of the *Seperatists* (who were to have the use of the Church in the afternoon) among his auditors, told the people, in a sort of Epilogue after Sermon, 'That he could have wished the *Seperatists* had been then present at his Sermon, in order to shew their disposition to mutual unity; whereas by their staying away, he said, they discovered their inclination to go on with their schism. He therefore exhorted his hearers not to join in the Schism, it being a work of the flesh, nor to mix themselves with those that did it from the motives of temporal hate, or a mischievous design. He warned them, besides, against the opinion of the *Contraremonstrants*, with respect to *Predestination*, and that honey, with which, as he thought, they mingled poison: These things he thought himself bound in conscience to set before them, to the end that at the great day of the general judgment he might be found innocent of their blood.

A Memorial and Petition of the Contraremonstrants at Worden.

What return the *Contraremonstrants* made to this conclusion of his sermon, does not appear. But two months after, being the 30th of *November*, the Magistrates sent an order in writing to the said Minister's house, which was then out of town, forbidding him to preach any more in the Church, or elsewhere within the town, till the Commissioners of the States, together with the Deputies of the Synod of *Delft*, (who at that time were upon their journey from all parts) should arrive there, when he should be acquainted with the reasons of his suspension. But in the mean while they allowed the Minister, *Peter Bequigny*, his Colleague, who was likewise a *Remonstrant*, to preach in his turn with the *Seperatists*.

Adrian Smout, one of the latter sort, endeavoured to share in the good fortune of his party. On the 7th of *August*, the States of *Holland* granted his request, after having heard the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* upon it; which was, that he might have leave to return to that town, and to stay there for a fortnight, in order to visit his aged mother, and to assist her in her illness; provided he gave notice of his arrival

Smoutius is permitted to return to Rotterdam.

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AN^o DOM. 1618. to the Burgomasters, and promised them that he would behave quietly and peaceably there, without attempting any thing that might disturb the repose of the Government. He added, that in case he should be obliged to stay longer on the said account, he would ask further leave of the Burgomasters; to whom it was accordingly recommended, to do what they should find consistent with the good of their town. But in *November*, after the change of the Government, he addressed himself again to the States, and obtained an absolute reversion of the prohibition of residing in *Schieland*, or at *Rotterdam*, or *Utrecht*, without the permission of the States and Magistrates of the said towns. The States, moreover, retracted the prohibition of his writing, and allowed him to write with moderation, and to print what he writ. It was likewise agreed, That there might be granted him, if he desired it, letters of recommendation to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Deputies of the Province of *Holland* at the National Synod, to be made use of according to custom. But as to the reward which he desired, the consideration of it was postponed till it appeared what effect his proposals would have upon the Synod. From which expressions, as they are entered in the Journal of the States, it may be concluded, that he proposed to do some great service by his counsels at the National Synod.

Festus Hommius receives a Present on account of his writing a certain Book.

A few weeks before, the States of *Holland* had ordered a reward of two hundred guilders to *Festus Hommius*, a Minister of *Leyden*, and that, as we find it recorded, for singular good reasons; to wit, for presenting them several copies of his little Treatise, intituled, *Specimen controversiarum Belgicarum*. This was the book which was composed in the *Latin* tongue for the service and information of the approaching National Synod, and which was afterwards translated into *Dutch* for the use of the common people, with the title of, *The Monster of the Low-Country Differences*. Most of the *Contraremonstrants* looked upon it as extremely useful for the compassing their ends; but those of the other side complained of the great partiality of the author. Yea, the Professor *Episcopus*, and the Minister *Uitenbogart*, publicly asserted, That he had been very unsincere in his quotations from their works.

Transactions in the Assembly of the States of Holland, relating to the National Synod.

About the same time, the business of a National Synod was canvassed a-new in the Assembly of the States of *Holland*. It was indeed understood, that the Province of that name had already consented to the holding the said Synod, upon the declaration of *Non-prejudice*, and in consequence of the summons issued by the States-General; but since there had nothing been done in form about it, nor any mention made of it in the books of the Generality, as there had been of the consent of the other Provinces, it was resolved, there should be something drawn up with great circumspection, for securing the rights and privileges of the land.

The Act which was then agreed upon, importing their consent to the holding of the Synod, and which was to serve, as the Journal expresses it, for a perpetual remembrance, after having been reviewed by a Committee appointed for that purpose, was as follows:

An Act importing their Consent to the holding of the Synod.

‘ THE States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* do hereby declare, That the calling and holding of an Ecclesiastical and Synodical Assembly has been proposed at their several meetings, from the very beginning of the differences and disputes about Religion and the Church, in order to compose the same; and although there have been several difficulties and objections started against it, yet their Lordships, the said States, observing both the continuation and increase of the said differences, and moved by the earnest and pressing instances and exhortations that have been made to them, both at home and from abroad, for the holding a National Synod, have seriously and frequently deliberated thereupon; and finally resolved, To conform themselves to the mind of the other Provinces with respect to the convoking of a National and preparatory Provincial Synods, agreeably to their Declaration for the preservation and defence of their sovereignty, liberties, and privileges. And their Lordships have accordingly issued timely summons for the meeting of their Provincial Synods in *South* and *North Holland*, in order to their assisting at the National Synod by their Deputies, together with the Commissioners, at the appointed time and place; trusting, that Almighty God will grant

‘ grant his blessing to their proceedings, and prosper the christian intentions of the AN^O DOM.
 ‘ Lords the States-General, for the welfare, repose and unity of State and Church.’ 1618.

Done at the Hague. —

But the Deputies of the Town of *Gouda*, whose Magistracy had not been yet changed, signify’d at the same time, *That not having received any fresh instructions from their Principals, they found themselves obliged to adhere to their former declaration.*

It was likewise resolved in the Assembly of the States of *Holland*, the same day, to instruct their Deputies, who were going to the Meeting of the States-General, that at their delivery of the aforesaid Act of Agreement, they should insist, that in consideration of the weight and greatness of the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and the number of its Churches, there might be *six* persons appointed to assist as Lay-Commissioners at the National Synod, and that they should be allow’d to have *three votes*; or in case that could not be obtained, *two* at least, against *one* of the other Provinces.

The End of the Thirty-First Book.



THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN and ABOUT the
LOW-COUNTRIES.
BOOK XXXII.

AN^O DOM.
1618.

*The summon-
ing of the Pro-
vincial Synods.*

*The Synod of
Gelderland
meets at Arn-
hem.*

*The Remon-
strants of
Bommel de-
sire to be ad-
mitted at it
as Brethren.*

*The Answer of
the Synod.*



HEY now proceeded to the holding Provincial or particular Synods, which were called together in these *United Netherlands* to prepare matters for the National ; but the issue was equally to the prejudice of the *Remonstrants*. The Synod of *Gelderland*, which by reason of the divisions had been suspended by the States ever since the year 1612, met at *Arnhem* on the 15th of *June*, O. S. Here those who were of the *Remonstrant* party in the *Classis* of *Bommel* requested three things before they took their seats ; the *first* was, ' That the Brethren of the Synod would own them of *Bommel* for their Brethren in *Christ*, and such with whom they were contented to maintain Ecclesiastical and Fraternal Peace and Communion, and not oblige them to come into their particular sentiments about the *Five Points*, and the matters depending thereon, but to tolerate and bear with them till the National Synod should determine the controversy. The *two* other things which they stipulated, were concerning the methods of proceeding in the Synodical Assembly'. And although (as ² *William Baudart*, Minister of *Zutphen*, writes, who was at that time President of the said Synod) there was no objection made to the *second* and *third* Articles, yet they thought fit to return the following answer to the Deputies of the afore said *classis* : *That it belonged to the Synod to give laws, but not to receive them from the Classis ; And that their Memorial was contradictory to the Orders or Resolutions of the Province.* And thereupon the Synod desired them of *Bommel* to take their places. They then prayed, that at least the first Article might be granted to them, but it was refused. Then the Deputies refused likewise to take their places ; and went out of the Assembly with intentions of returning home. This induced the Synod to complain to the Chancellor and Council of the Court, who commanded the *Remonstrants* to continue in the Synod, as they did, though fore against their will.

¹ Baud. Mem. Lib. V. p. 2.

² Ibid. Lib. X. p. 38.

The Ten Theses or Positions mentioned in our foregoing book, were trumped up again in this Synod by the Geldrian Contraremonstrants. All the Classes and Members declared: 'That they neither did, nor ever had own'd, that those positions were the doctrine of the Reformed churches; nay, they did not so much as know that they were espoused and maintained by any of the Doctors among the Reformed; but rather, that they were abhorred and detested by them.' *Henricus Arnoldus vander Linde*, a Minister of Delft, (who was deputed to this Synod by a meeting of the Contraremonstrants) declared, in the name of the churches of South-Holland, that the said Ten Positions were an abomination to them. The Remonstrants having heard the rejection of these positions, and some other points ascribed to their adversaries the Contraremonstrants, appeared very well pleased and satisfied, acknowledging, that they had charged them upon their brethren out of human passion and infirmity, and praying them to excuse what had been done. This their honest Confession was immediately entred upon the books, divulged every where, and was soon after the occasion of much trouble. The Remonstrants complained of this disingenuous treatment, and of the prejudicial misapplication of what they had owned, demanding, that what had been registred in the Journal might be erased, and declaring, that if this was denied, they would proceed to the merits of the cause, and would name the persons that maintained the doctrines couched in the Ten Positions. The Synod replied; That *what was written should remain written*. And that if the Remonstrants were able to name their Authors, they might do it, and those persons should be deposed from their Ministry; but that if they fell short of their proofs, they must expect to be treated in the same manner.

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The Ten Positions rejected.

An honest Confession of the Remonstrants, with their Complaint of the ill use that was made of it.

The Answer of the Synod.

¹ Upon this declaration, they took time to consider what to do; and observing, that the Synod insisted upon an exact proof, in the very words and expressions that had been made use of in the said Ten Positions, and that none but those Ministers who belonged to the Province of Gelderland were allowed to be accused, they waved their demand.

² There were likewise drawn up in this Synod certain writings, containing the state of the Controversy about the Five Points, and the Positions and Antipositions that had been published the last year; all by way of information or advice for the use of the ensuing National Synod. The Remonstrants of this Province had also made mention, in their afore-mentioned Memorial or Request, of the affair of a Mutual Toleration, in order to compose the present differences; but this Assembly did not think fit to treat upon that point, but left it to the National Synod; to which they afterwards deputed four Ministers and two Elders, who were so zealous for the Contraremonstrant party, that the other side look'd upon them as declared enemies. Besides, several Remonstrant Ministers were deposed or suspended by this Geldrian Synod. All this was done by a plurality of voices, which, as the Remonstrants say, were procured by partial and indirect means; nay, they tell us, that the President of that Assembly was heard to drop the following expressions: *Suffragia non ponderanda, sed numeranda*; that is, *The votes are not to be weighed, but counted*. Among other things here transacted, the three Ministers at Nimeguen, who had been suspended by the Magistrates from the exercise of their functions, were entirely deposed. This Synod also appointed some of its Members to travel through Gelderland, with commission to enquire into the state of the churches, and to punish those Ministers whom they judged obnoxious, either with suspension or deprivation. For which purpose they desired the Chancellor and Counsellors of the Court, that they would be pleased to depute some persons from among them to assist them both by word and deed, to the end that the work might be carried on with the greater authority. This was granted. The Court joined some Commissioners to these Ecclesiastical Deputies; who being thus strengthened, proceeded to the suspending or totally depriving a considerable number of the Remonstrant Clergy, or those that sided with them. According to the assertion of Baudart, none were censured here on account of the Five Points, which were left to the decision of the National Synod, but because they were either suspected of other errors; or had broached some Heretical notions; or had unlawfully intruded themselves into other mens places; or finally, had led such a scandalous life, that they could no longer exercise their Ministry with edification.

Other Trans- actions of the Synod of Gelderland.

A Deputation made to the National Synod.

Several Remonstrant Ministers suspended and deprived.

¹ Uitenb. p. 1021.

² Baud. Mem. Lib X. p. 41, &c.

³ Uitenb. p. 1002.

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1618.

But the *Remonstrants* say, That these Gentlemen were extremely partial, and very narrowly scanned those faults in the *Remonstrants*, which they either could not see, or else pardoned in those of their own persuasion; nay, that they even disfranchised some pious persons suspected of inclining to their adversaries, under pretext of some or other frivolous charge brought against them, but not proved.

After the breaking up of this Synod, there was much discourse about their rejecting the Ten Positions. Some of the *Remonstrants* were of opinion, that there lurked an equivocal meaning under that Rejection. On this occasion there happened some dispute between *Festus Hommius* and *Baudart* the late President of the said Synod; the former asking the latter, among other things, *How they could renounce that doctrine, that Faith was a Fruit of Election?* Which was advanced in the fourth Article of those Positions. But about five or six years after, the said *Baudart* declared himself, in his book of Memoirs, after the following manner: 'The Synod do not approve of these Articles, as the *Remonstrants* have proposed them; but neither do they disown, that there are some clauses therein which being considered in themselves, and taken in a proper sense, are not to be rejected.'

However, about the same time some of the *Remonstrants* of *Holland* printed and published those Ten Positions, to which they subjoined Notes, and passages extracted from the works of some of the most reputable among the *Reformed* Doctors, to show, that their opinions were conformable to those Positions, and that the *Geldrian* Synod's receding from them, gave encouragement to the *Remonstrants* to expect some good from the other Synods. But this was understood by others as a design to load the *Contraremonstrants* with the doctrines contained in the said Positions. Thus it was understood by the High Court of Justice in *Gelderland*, who to obviate all prejudicial rumours, thought fit to cause the said Positions and Accusations to be razed out of the books of the Synod, and the following Declaration and Acknowledgment to be published by way of Placard, in the name of the States of

A Declaration
of the High
Court of Ju-
stice, in the
Name of the
States of *Gel-
derland*.

Gelderland, importing: 'That they had caused these Articles to be weighed and examined; and in the next place, that the Classes having had the same under consideration, had rejected them, first, in their own meetings, and afterwards by their Deputies in the Synod: With an account of what the *Remonstrants* themselves had done in extenuation of the charge against their adversaries. This they required all parties concerned to take notice of, to behave themselves peaceably for the future, to adhere to the truth of the Gospel-doctrines, and to give no credit to slanders; to the end that the churches and communities being re-united, the honour of God might be promoted, and the Subjects might live in peace and prosperity under their lawful Sovereigns.'

Together with the Ten Positions, the said Placard contained three other points of accusation, of the following tenor:

'That the *Contraremonstrants* maintain, First, That God Almighty has condemned to the everlasting torments of Hell-fire an infinite number of young children, even of Believers, on account of original sin only; insomuch, that there is no more hopes for such children, than for the wicked apostate Angels.

'Secondly, That they hold the doctrines of the Church, but not the word of God, for the only rule of their Faith. And that they extol the Church almost to as great a degree as the Papists, just as if it could not err.

'Thirdly, That the Confession and Catechism are the *Norma secundaria Fidei*, or an additional Rule of Faith. Yea, that the Holy Scripture itself is then only the Rule of Faith, when it is expounded according to the meaning of those Formularies.

These Three Positions were likewise disclaimed by the *Contraremonstrants* of *Gelderland*.

We have already related, in the XXIXth book, how the *Remonstrants* of *Holland*, observing the eagerness of their adversaries for a National Synod, did, in the foregoing

foregoing Spring, lay before the States a written Memorial, containing their scruples and objections concerning the said Synod; but in the month of *September* of the current year, while the change in the Government was making, they found it advisable to present another and larger one, containing their further reflections upon the affair of the Synod. Accordingly they made use of the Memorial that had been drawn up by *Uitenbogart*, in the name of the six Ministers who appeared at the conference held in the *Hague* on behalf of the *Remonstrants*, and which was put into the hands of the Advocate a few hours before his imprisonment, with their desire, that it might be delivered to the States of *Holland*: In it were represented their objections against pursuing that scheme which was proposed: 'Twas maintained, that their cause ought not to be judged by their formal adversaries, and a further account of what it was conceived would tend towards their justification, was subjoined. Lastly, certain conditions were proposed, which they thought were very equitable and fair; and upon which they said, they were ready to appear at the Synod, postponing all former objections. These proposals or conditions were as follows:

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*A Memorial
and Petition of
the Remon-
strants of
Holland to
the States, re-
lating to the
holding of Sy-
nods.*

I. **T**HAT the Clergy on both sides, as well *Remonstrants* as *Contraremonstrants*, might be summon'd to the National Synod, and meet there as parties equally concerned; each side preserving the liberty of deputing on their behalf, such persons as they should esteem the best qualify'd to enter into a discussion of matters, in a competent number.

*The Conditions
upon which the
Remon-
strants were
content to ap-
pear at the Sy-
nods.*

And for what related to particular Synods, if the *Remonstrants* should be desired to appear there too, in order to any impartial preparation of matters, that in such case there might be a Committee appointed from the *North* and *South* Districts of *Holland*, to treat and negotiate in the fear of God, with a like number of *Remonstrants* deputed in like manner from the said Districts (each side deputing from each District or Quarter, as many, or as few persons as should be thought fit) and that both parties might be charged when they arrived at the place where the National Synod was holden, to resort freely to one another, like persons of the same mind, in order to discourse and treat of those things which they should resolve to defend on each side: And that for the same purpose, the whole Synod might be divided into two parts, each of which might have its own President and Secretary, in order to debate separately, and in another room, if the case required it.

II. That safe Conducts and Security should be granted for all persons to resort to the Synod, or Synods, whether they were deputed thither or not; and strict orders given, that none should be ill-treated either in word or deed.

III. That at the very beginning of the meeting, there should be an entire amnesty, or a mutual pardon and oblivion agreed upon, and confirm'd, with respect to all private quarrels and injuries, which had proceeded either from design, or from ignorance.

IV. That there should be likewise made a formal Renunciation (first in each Preliminary Synod, and afterwards at the National) of all combinations and obligations, prejudgments and condemnations, that have already happen'd, and of all separations and schisms that have ensued thereupon; and that each party, in the mean while, might continue their separate exercises of religion till the conclusion of the Synod, in the manner which was then practis'd: The Clergy on both sides should notwithstanding acknowledge one another for Brethren in *Christ*, and Members of the true *Reform'd* Church, and be present as such at the Preparatory Assembly, and National Synod, joining in prayer to God, and treating in concert of the business that should lie before them.

V. That none should be prosecuted, or in any manner molested on account of any transactions or proceedings on either side ever since the beginning of these divisions, to that very day, whether for speaking, writing, or presenting any kind of *Remonstrances* to, or by the command of the higher powers, or for obeying their orders;

AN^o DOM. 1618. orders ; and that nothing but the doctrines, then known to be controverted, should be treated of.

‘ VI. That the opinion of each party being well and maturely weigh’d, it should not be inquired, whether the same agreed, or disagreed with the doctrine of the Reformed churches, as comprehended in the *Confession* and *Catechism*, but that it should be first, and chiefly considered, whether it agreed with the Word of God ; with regard to which, the necessity, as well as the truth of each article, should likewise be considered. And that all this should be done upon oath, or solemn promise of all the Members, that during this negotiation they would not have the least regard to the *Confession*, *Catechism*, or any humane Doctrine or Doctors, but only to Holy Writ, which should be considered as the only Rule of Faith : And that nothing should be proposed by them, which they should not in their consciences judge conformable to the said rule : And, lastly, that they should declare they would submit to the Synod in all matters, as far as convinced by the Word of God ; holding themselves at the same time to be absolutely discharged from all other oaths, engagements, commissions and instructions, that should interfere with this Synodical Oath.

‘ VII. That this whole Negotiation should be managed in writing on both sides, unless both of the parties should unanimously agree to treat verbally, either in part or in whole ; and that time should be allowed to each party, to reduce their matters into good order.

‘ VIII. That the intended Revision of the *Confession* and *Catechism* should be regulated, to the end that it might be put in execution, and just liberty allow’d to every man, to offer and exhibit his remarks and objections thereupon, without fear of being censured for proposing them.

‘ IX. That the known points of dispute should be proceeded on by way of accommodation, and not by decision, without laying either party under the obligation of complying with the means to be made use of to that end, unless by mutual consent : In relation to which, the absent Members should likewise be consulted ; and for that purpose a recess, or adjournment, should be appointed. And that in case the parties could not come to an agreement (towards which, however, all possible endeavours should be used) it should be left to the Civil Magistrate, upon hearing both sides, to proceed, as he in his conscience should think meet, with regard to the publick and external part of Church-worship.

‘ X. That those whose consciences would not permit them so readily to conform to the regulations made by the Government, should have a competent time allowed them to resolve (after having weigh’d all matters) whether they could safely comply or no.

‘ XI. And that in case any could prevail upon themselves to comply therewith, they should be admitted into the peace and unity of the Church, without being obliged to undergo any further trouble ; and be esteem’d of, as if they never had dissented from the Church.

‘ XII. That if any person could not come up to what should be establish’d, and it should not by consequence be thought expedient to continue him longer in the publick service of the Church, he should be allowed to quit it without any further Civil or Ecclesiastical persecution, and be permitted to enjoy a fitting liberty of conscience, as well as other inhabitants of the land.

After having proposed these conditions, they went on, and declared in the same Memorial, ‘ That they did not pretend, by these Articles, to prescribe any thing to their Lordships, or others, but only as Servants of *Jesus Christ*, and Ministers of his Holy Word, to discharge their own consciences in a matter of so great importance ; esteeming the said Articles, all and each of them, according to the pre-
‘ sent

sent state of the Church, and of affairs, to be so christian, just, and equitable, AN^o DOM.
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 that, as they thought, they ought not to be rejected. — And that in case they
 should be approved (which they humbly desired of their Lordships, for the sake
 of *Christ*) they would most thankfully acknowledge their favour, and with joy-
 ful hearts prepare themselves for the Synod, in the name of God; being deter-
 mined by his Grace, and thro' the assistance of his Holy Spirit, to give effectual
 proofs, how dear and valuable to them, the welfare, peace, unity, and repose of
 the christian *Reformed* church, and of their dear country, were in conjunction with
 the preservation of God's saving truth, and the quiet of their own consciences;
 neither would they yield to any one in real charity, humility, and meekness of
 spirit, as far as it was possible to exercise those christian graces; to the end that
 by speaking and hearing, by instructing and being instructed, peace might be pur-
 sued, obtained, and preserved. If this should be denied them, as they hoped not,
 they believed, however, that their Lordships themselves could judge, from what
 they had before represented, how impossible it would be to them to appear at
 such Classical, Provincial, or even National Assemblies or Synods, in order to
 give an account of their faith, preaching, writing, actions, words, and even
 thoughts, to those whom they considered as their declared enemies. —
 They could not, *they said*, acknowledge their adversaries for judges, no not even
 with respect to the means of accommodation, which might be there proposed;
 but desired to preserve their liberty, in order to speak their mind before their
 Lordships, and before their Tribunal only, in all godliness and honesty, for the
 preservation of truth, peace, and liberty, as it became good Ministers. If they
 should act otherwise, they could never answer it to God nor to his Church, nor
 preserve the tranquillity of their own consciences; for in so doing, they appre-
 hended they might be found consenting to, and supporting and strengthening an
 Assembly, from which 'twas probable, nothing would follow but the oppression
 of truth, and the just freedom of the Church; together with other inconveni-
 encies, which perhaps might be better seen and felt by posterity, since the eyes of
 many were at that time so blinded by party-interest, that they could not see what
 belonged to their peace.

If, *said they*, at the conclusion of their Memorial, it is decreed, that we must
 suffer on this account, we are resolved, let what will happen, to submit to the
 utmost contempt, ill treatment, and poverty; hoping that the God whom we serve,
 will enable us to bear it for his name and righteousness sake, and to possess our
 souls in patience. We know very well, that truth may be press'd, but not op-
 press'd; she is an Heiress of Ages, and a Daughter of Eternity, and, like fire, the
 more she is born down, the more violently she breaks forth again, and the higher
 she lifts up her head; not indeed in external worldly grandeur, but in divine
 strength: This will come to pass, when God, who is so visibly incensed against
 our sins, and those of the land, shall be pleased to put an end to our so justly-
 deserv'd correction; and when casting away his rod from us, he shall make that
 party-rage, and that spirit of sedition, with which so many are now possessed, to
 vanish away from among us; and when his cause being sufficiently strip'd and di-
 vested of all outward, deceitful, and factious pretences and excuses, shall shine
 forth in its native lustre and glory. In the mean while, we shall appeal to God
 and our Lord *Jesus Christ*, the Judge of quick and dead, who will do us right.
 And so shutting our ears against all citations to such partial Synods, we shall admi-
 nister quietly to our flocks, under the protection of your Lordships, and patiently
 expect whatever shall befall us; always beseeching God, that your Lordships may
 govern piously and successfully.

This Memorial being received by the States on the 20th of *September*, was or-
 dered to be laid before the *South* and *North-Holland* Synods, by those Gentlemen
 whom the said States deputed thither, to the end that it might be there maturely
 considered, without partiality and heat, or humane passions; and that they might
 do therein according as the service of the country, and of the christian *Reformed*
 churches might require; and as far as could be, to the reasonable satisfaction of
 the Remonstrant Ministers: But it met with cold encouragement in those Ecclesi-
 astical Assemblies.

The

A^N° D^O M.
1618.

An account of
the manner of
deputing to the
Synod of
South-Hol-
land held at
Delft.

The States of *Holland* resolved, about the end of *August*, at the time of their consenting to the Particular Synods, that the deputations to those Synods, in places where the *Classes* were still united, should be made upon the ancient foot; but that where they were split or divided, each of the parties should send two. For which purpose, the Synodical *Classis* (for so they called the *Classis* of that Town, where the last particular Synod was holden) was, according to custom, to summon the Synod, or give notice to the *Classes*, that they should send the usual number from among themselves, to the meeting of the Synod. But there was great opposition made to the *Remonstrants* of *South-Holland* in the management of this matter. ¹ We find in their books, that in those places where the *Remonstrants* were the strongest, and the *Contraremonstrants* the fewest, or at least where the latter were pritty equal to the former, the Synodical *Classis* summoned them apart, and by themselves; and that several *Contraremonstrant* Ministers, who till that time had never scrupled to hold their *Classis* with the *Remonstrants*, made it a matter of conscience to assemble with them any longer, and actually separated from them, to the end, as it seem'd, that they might by this means, pass for a separated or divided *Classis*, in such places where they were fewest in number, and so depute the half of the persons appointed for the Synod, as well as the other side, tho' they were most in number.

They likewise inform us, that in other places, where the *Remonstrants* were the fewest, and where the *Contraremonstrants* had separated from them, they were not summoned apart, but pass by and forgotten. This they assure us happened in the *Classis* of *Delft* in particular; to which, when the deputation was to be made to the Synod of *South-Holland*, the *Remonstrants* were again summoned, tho' they had been long separated from them: So that here some of those very persons, who for a long while had scrupled to appear at the same Ecclesiastical Meetings, with the said *Remonstrants*, under pretence, that their consciences would not allow them to do it, made no difficulty, on this occasion, to assemble with them in one and the same *Classis*, viz. where they were the strongest in number, and could over-vote their adversaries. And when the *Remonstrants*, being fewest, desired to be likewise summoned distinctly, to the end that they might depute half the number by themselves, as the *Contraremonstrants* used to do in the like case, they would not allow it; as it happened to them in the *Classes* of *Delft* and *Buuren*. By this means it came to pass, that where the *Contraremonstrants* were fewest, they appeared in equal numbers at the Synod of *South-Holland*; but where they were strongest, the *Remonstrants* were quite excluded, and their adversaries appeared in full numbers, whereby they secured to themselves the majority of votes in the Synod. Thus spake the *Remonstrants*, about the manner of deputing to the Particular Synod. But ² *Triglandius* says, in his History upon this head, that the *Contraremonstrants* had letters of an older date; and insinuates, that more belong'd to them than to the others, on that account; upon whom also he lays the blame of the schism. He adds, that in *North-Holland*, where the *Remonstrants* were weakest, they were as much taken notice of in the summons, as the other party; and from thence concludes, that they were treated with the same impartiality in *South-Holland*.

An account of
several mat-
ters which
happen'd before
and at the Sy-
nod of Delft.

At the same time *Edward Poppius*, a Minister at *Gouda*, writ a certain Letter, dated the 11th of *October*, the third day after the opening of the *South-Holland* Synod, containing the following matters which happened just before, and during the holding of the said Synod at *Delft*.

‘ THE Synodical *Classis*, says he, had given notice to that of *Gouda*, that they should depute some of their body to the Synod, which was to meet at *Delft* on the 8th of *October*, calling them their Brethren in the letter of summons, which they omitted doing when they sent about their *Gravamina*. Seven Members of the said *Classis* of *Gouda* deputed two persons from among themselves, but five of the same *Classis* would not act at all. The *Rotterdam Classis*, as he says, was likewise divided; six of them deputed two persons, and six or seven would not concern themselves. The *Classes* of *Leyden* and *Woerden* remained unanimous, without sending any body to the Synod.’

¹ Uitenb. p. 1022, &c.

² Trigl. p. 1100, &c.

Most of the *Remonstrants* were of opinion, that little good was to be expected in such a situation of affairs from the Synodical Assemblies; but the States had a different notion of the matter, and required the said *Remonstrants*, by a Letter bearing date the 20th of *September*, to appear at the Synod of *Delft*, upon the appointed day, to the end that their last Remonstrance or Memorial might be examined, and such measures taken thereupon, as should be most for the service of the Church.

The *Remonstrant* Ministers, or some among them, being met, thought it advisable upon this order, to lay before the States their objections and grievances in a second Memorial, which they did after the following manner:

Noble, Mighty, Wise and Provident Lords,

THE Ministers of the *Remonstrant* persuasion (who formerly met at the conference in the *Hague*) have received your Lordship's Letter, dated the 20th of *September*, by which they were required, *pursuant to the summons sent them from the Synodical Classis, to depute some persons to the Synod appointed to meet at Delft on the 8th of October next*: With which Order of your Lordships, they would as readily comply in all dutifulness, as they have hitherto done with all your other Resolutions, which have been several times taken for promoting Mutual Toleration and Peace; but since matters are now upon a quite different foot with their adversaries the *Contraremonstrants*, than they were at first, and even so far changed, that they can expect no good issue from the approaching Synod, according to the present situation of affairs, either by discovering truth, or recovering the peace and repose of the churches, as they have already in their last Memorial, and likewise in that of *March* before, demonstrated no less clearly and plainly, than humbly and submissively to your Lordships; therefore they cannot forbear, yet again, to make known to your Lordships, the objections and scruples which your Lordships said Letter has raised in their minds, praying that you would take it in good part, forasmuch as they are obliged to it in point of conscience.

Noble Lords, the aforesaid Ministers, as also the *Remonstrants* in general, scruple to appear before such an Assembly as synodical, or (as your Lordships phrase it in your Letter) before a Synod, or to depute any from among themselves thither, because the said Synod will consist, for the greatest part, of such persons whom they look upon to be guilty of that *work of the flesh* called schism, and whom the Apostle *Paul* exhorts us to avoid: How then can the *Remonstrants* appear before such, as a lawful and christian Synod of the *Reformed Churches* of this Province, and consequently their Brethren (for they account themselves Members and Ministers of the aforesaid Church) so long as the said Synod has not, to the utmost of its power, publicly discountenanced, and endeavoured to heal this unreasonable schism? Besides, if the *Remonstrants* should appear there, *pursuant to the summons of the Synodical Classis*, as your Lordships Letter expresses it, they are still more apprehensive of actually partaking in, and being guilty of the aforesaid schism, which is plainly strengthen'd by the Synod.

Your Lordships end in summoning the said *Remonstrants* to the Synod is, that their last Memorial being laid before the said Synod, may be maturely considered in the fear of the Lord, without partiality or passion.—In which, altho' the *Remonstrants* do highly esteem the good and christian intention of your Lordships, yet they fear nevertheless, that this end of yours can hardly, yea almost impossibly be attain'd by making use of such persons who have already declared themselves the formal enemies of their cause, and taken upon them not only to deny the justice thereof, but have also occasion'd a publick separation on the said account, and whose bitter hatred and animosity against the said *Remonstrants* has been so notorious and flagrant in the sight of the whole world, that they may be reputed no less incapable of examining the reasons and arguments of the *Remonstrants* without passion and prejudice, than a man is of seeing without eyes.

The *Remonstrants*, most Noble Lords, are very sensible, and do agree that every thing that is alleged, or charged upon either party, by their antagonists, ought to be put into their hands reciprocally, and submitted to a fair examination,

to

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A second Memorial of the Remonstrants to the States concerning the Synod.

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to the end that the party accused may return an answer ; but that any party should have the disposal of matters at their pleasure, cannot (with great submission be it spoken) consist with right or reason : And yet they the said *Remonstrants* cannot perceive but that this seems to be the design of your Lordships Letter, it being thereby declared, *that as their Memorial or Remonstrance shall be examined in the Synod, which (as they understand it) is as much as to say, by the Synod, so likewise the Synod shall act or do, that is, shall judge and determine*, for which they the *Remonstrants* think the Synod to be in no wise qualified, for reasons mentioned above, as well as in their former Memorial. Accordingly they have not presented their Memorial to the Synod, but to your Lordships only, to whom, under God, and according to his holy word, they think, as the *Reformed* Doctors and Pastors have hitherto professed, the entire direction and disposition of matters relating to the Synod, together with the calling and holding the same, no less justly belong, than the direction of all Civil and Political Assemblies. Neither are the said *Remonstrants* so ignorant or unreasonable, as not to be convinced that it is in your Lordships power, to consult with and to take advice of what persons you please, concerning that Memorial ; though they ought especially to come under the character of impartial, learned, and godly men ; but they cannot comprehend how with the least appearance of justice, their said Memorial should be submitted to the cognizance and judgment of their enemies.

If now the intentions of your Lordships are, as they the *Remonstrants* hope, that their Memorial shall only be examined by the Synod, and the Authors thereof fairly heard, to the end that not the Synod but your Lordships may act and do what shall be judged most beneficial to the Church and State, and that the Synod shall declare their intention beforehand, (or at least that your Lordships shall direct them) to proceed not as Judges but Parties, (as indeed they are no more) and to treat with the *Remonstrants* upon this foot, they the said *Remonstrants* are heartily ready and willing to appear, under your Lordships protection and safeguard, at the appointed time and place, whether within or without the Assembly. And in such case the said *Remonstrants* would most humbly beg your Lordships, that their Memorial might be taken in hand before that Assembly be formed into a compleat Synod ; for your Lordships, in your great wisdom, can easily judge, that it would be *putting the Cart before the Horse*, if this Assembly should have the form of a Synod, and be so esteemed, and the *Remonstrants* obliged to appear before it as such, before their Memorial be examined, in which the power of such a Synod is disputed, and those conditions proposed, without the previous allowance whereof, the *Remonstrants* cannot in conscience acknowledge that Assembly for a lawful and christian Synod : The said *Remonstrants* do therefore most humbly beseech and intreat your Lordships further explanation and declaration concerning the summons which your Lordships were pleased to send them ; to the end that when they shall have understood your true intent and meaning, they may regulate themselves according to the same, with entire security and confidence in their minds, as they cheerfully promise to do as far as shall consist with their consciences, under the direction of the word of God ; trusting, that this their Memorial, which the utmost necessity of their affairs has compelled them to lay before your Lordships, will be no more misunderstood by you, or any other wise and good christians, as a token of disobedience or tergiversation, than it was imputed to the *Contraremonstrants* as such, when their consciences (as they declared in the Conference) would not suffer them to treat with the *Remonstrants*, unless they were released from answering to the Questions which had been proposed by the said *Remonstrants*, to which they were however obliged by vertue of your Lordships Resolutions.

A Memorial
and Petition of
the Synod of
Delft, pre-
sented to the
States of Hol-
land.

But before this Memorial was considered by the States, the Counsellor *Nicolas Kromhout* appeared at their meeting on the 13th of October, and gave them an account of all that had passed in the *South-Holland* Synod at *Delft*, till the Friday before, where he was present on the part of the said States, informing them, that several Classes (some of which were of the *Remonstrant* party) had not sent up their Representatives. He also delivered a petition to the States on behalf of the said Synod ; in which the same thing was complained of, and it was prayed, that letters might

might be sent to the *Remonstrant* Clergy belonging to the Classes of *Leyden*, *Gouda*, *AN^o D^o M.* *Rotterdam*, *Bril*, and *Woerden*, whereby they should be exhorted to impart their objections to the Synod by some hand or other, or else to transmit directly to the said Synod all that they had to say against the established Doctrine as contained in those Formularies of Unity, the *Confession* and *Catechism*, as well with respect to the Sense of each Article, as the manner of expressing the same; setting forth their reasons at large, why they thought that the said Formularies required any alterations or further explanations; together with plain and positive declarations in writing concerning the Articles proposed at the Conference of *Delft*, in the year 1613; to the end that they might be the better enabled to form a state of the differences, and lay it before a National Synod.

The aforesaid Report of the States Commissioner having been heard, and this Petition of the Synod of *Delft* considered, it was agreed and ordered, That the defired letters should be sent to the *Remonstrant* Clergy in the said Classes, requiring them to transmit to the Synod in writing, their Objections and Explanations against the next *Monday* sen'night. But the Deputies of *Gouda* (where the Government had not been changed as yet), declared, That their Principals had not consented to the Synod; and prayed therefore, that this Resolution might be adjourned to the next *Tuesday*. Nevertheless, the letters were sent away the same day to the said Classes. And accordingly, certain of the *Remonstrant* Ministers, particularly those of the Classis of *Gouda*, set themselves to prepare those objections and explanations.

In the mean while, on the 19th of *October*, the second Petition or Memorial was read in the Assembly of the States of *Holland*; and it was the opinion of the Nobles and most of the Towns, that another letter should be sent to the *Remonstrants*, expressing the surprize of the States, that their former orders of the 20th of *September* had not been obeyed, and requiring them therefore, out of hand, to appear at the Synod, and there produce their scruples and grievances without farther delay. The towns of *Gouda* and *Rotterdam* remaining still under their old Governours, did not agree to this resolution; but however, their protestations or particular sentiments do not stand upon the books.

The *Remonstrants* of the Classis of *Gouda* made answer, That being taken up with preparing their objections, pursuant to the order of the 13th, they could not come to the Synod at the same time: They likewise sent their opinions about the points proposed in the Conference of *Delft*, to the Commissioners who were present on the part of the States, at the Synod, and promised them, that their Remarks upon the *Confession* and *Catechism* should follow in few days. On the 25th of this month, the Counsellor *Krombout* made a further report of the proceedings of the Synod of *Delft*, where by this time some of the *Remonstrant* Clergy belonging to divers Classes had appeared. He said, That several disputes had arisen there, about the occasion of the present troubles and dissensions in the Church, each party laying the blame on the other; and that they came to such high words thereupon, that the *Remonstrants* seemed resolved to depart: There was likewise a question started, Whether *Dr. Conradus Vorstius* had not broached such heterodox notions as rendered him disqualified to teach any longer in the churches or schools of this land: As also another with reference to the sixth Article of the *Remonstrants*, touching the power of the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical matters; viz. how they were to proceed against persons that had entertained strange opinions, and how they should treat Members of the Church that had been perverted or led away, and whether they ought to make a publick confession of their fault.

This whole matter having been considered, and the Assembly of the States not judging it proper to come to any particular Resolution thereupon, it was agreed, a letter should be writ to their Commissioners, with order, 'so to manage things, as
' that the Synod might be brought to some conclusion; to oblige the *Remonstrants*
' for that purpose to continue there to the end; to exhort the Synod not to enter
' into vain disputes of who were the cause of these evils, but to seek a remedy;
' for which purpose, they should lay aside all human affections and passions, and apply
' themselves to it, forgetting all that was past. Concluding, that it did not appear
' that any of the Members had with-held their consent to the calling the Synod;
' so that no-body ought to be reproached upon that head, but that they should all
' of them pray to God for a happy issue, and contribute thereto all that lay in their
' power.

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Other Trans-
actions of the
Synod.

The same day, the Synod sent a letter to the Classis of *Gouda*, but without giving them the title of Brethren or Colleagues. The contents of the letter were, to desire them to send up some of their body, because the Synod had something to propose to them. To this, they of *Gouda* replied : *That they could not appear before the Synod as before their competent Judges.* This very day, or the following, the Synod writ to the Professor *Episcopius*, to *Adrian van den Borre*, and *Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus*, Ministers of *Leyden*, commanding them to attend them at *Delft*, in order to deliver in a state of the Controversy. But they made answer, that what was desired of them, concerned others as well as themselves, and that therefore it could not be done by them alone.

Nineteen Theses
or Positions sent
to the Synod by
the Classis of
Leyden.

On the 30th of the same month, those of the Classis of *Leyden* sent up to the Synod a certain paper containing Nineteen Theses or Positions extracted from the *Confession* and *Catechism*, to which they subjoined a great number of sentences taken out of the books of the *Contraremonstrants*, or such as they allowed to be orthodox ; which sentences, as they thought, were repugnant to the Theses ; to the end that the said paper might help to set forth the further state of the Controversy.

Certain Con-
traremon-
strants at the
Synod refuse to
own the Re-
monstrants
for Brethren.

In the mean time those *Remonstrants* who appeared at the Synod were not a little scandalized, when they heard some of the most violent *Contraremonstrants* declaring at the beginning of the transactions, even in the name of their respective Classes, *that they could not look upon them as their brethren in Christ, yea, that they held them for Heathens and Publicans.* But indeed the body of the Synod declared, that such language was unjust, improper, and unseasonable. ¹ However, the *Remonstrants* then present observing from many questions how much they were distressed, drew up a *Latin* paper by the hand of *Theophilus Riikwart*, a Minister of the *Bril*, containing their opinions with reference to the thing in dispute ; and desired, that the other Members of the Synod, in case they did not allow of their Positions, might be ordered to prepare Contra-positions, to the end that the controversy might be set in a true light, and the National Synod judge the better of it. The others refused to produce any Contra-positions in writing, and told the said *Theophilus Riikwart*, that he should set down the *Contraremonstrants* opinions at the same time. He insisted, that this was their own business ; whereupon *Festus* cry'd : *Since Riikwart refuses to do it, we will lay his paper, so as it is, before the National Synod.* It was moreover said by the *Remonstrants* : ² *That they were content to make use of no other words or phrases in proposing their opinions, than what Melancthon and Bullinger had used before them. And that they should have no controversy with the churches (or rather the Contraremonstrants) in case they might be allowed to reject the Ten Theses or Positions of Gelderland.*

The Remon-
strants declare
their Opinion.

² Some say, that the *Remonstrants* did at this time (according to the command of the States) deliver in writing to the Synod their Declarations upon the Articles formerly proposed at the Conference of *Delft* ; which afterwards, being translated into *Latin*, were laid before the National Synod ; but that instead of giving in their objections against the *Confession* and *Catechism*, they transmitted to the said Synod at *Delft*, certain phrases and sentences extracted from divers authors, which they conceived to be repugnant to the meaning of this or that Article, Question, or Answer of the *Confession* and *Catechism*. But this seems to relate to the XIX Theses of the Classis of *Leyden* abovementioned.

Proceedings a-
gainst certain
Remonstrant
Ministers.

In the next place, this Synod proceeded to suspend several *Remonstrant* Ministers, and even entirely to deprive some of them, among which there were several whom upon account of their experience, learning, eloquence, and good judgment, the *Remonstrants* would have been glad to have used in the defence of their cause in the National Synod, particularly the Ministers *Uitenbogart* and *Grevinkhovius*. About two months before this, and the very day that the Advocate was seized, *Uitenbogart*, being earnestly pressed by his friends, retired in the night from the *Hague*, and soon after, since the truce still subsisted, went for *Antwerp*, where he still resided ; having obtained leave in writing from his Consistory, who consented that he might discontinue the exercise of his function, for the dispatch of his private affairs, till the said Consistory should order otherwise. And afterwards, upon his

¹ Epist. Eccles. p. 503. Uitenb. 1026.

² Baud. Mem. Lib. X. p. 46.

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his own urgent request, they entirely discharged him, but with this condition, that if the Church should think fit to call him again, he should be then obliged to return to their service; thanking him, besides, for the benefit of his good and faithful Ministry for the space of above eight and twenty years, and concluding that he had always acted sincerely, honestly, and piously, with respect to his morals, and conformably to the word of God in his doctrine.

The Discharge or Dimissorial Letter was signed by the two Ministers and all the Elders excepting the Heer *Hogerbeets*, (who was hindered by his imprisonment) and seal'd with the church's seal.

It was now come to that pass with him, (as he said in a certain Memorial which he sent to the States-General of the United Provinces, and to their Stadtholder, in justification of himself on account of certain rumours dispersed against him) that in the present situation of affairs, he could neither wake nor sleep in the Hague; that he could neither speak, nor hold his peace, nor do any thing but what would be misconstrued, wrested, and represented in the very worst sense, in order to load him with new crimes.

This induced him to retire, and after his departure, he was warned from good hands, even in the name of the Princess Dowager of Orange, and of her Son Prince Frederick-Henry, not to return to Holland, though they should grant him safe conduct. The South-Holland Synod had invited him, by a letter dated the 29th of October, to appear there on the 4th of November, and to hear what they had to propose to him. His Wife, to whom that letter was delivered the next day, answered, that she would forward it to him, but that he was too far off to be able to wait on them so soon. However, the Synod, without further citation, took his case in hand, and upon the appointed day, in less than an hour's time, pronounced the following sentence against him: 'Whereas *John Uitenbogart*, Minister of the Hague, having been summoned to appear before the Synod of South-Holland, sitting now at Delft, has neglected to attend; and whereas this Assembly finds, that he the said *Uitenbogart* has acted in a manner unbecoming his character, not only by his putting himself at the head of a party, and by having been the chief director and manager of all the troubles of the Church, as appears by that Remonstrance which he first presented, and that protection he obtained for Ecclesiastical persons from the ordinary Church-censures; but also by his publishing several slanderous books and papers against many eminent Pastors of the Church, tending to defame the true Religion: And it having been likewise considered, that he has unfaithfully deserted his Church, under the pretence that his Consistory has granted him leave for a time, and that he is still a fugitive; the Synod have thought fit to deprive the said *Uitenbogart*, as they do hereby deprive him of all Ecclesiastical Functions, till he shall have given full content or satisfaction to this Assembly or their Deputies; till when also he shall abstain from the Holy Supper.

Uitenbogart having afterwards been informed of this Sentence, complained that the Judges who had passed it against him were his adversaries, and that they charged him with falsities.

Nicolas Grevinkhovius, a famous Preacher at Rotterdam, who had been a very zealous promoter of the cause of the Remonstrants, both by preaching and writing, was first cited by a little note without any name to it, to appear before the Synod of Delft; but upon his taking no notice of it, there came a second letter to him of the same import, signed by *Gideon van Sonneveld*, Minister of Gorkum, Scribe or Secretary of the Synod, to which the said *Grevinkhovius* returned the following answer: 'That forasmuch as in the Synod's letter there was mention made of matters of importance which they had to communicate to him, he was of opinion, with humble submission, that it was but just they should first give him some light into those matters, that so he might be capable of judging whether they belonged to their Tribunal, and might be enabled before-hand to consider of the same, as matters of importance required, in order to his serving the Synod the more effectually, and doing what the word of God and reason demanded of him, to which, calling God to witness, he said he was heartily disposed.

* *Uitenbogart's Life*, Lib. XI. p. 239. *Hist.* p. 1023.

* *Uitenb.* p. 1025.

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This Letter was looked upon by the Synod as an evasion, and as much as a refusal, upon which, without any further citation, they immediately proceeded against him, and deposed him from his ministry. In the sentence pronounced against him, it is said: ' That having been summoned, he refused to appear, contemning the authority of the Synod: Whereupon the said Synod observing his disobedience, and having heard several extracts out of his books, full of Calumnies against the true *Reformed* religion, as also of seditious expressions, by which he has endeavoured to stir up the Magistrates against the faithful servants or ministers of the Church; and having also considered the unbecoming actions, proceedings, and scandals wherewith he is charged by the Classis of *Schieland*, and weigh'd the whole matter in the fear of the Lord, they have thought fit to deprive him the said *Grevinkbovius* till he shall give proper satisfaction to the Synod or their Deputies. But the execution of this sentence shall be deferred till the Lords the States have been apprized of the whole matter.

This was the substance of the Synodical sentence; concerning which, *Grevinkbovius* declared since, that he did not refuse to appear before the Synod, where, contrary to all right and reason, he was condemned without being heard. —

At the same time the Synod in like manner deposed *Johannes Grevius*, a very zealous *Remonstrant*, from his ministerial function; as also *Henricus Slatius* Minister of *Bleiswick*, of whose warmth and intemperance we have already made mention. The Synod then informed the States, that having deprived the said *Slatius*, they intended to depute a Minister from their own Body to supply the cure of *Bleiswick*, but that the threatnings of *Slatius* caused them to apprehend some tumults or disturbances from the people. Hereupon the States ordered, that a letter should be sent to the Burgomasters of *Rotterdam*, under whose jurisdiction *Bleiswick* lies, requiring them to give their directions to the Scout and Officers of Justice, that the person who should be sent thither to preach, might perform divine service quietly and without molestation; and to acquaint *Slatius*, that he should suffer it to be done, and by no means obstruct it on pain of their displeasure. *Adrianus Romanus*, Minister of *Goedereede* or *Gogree*, who in the heat of the quarrel had vehemently opposed the opinions of the *Contraremonstrants*, was deprived by this Synod, or as others say, suspended only from the exercise of his office.

About the same time, to wit, on the 3d of *November*, the *Remonstrants* finding that their objections or remarks were taken for settled positions or conclusions by the Synod of *Delft*, and that their cause was entirely run down there, agreed to present a third Memorial to the States, containing their grievances, in the words following:

Noble and Mighty Lords,

A Third Memorial of the Remonstrants.

YOUR Lordships were pleased to send letters, bearing date the 20th of *September*, to the *Remonstrant* ministers belonging to the several Classes of *South-Holland*, by which you ordered, that, pursuant to the summons issued by the Synodical Classis, they should attend the *South-Holland* Synod at *Delft*, where also your Lordships promised, that the Memorial they had presented to you should be considered without passion or partiality. The said *Remonstrants* being fully convinced that the supreme direction of all publick Church-matters in this country do, under God, and according to his word, belong to your Lordships, and that you have therefore the right of commanding your Subjects, were, on their part, after consulting with many of their Brethren and Collegues, perfectly disposed to obey your Lordships commands; desiring nothing more than that their cause, which they look upon to be God's and Christ's, may be duly considered in a lawful christian Synod, whether it be a particular or Provincial Synod, or a National one, since the *Mutual Toleration*, so frequently resolved and ordered by your Lordships, cannot take effect; but on the other hand, the said *Remonstrants* observing that their objections against this Synod, as they represented them to your Lordships in their foresaid Memorial with the utmost respect, and supported with good arguments, do still remain in *statu quo*; and not sufficiently understanding your Lordships meaning, whether it was, that their Memorial should

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be referred by you to their judicature, or whether upon hearing the opinion of AN^o DOM.
 the Synod touching the things complained of, your Lordships would be pleased to 1618.
 grant some relief according to their reasonable request; they the said *Remonstrants*
 did therefore present a second Memorial, in which they humbly prayed a further
 explanation of your Lordships kind intentions towards them; and that it might
 be also considered how ill qualified this Synod is to judge of the above-mentioned
 Memorial, which contests the very form and nature of the Synod itself. To
 this they have expected your Lordships answer; but instead of it, there have
 been two letters sent them, the one bearing date the 13th, and the other the
 19th of the month of *October*. In the first of them they were commanded to
 transmit all their remarks upon the *Confession* and *Catechism*, together with
 plain and positive declarations upon the articles and counter-articles proposed at
 the Conference of *Delft* in the year 1613; to the end that a state of the diffe-
 rences might be formed from thence. And by the second letter, the *Remonstrants*
 were again and again required to attend the Synod as soon as possible, and to
 bring in a list of their grievances. Was this done? no, my Lords. And why
 not? was it because the *Remonstrants* slighted the commands of your Lordships,
 and would not come? By no means. They have a higher value for your Lord-
 ships authority, and are ready, upon your order, to enter into a negotiation with
 the Synod, provided only, that it may be done with a salvo for their consciences,
 which they desire to preserve pure to God and Christ, without wounding them
 by acting to the prejudice of the truth. But the cause of their non-appearance
 was, that at the very time when this order was brought to them, they were
 employed already in obeying the former commands of your Lordships, and in
 drawing up what belonged to their Declaration upon the Articles of *Delft*, toge-
 ther with their observations upon the *Confession* and *Catechism*. The *Remonstrants*
 could not do both together. To appear at the Synod, and at the very same time
 prepare the afore said declarations and observations, was utterly impossible. One
 of those things must needs therefore have been postponed, had the other been
 complied with. Your Lordships therefore, in your great wisdom and equity, will
 (we trust) never suffer, that their non-appearance at the Synod shall be imputed
 as a crime to your faithful subjects, when prevented by the commands you had
 been pleased to lay upon them. It is well known to all the people of this land,
 and particularly to your Lordships, how cheerfully we have always obey'd
 your commands. What have you ordered that we have not done, without turn-
 ing aside either to the right hand or to the left? Had others done the same,
 our divisions would not have come to so high a pitch. And if we had never given
 any other specimen of our dutiful behaviour and faithful submission, yet it ap-
 peared sufficiently by the readiness we shewed to transmit to the Synod our ob-
 jections against the *Confession* and *Catechism*, together with our declarations upon
 the positions and contra-positions of the Conference of *Delft*. Had we not rea-
 sons, and weighty reasons too, to decline doing it? Might we not much more
 justly have tergiversated in this case, than the *Contraremonstrants* against the ex-
 press commands of your Lordships in several other cases? We had certainly just
 cause to have represented to you, that the remarks upon the *Confession* and *Ca-
 techism* had no affinity with the state of the present difference, or that the said
 state could not be formed from thence, since remarks or objections are neither con-
 clusions nor definitions, nor ought they who propose them to be reputed as pro-
 fess adversaries. And so likewise concerning the *Delft* Articles or Positions, we
 might have alledged, not only that they were the particular work of three Mi-
 nisters who had no right to prescribe laws to their brethren, but also, that they
 were an improper, and in many instances, an unfair collection of several scraps
 and theses out of the afore said two Formularies, containing two several matters
 that are not defined in the same; besides, that the very requiring such declara-
 tions, was what was never practised in the churches of this land, that it tended to
 the prejudice of the *Confession* and *Catechism* (which were only received as For-
 mularies of Unity) and to greater confusions in these deplorable times; yea, that
 by this means there would be a way paved for a spiritual tyranny, and an un-
 christian domineering of one Clergyman over another; of which your Lordships
 having been very sensible in the year 1613, you were pleased to declare, by an
 express

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express Resolution : *That it was neither for the edification of the Church, nor good of the State, to make any Answer to the said Articles of Delft.*

We might have started all these and more difficulties too ; but being entirely disposed to exercise our wonted dutifulness, we have waved them all, and laboured to comply with your Lordships orders. We have drawn up our opinions on the aforesaid Positions and Contrapositions, conforming ourselves to the very terms, as near as our consciences would give us leave, and have sent them to the Synod at *Delft*, to the end that they may be laid before the National Synod. We also signed our remarks upon the *Confession* and *Catechism*, with a design of transmitting them likewise to the Synod, not that they have any right to require the same, but only to obey your Lordships commands. But we cannot conceal from your Lordships, that some weighty arguments have occurred to us, which now hinder us from pursuing our design, to wit, that we see that notwithstanding the particular Synod is now sitting, and that the National is drawing near, the cause of the *Remonstrants* is looked upon as already condemned, and the Ministers of their party are here and there forbidden the use of the publick churches ; and that the excessive partiality of the present Synod appears daily more and more, by their pretending, that our declarations are not satisfactory, by their forming many new queries from thence ; by their refusing to shew us the least token of Christian communion when they write to us ; by their proceeding already to condemn some of us unheard, suspending one, and depriving another of his ministerial function ; by their projecting new forms of subscribing the *Confession* and *Catechism*, whereby they shut the door against any objections or remarks upon those Formularies, and in a great measure obstruct the revision of them, which yet was part of the business of the National Synod ; and finally, by their testifying on several occasions, that they esteem all the remarks and observations upon the said *Confession* and *Catechism* that have been laid before them, as so many positions and definitions.

Most Noble Lords, must we then deliver our objections upon such a foot as this ? We have indeed objections against these Formularies, and a good number of them too, but they are bare objections or observations, and not peremptory conclusions ; they belong to the cognizance, not of this, but of the National Synod ; neither ought they to be demanded of us even by this last, till the revision of the aforesaid Formularies be agreed upon, and there they ought to be maturely deliberated without any reflection upon the proposer. If they should be approved, and it should consequently be thought fit to make any alterations in those Formularies, let it be so ; but if not, let the reason be assigned, without prejudice to those who offer them, who rather deserve to be commended for their diligence.

We beseech your Lordships to ponder these our well-grounded reasons, and to discharge us from the commands you have laid upon us, of transmitting our remarks till the time that a proper opportunity may occur in a National Synod. We rely upon the great equity and justice of your Lordships, but in case you should be induced, by the importunity of the Synod, to require us to submit to their instances, we hope you will not at least, reject this our reasonable request, *viz.* that it be declared, that such remarks shall not be considered contrary to the very nature of them, as Assertions and Positions, nor be wrongfully interpreted to our hurt.

We shall not detain your Lordships any longer, but shall conclude with proposing one consideration, in hopes of your favourable attention.

Most Noble Lords, do you still require us to appear before the Synod ? In what quality must we make our appearance ? They are our adversaries, as we have shown in our Memorial, and as their own actions have sufficiently proved. Adversaries or parties can by no means become judges in their own cause, it is against reason and all the laws in the world. Your Lordships most renowned justice and gracious administration, has never yet allowed, that any man, though never so great a criminal, should be brought to a tryal before his enemies : Is it then possible there should be any cause given to reproach your Lordships that the Ministers of God's word, whose number is not small, who have been lawfully called to their functions, who have behaved themselves faithfully in their Ministry, to the edification of their people, who have had greater regards to

‘ your Lordships commands than others, who are still ready to obey and to do every AN^o DOM.
‘ thing that may be done without violation of their consciences : Is it possible, 1618.
‘ we say, that they should be referred by your Lordships to the Tribunal of their
‘ formal adversaries ? That these should be suffered to proceed after such a manner
‘ in the treating about divine truths, as would be judged unreasonable in matters
‘ of the smallest consequence ?

‘ Most Noble Lords, if this were a business that only concerned the estates of
‘ the *Remonstrants*, their temporal possessions, or even their spiritual offices and
‘ cures, they would cheerfully do what ought not to be asked of them ; but they
‘ cannot sacrifice the cause of truth, of which they are already convinced and sa-
‘ tisfied in their consciences, to those who they know beforehand have quite diffe-
‘ rent sentiments of it ; neither can they submit themselves to their judgment as
‘ to the decrees of the Church. Your Lordships, we trust, will not urge us to it,
‘ neither could we comply if you did. What then, do the *Remonstrants* take upon
‘ them to prescribe a law to their Sovereigns ? God forbid ! This law was born with
‘ nature itself, practised by the very Heathens, and confirmed by the word of God.
‘ Will they keep the cause in suspense, or decline all judicatures ? By no means.
‘ They are ready to treat with a Synod, whether it be a particular or general one,
‘ as with their adversaries ; let but a Tribunal be erected to that end, they will not
‘ once except against it, provided that they be allowed to appear as a body, that
‘ they be sufficiently secured from all dangers and harms, and that the rest of those
‘ equitable conditions which they stipulated in their Memorial be conceded to them.
‘ If your Lordships shall be pleased to gratify the *Remonstrants*, they will show
‘ that truth, piety, wisdom, and peace, are as dear to them as to any others. Let
‘ all the world then judge, let all those be judges who can with a good conscience
‘ call themselves impartial persons. If after we have pleaded our cause against our
‘ adversaries, your Lordships shall think fit to lay so great a stress upon the opinion
‘ of the Synod, as to grant it the force of a sentence, or shall be pleased, in con-
‘ formity to their judgment, to condemn us to be suspended or deprived of our
‘ ministry, we shall submit and possess our souls in patience. We trust then, that
‘ your Lordships, in your great wisdom and prudence, will agree to the terms de-
‘ sired by the *Remonstrants*, and they will accordingly prepare themselves to defend
‘ their just cause in a proper manner, to the satisfaction of all reasonable men, and
‘ especially of your Lordships. May the God and Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*
‘ enrich you with his Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Wisdom, of Distinguishing, of
‘ Godly Fear ! to the end that your Government may serve to promote his King-
‘ dom, and may continue many years prosperous and flourishing, which God grant !

Your Lordships Faithful and Humble Servants,

The Remonstrants known by the Conference.

To this Memorial, the *Remonstrants* added an Appendix of the following tenor :

Most Noble Lords,

‘ **T**HE *Remonstrant* Ministers, after they had drawn up the foregoing Memo-
‘ rial, having more maturely considered their affairs, and being anxiously care-
‘ ful to comply with your Lordships commands in whatever is possible, have thought
‘ fit to add one word to their Memorial, and to represent to you, that although
‘ they esteem the terms which they proposed in their Memorial of last *September*,
‘ and which they humbly prayed your Lordships to grant them, capable of justi-
‘ fying their absenting themselves from all Synods, till consented to and allowed
‘ them ; yet being willing to recede from their right, through the respect they bear
‘ to your Lordships as their Sovereigns, they are resolved and prepared to appear at
‘ the approaching National Synod, there to make manifest the importance and reason-
‘ ableness of the said terms ; and having received satisfaction thereupon, to do every
‘ thing further in conformity to your good intentions for the composing these de-
‘ plorable differences ; trusting, that the wisdom and prudence of the foreign Gen-
‘ tlemen

*An Appendix
to the Mem-
orial.*

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Gentlemen and Divines who are to come to the said Synod, will so order matters, that their arguments, and the terms and conditions beforementioned, may be considered with greater impartiality than in the particular Synod of *Delft*, from whose letters sent to the *Remonstrants*, it does not appear that their intentions were to enter into a negotiation with them the *Remonstrants* concerning the said conditions, but rather, as their actions and the event has shown, to proceed against them by private and personal accusations, to the suspending and depriving them one after another. By which means they have rendered some of the said *Remonstrants* wholly incapable of entering into any negotiations with the National Synod, and others have been already condemned to their no small damage, insomuch that all correspondence between the *Remonstrants* and the Synod, must either totally cease, or continue to be carried on to the prejudice of their cause. The most humble request therefore of the said *Remonstrants* to your Lordships is, that you will be pleased to have a regard to these their good dispositions, and to put a stop to all such Synodical proceedings and censures, till by the approbation of your Lordships, some general regulation may be projected and agreed upon in the said National Synod. In so doing —

This Appendix was, together with the foresaid Memorial, transmitted to the States on the 3d of *November*, under a cover to the Pensionary of *Dort*, who was then at the Assembly, and he was kindly intreated to endeavour their being presented and read the same day. The letter in which they were inclosed was dated from the *Hague*, and sign'd thus :

Your Worships to serve you,

*The Remonstrants, known by the Conference,
and in the name of all the rest :*

ADRIAN VAN DEN BORRE, EDVARDUS POPPIUS,
SIMON EPISCOPIUS, NICOLAS GREVINKHOVEN,
BERNARDUS DWINGLO, —

*The Petition of
the Remonstrants reject-
ed.*

The States having read and debated the afore said Memorial and Request, came to a resolution, That the *Remonstrants* had had a competent time allowed them, and that they only endeavoured to delay matters, and to render the Synod fruitless; they therefore thought fit to put a stop to their bringing in more objections, for, said they, this affair must some way or other be brought to an end, for the peace and tranquillity of the State.

*Matters relating to the Case
of Joannes Taurinus a
Minister of the
Hague.*

Upon the same day, *Joannes Taurinus*, a Minister of the *Hague*, was suspended from his ministry as one that had unlawfully intruded into it, by the Synod of *Delft*, for his adherence to the party of the *Remonstrants*. The Consistory had endeavoured to defend the legality of his call by a written Memorial which they transmitted to the said Synod, showing, that it was conformable to the Ecclesiastical establishment of the year 1591, and insisting, that this affair had been fully determined, without any opposition from those who had a right to make it, declaring further, that the Synod could take no cognizance of it, as not belonging to their judicature. To which they added, that they did not think themselves obliged to submit to such a sentence as the Synod should pass thereupon. They also intreated the Members of the Synod to consider this matter seriously without prejudice, and as conscientiously as if they were ready to appear and justify their proceedings before the great Judge of the quick and dead; to discharge themselves from those things that did not belong to their cognizance, and thereby prevent any further grief and discontent of that church which but lately consisted of a thousand Members.

When the Synod, notwithstanding this application, went on to suspend him, the Consistory took no notice of it, but caused him to preach in his turn on the 4th of *November*. And the next day, six of the Gentlemen of the Consistory waited on the States,

States, complaining of the proceedings of the Synod in suspending their Minister; and praying that they might be supported in what they had done, with respect to the Call of *Taurinus*, conformably to the States own regulations. This their request having been considered by the States, it was unanimously agreed, and accordingly signified to Master *Nicolas van Sorgen*, one of the six Members (in the absence of the rest) that *Taurinus* had done very ill by preaching the day before, in contempt of the Synod which was authorized by the States; that he had done no less so, in refusing to acknowledge the judicature of the Synod; and that therefore he should continue suspended à *Beneficio*, and no longer be considered as a Minister of the *Hague*; and should, notwithstanding, be obliged personally to attend the Synod, and maintain his cause there as well as he could; and so should they of the Consistory too, in case they thought themselves concerned with the same: After which, as soon as they the States should hear the Report of the Synodical Act, in relation to this and other matters, they would proceed therein as they thought convenient. In the mean while, they required those of the Consistory, and the before-named *Taurinus*, to conform themselves to the declaration of the Synod, and commands of them the States. This gave force and authority to the Synodical Order. But things did not end thus.

Among the *Gravamina* or Complaints that were brought to the Synod of *Delft*, there was the following: 'Whereas several of the Clergy have, since the meeting of the last *South-Holland* Synod, been called to the Ministry after an irregular manner, and have enter'd upon the same, under the pretence of a *Jus Patronatus*, and otherwise: Whereas likewise several Ministers have publicly given very notorious scandals, which have not yet been repair'd: It is proposed, whether it would not be proper that the Classes, each of them in their own Districts, should, by their Deputies at their Synod, discover such Ministers; as also that the Classes which approve of this proposal, should timely set themselves about it, to the end that the Synod may act therein as they find proper; and that it be particularly considered, whether those Ministers, who presented their Remonstrance in the year 1610, ought not to have their names publisht, to the end that they may be obliged to give an account of their actions and proceedings, and expect the judgment of the Synod thereupon?'

This Article of Grievance was read in the Synod, and the Deputies of the Classes asked all round, whom they knew thus irregularly called, or guilty of any notorious scandal? Upon which a considerable number were named by the Deputies of the Classes; and it was agreed to draw up a list of them, and to deliver it to those whom they thought to appoint their Judges, according to the contents of the following resolution: 'Whereas it was agreed, pursuant to the sixth *Gravamen*, that the Deputies of the respective Classes, sent up to this Synod, should give an account of all those Ministers who have either unlawfully crept into the Order, or by their flanders against the doctrine of the Church have given offence; or lastly, have led unedifying lives: And whereas, in pursuance of the said resolution, many names have been brought in of Persons whose cases could not be inquired into here, and there having been several who have not appeared, tho' sent for, it shall be an instruction to the Deputies of the Synod, that they take notice of all such persons in their Visitations, as likewise of others who may be hereafter discovered in the respective Classes: And the said Deputies may proceed against all those persons, with the same authority, as if the Synod itself was present, according as they shall think proper; with this condition, nevertheless, that those who find themselves aggrieved by the sentence of the Deputies, shall be at liberty to appeal to the National Synod: And application shall be made to their Lordships the States of *Holland*, to the end they may be pleased to appoint Commissioners to act in conjunction with the Deputies of the Synod, in the matters mentioned in the preceding Articles.'

An Article of Grievance proposed to the Synod, and a Resolution taken thereupon.

By this Synod the following persons were appointed to appear at the National Synod, as the Representatives of the *South-Holland* Churches: *Balthasar Lydinus*, *Henricus Arnoldus vander Linden*, *Festus Hommius*, and *Gisbertus Voetius*, Ministers of *Dort*, *Delft*, *Leyden* and *Heusden*, all four of them very zealous Adversaries of the *Remonstrants*; and together with them, *Arent Muis van Holy*, Bailiff of *South-Holland*, one of the Elders of the Church of *Dort*, and *John de Laet*,

AN^O DOM. an Elder of that of *Leyden*. And it is related by some, that in the instructions which were prepared for them, it was said, *That the doctrinal points in controversy, should be decided by the National Synod.*

At the same time, about the breaking up of this Synod, there was a Memorial presented to the States, in the name of the Ministers and Elders of the Churches assembled *Synodally* at *Delft*; in which they pray'd, that the expences of the said Synod might be defray'd by the Province in general; which being considered by the States, it was agreed, that *pro hac vice*, and without making it a precedent, the charges of the Synods of *South* and *North-Holland* should be born by both the respective Districts or Quarters; and ordered that an account of their expences should be laid before the respective Colleges of the Committee of Council; and that after being examined and stated, what appeared just, should be paid.

A Resolution of the States concerning the Expences of the Clergy who composed the Synod.

There having been also, at this time, another petition presented to the States, by the Deputies of the churches belonging to the *North-Holland* Synod, it was referred to the College of the Committee at *Horn*, who were directed to inquire into the expences of the Clergy for several years past, in the prosecution of Ecclesiastical affairs, by holding correspondencies, and the like, and to act according to what had been formerly done upon such occasions.

Transactions of the North-Holland Synod at Enkhusen.

At the Synod of *North-Holland*, which met on the 9th of *October* at *Enkhusen*, the interest of the *Contraremonstrants* prevailed no less. Here it was that *Henricus Geesteranus*, one of the Ministers of *Harlem* (who in the year 1610, being then the Pastor of *Affendelft*, signed the famous *Remonstrance*; together with those others who first took their name from thence, but who declared his sorrow for doing it in the presence of this assembly) here it was, I say, that he with his Colleague *Isaac Junius* were censured for having introduced the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the year 91, at the desire of the Magistrates; notwithstanding that they alledged in their own defence, that they had blunted the edge of the said Constitution with certain conditions, and would not have received it but for the preventing greater evils. It was likewise declared in the said Synod, that the Minister, *Dionysius Sprankbusen*, who had been called according to the said Constitution, was not lawfully ordained, and consequently intruded irregularly into the church; and that both he and *Junius* had been guilty of a great malversation in publishing little tracts, stiling the Synod scandalous and slanderous, in which they had acted contrary to all honesty and charity, and loaded their brethren with heavy accusations: That besides, the service of the church at *Harlem* required, that those two Ministers, since they could not stay there any longer with edification, by reason of the incurable alienation of mens minds, should be removed from thence in as decent and seemly a manner as might be, after a previous reconciliation with the church: towards which, all endeavours should be used, the rather because it did not appear by any of the charges brought against them, that they differed in any point from the doctrine of the Reformed churches of this land, agreeable to the word of God. *Geesteranus* was however continued in the Ministry at *Harlem*, on condition that he should make an open confession of his fault before the Community of that Town, as having given great offence, and promise to behave himself in the teaching and governing his Flock, as a true and sincere Pastor.

The Minister, *Daniel Souterius* (who had already acknowledged his fault before the Church, for having declared that he held the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the year 91, to be scriptural, lawful and edifying, and for having engaged too far in the call of *Sprankbusen*, and the election of a new Consistory) was likewise censured for having made use of letters of recommendation, and other indirect and improper methods, in order to get admittance into the Ministry at *Harlem*; as also for having solemnly promised by certain letters, and obliged himself, by signing a certain instrument, to submit to the pleasure of the Civil Magistrate, to the great prejudice of the Church. For all which, he was forced to confess his fault before the Synod, and then was suffered, as well as *Geesteranus*, to continue at *Harlem*. *Sprankbusen* was called from thence to *Workum*, and from thence to *Delft*; and *Isaac Junius* to *Katwick* on the *Rhine*; and from thence likewise to *Delft*, where they both continued to their dying days.

As to the dispute concerning the Old and New Consistory at *Harlem*, mentioned in one of our foregoing books, it was now declared by the Synod of *Enkbusen*, that the old was discharged, and the new one established, contrary to the usual and lawful manner. And it was therefore resolved, that there should be a deputation of certain persons from the Synod, who should thank the old Consistory and Deacons for their faithful service, and discharge the new; and that then there should be chosen other Elders and Deacons out of the whole Body of the Community, under the direction of the persons sent by the Synod. But before matters were brought thus far, the Synod had spent a week at least, in hearing both sides, and the accused Ministers. Some persons were likewise sent by the Synod, to confer first with the Prince, then at *Harlem*, about the aforesaid differences, and afterwards with the Burgomasters and the Members both of the Old and New Consistory. Those of the Old Consistory declared, That they were not averse to a reconciliation with the accused Ministers, as it became Christians; but could not consent that they should be received by the Community, as their Pastors, because matters were gone too far for that — especially on account of the books they had published, which had brought them under so much obloquy and contempt, that no body would hear them: To which they added, that the New Consistory could exercise no discipline, by reason of their being slighted by the people. This was opposed by the other side, that is, the accused Ministers, and those of the New Consistory, supported by *William de Hase*, quondam Minister of *Harlem*, and a certain number of the Communicants, who at the same time applied to the Commissioners of the Synod, telling them, they were extremely surprized that the Synod should be desired by any body in their name to deprive their Ministers; declaring that they, and a good number of their party, protested against such proceedings, having never given their consent; adding, that if the Synod should grant such a request, they apprehended still greater troubles; and praying, that if they had regard to numbers, they would likewise inquire into theirs, which tho' perhaps not altogether so great as those of the other side, yet were not to be despised. The conclusion of their petition was, 'That they might keep their Ministers, and the rather, because they were not unsound in their doctrine; all their fault consisting only in their having obey'd the commands of the States, after having been required to do it by repeated messages.' All this was reported to the Synod by their Deputies, and the Report was followed by the above-mentioned Resolution. The Minister, named *Adrian Tetrode*, who had been the first and chiefest stickler against calling *Sprankbusen* to *Harlem*, did not live to the pronouncing of this sentence, but died four months before.

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Among other *Gravamina*, or matters of complaint, which were brought before this Synod, it was moved on the part of the *Contraremonstrant* Classis of *Alkmaer*: 'That it might be considered, whether the doctrine of the *Five Points*, as proposed and debated at the conference of the *Hague*, and since defended in several treatises, was conformable to the word of God, and tolerable in the Church of Christ.' Whereupon it was declared, that this was a pertinent proposal, and ought to be discussed in the National Synod.

Resolutions of
the North-
Holland Syn-
od, with re-
spect to several
Queries and
Articles of
Grievance.

It was likewise queried on the part of the Classis of *Horn*, 'What was to be thought of such Clergymen, who, without any previous examination or approbation of the churches in general, had obtruded upon those of the Reformed religion their own *Five* new-fangled *Articles*, by which means the good and peaceful community had been miserably distracted and divided?

The Answer returned was, 'That they were to be deemed promoters of schism, disturbers of the church's peace, and causes of the dismal divisions, and other grievances in the churches of the land, which before enjoyed a profound repose. But that as for the judgment or decision about the *Five Points*, it was to be expected from the National Synod.'

Among the particular questions of the Classis of *Edam*, was likewise the following: *How the Members of any church were to be treated, that brought testimonials or certificates from Ministers of the Remonstrant persuasion?* Upon which question, the Synod came to this resolution: *That such certificates should not be received, and the people who brought them should be examined a-new.*

Among the *Gravamina* of the *Contraremonstrant* Classis of *Horn*, was likewise this which follows: 'Whereas the Ministers, who are possessors of the publick churches of *Horn*, have behaved themselves in such a manner, that the true Reformed churches

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churches of our Classis (according to the advice of several other churches belonging to our Synod) have constantly declined calling upon the name of the Lord with them as lawful Ministers, and holding any Classical Assembly with them; it ought to be seriously considered, how the said Ministers may be admitted to the Synod, so as to give the least scandal to the orthodox churches.

It was agreed by the Synod upon this head, agreeably to what had been done in a like case, proposed on the part of the Classis of *Amsterdam*: *That the Remonstrants should be admitted pro hac vice, and without prejudice to the churches; and that the matter should be left entire, till the National Synod should think fit to determine it.* But when mention was made, at the beginning of this Assembly, of that part of the Classes of *Alkmaer* and *Horn*, which adhered to the *Remonstrants*, it is said in the Synodical Acts, that *Isaac Welsingius*, and *John Fleurkens*, Ministers of *Horn* and *Mitwoude*, both of them deputed to this Synod by those who were esteemed to be *Remonstrants* in the Classis of *Horn*, stood up, and publicly declared, that they were neither *Remonstrants*, nor sent by those of that party; and desired that this their declaration might be registered; which was accordingly done. But how those two persons understood the word *Remonstrant*, and whether they restrained the meaning of it, merely to those who signed the famous *Remonstrance* of the year 1610, does not appear to me.

Transactions
with the Re-
monstrant
Ministers be-
longing to the
Classis of Alk-
maer.

But the *Remonstrant* Ministers of the Classis of *Alkmaer* gave the Synod more trouble: They refused to attend, because they had not been summoned by the Synodical Classis, under the stile and title of *Brethren*, and because the *Gravamina* had not been communicated to them: they likewise thought that it was not safe for them to come to *Enkhusen*. All this they declared in a Letter to the Synod. But they were answered, without the title of *Brethren*, that their reasons, especially that about the insecurity of the place, were absurd, and told, that they ought still to send their Deputies. Upon which they sent two of their body to the Synod, with a Letter importing, that they hoped their said Deputies would act in the matters which came before them, according to the best of their judgment; but in such manner however, that this order should not prejudice the christian liberty that belonged to the Classis. The Synod understood, that by their making this stipulation, they pretended to exempt themselves from the authority of the Synod, and consequently ought not to be admitted: besides, that *Nicolas Bodecherus*, a Minister of *Alkmaer* (but who, at the request of the Magistrates, had ceased from the exercise of his function) being one of the Deputies, was not qualified to be received as a Member at the Assembly. The *Remonstrants* brought the business afterwards before the States, by a long Letter, writ after the manner of a Memorial, containing their reasons, why they could not appear at the Synod of *Enkhusen*, subjoyning copies of the summons from the Synodical Classis, and the rest of the Letters that past between them and the Synod: all which were read at the meeting of the States, on the 25th of *October*, who ordered that they should be transmitted to their Commissioners attending the Synod, to the end that they might be there maturely considered, and that it should be left to the said Synod, to proceed therein, as to them should seem meet; as also, that the said *Remonstrant* Ministers should again be summoned, in the name of the States, with directions to come up immediately, and not absent themselves any longer from the service of the Synod. There was likewise a long Letter writ to the States from the Synod, tending to confute the Arguments of the *Alkmaer Remonstrants*; both which letters may be seen in the books of the Synod. In the mean time the said Commissioners commanded the *Remonstrants* of the *Alkmaer* Classis, by a Letter dated the 28th of the same month, to send their Deputies forthwith to the Synod. They thought it advisable to obey, and sent *Johannes Dibbets*, and *Petrus Geesteranus*, Ministers at *Haringhusen* and *Egmond*; the latter in the stead of *Bodecherus* (who had been excepted against by the Synod) charging them to use their utmost endeavours for adjusting whatever difficulties should occur at the Synod, conformably to the word of God, always preserving christian liberty, as had been suggested in their former credentials; which liberty they declared was not inconsistent with the constant intention of their Principals, *viz.* that they should be in subjection to the Synod, according to the Apostle's advice, *Submit your selves one to another*; and accordingly they promised, in their second instructions, that they would accept, and hold as good and valid, all that should be agreed upon in the Synod,

Synod, conformably to God's holy Word. When the said *Remonstrant* Deputies had produced their Credentials to the Synod, they were asked, *what they and their Principals meant by that Christian Liberty which they stipulated?* They answered, *The very same liberty which Christ granted us in his Gospel, when he said, One is your master, even Christ.* Then they were asked, wherein this Liberty consisted? *In this,* they replied, *that our Principals will not be bound by the words of their Deputies, any further than as they are agreeable to the word of God.*

Afterwards the Assembly insisted, that the *Remonstrants* should declare that they had no other dispute with the *Contraremonstrants*, but only about the known Five Articles. The others demanded to be acknowledged for Brethren, and scrupled to submit to examination — *If they had any thing to lay to their charge, they said they might do it by way of Article.* — At last, the Synod declared their opinion to be, *that the Alkmaer Remonstrants, by their equivocations, wresting of words, evasions, improper arguments, and other subterfuges, sought to amuse the Synod, that they kept open a back-door, being furnished with one kind of instructions in writing, and another in reserve, and that there lay a snake under that Christian Liberty to which they so often appealed.*

Upon this account, the Assembly were again of opinion, and the same was a second time signified to the *Remonstrants*, that *they could not be admitted to the Synod, and therefore were free to return home.*

At the same time *Johannes Wallesius* and *Johannes Arnoldus Rodingenus*, Ministers of *Horn*, complained to the Synod against the sentence passed upon them in the year 1614, by some of the Clergy; but they would not enter into the examination of that matter, and thought fit, after much debate, to refer it to a Committee appointed out of their own body, in conjunction with the Deputies of the Synod, and to invest them with the full power of the Synod itself. They likewise devolved the same power upon the Committee, to enable them to proceed in the same manner with respect to *Isaac Welling*, Minister of *Horn*, in case any accusations should be brought against him.

Two Ministers of Horn appeal to the Synod of North-Holland, and are referred to certain Deputies.

Nicolas Bodicherus, a Minister of *Alkmaer*, who, above seven years before, quitting the party of the *Contraremonstrants*, and joining himself to that of the *Remonstrants*, had left *Loosdrecht*, against the will of the Classis at *Amsterdam*, and was admitted to the Ministry at *Alkmaer*, did now, in a long Memorial, represent to the Synod, how he had opposed *Adolphus Venator*, and upon that account had been suspended by the Magistrates; by which he seemed to endeavour the insinuating himself again into the favour of the *Contraremonstrants*. But his design not appearing plain enough, the Synod agreed to proceed no further in the matter, unless some other opportunity offered itself.

After this, the Synod deputed the following persons to represent them at the approaching National Synod, to wit, *Jacobus Rolandus*, a Minister of *Amsterdam*, President of this Synod at *Delft*; *Jacobus Triglandius*, also a Minister of *Amsterdam*; *Samuel Bartoldus*, of *Munnik-edam*; *Abraham van Dorlaar*, of *Enkbusen*; all four zealous *Contraremonstrants*. The Elders associated to them were, *Gerrard vander Nieuburgh*, Elder of the Church of *Alkmaer*; and *Richard Heynk*, Elder of that of *Amsterdam*. But *vander Nieuburgh* being afterwards deputed by the States to the said National Synod, his place was filled by Dr. *Dominicus van Heemskirk*, another Elder of the said City, who had the next majority of votes after *vander Nieuburgh*. Last of all, this Synod drew up in writing the state of the difference relating to the famous *Five Points*, by way Positions and Contra-positions, in order to be laid before the National Synod, and then broke up on the 5th of November.

In the Bishoprick or Province of *Utrecht*, certain *Contraremonstrant* Ministers, to the number of five, scrupled to meet with the *Remonstrants* at the Provincial Synod, and desired that they might hold a separate Synod by themselves. This request or petition was the more surprising to the latter, because it was signed by *Arnoldus Ootkampius* and *Laurentius Modeus*, two Ministers, who not only had maintained christian communion with them, as had all the rest of their party in the said Province, but who as Synodical Deputies had obliged others so to do; and had likewise earnestly exhorted and admonished certain persons (who about a year before

The Contraremonstrants of the Province of Utrecht, refuse to appear with the Remonstrants at the same Provincial Synod.

* Vid. supra, Lib. XXI. Trigl. p. 837. Episc. op. T. II. B. II. p. 49.

AN^O DOM. 1618. before had published something that seemed to tend towards schism) to the maintaining unity and mutual forbearance. Besides, that they had joined in ordaining several *Remonstrants*, and confirming them in the Ministry. But now they seemed to be of a quite different mind. Their request of assembling by themselves was readily agreed to by the States, and it was moreover said in the letters of summons, that it was left to every man's choice, either to come to the Synod, or stay at home, and quietly to wait the issue of the Synod; a favour which the *Remonstrants* of the Province of *Holland* could not obtain. This turned to the great prejudice of the *Remonstrants* of *Utrecht*. And by this means the Clergy of that Province were divided into three parties, namely, *Remonstrants*, *Contraremonstrants*, and *Neutrals* or *Quiescents*. Thus matters past here quite otherwise than in *Holland*. There the *Contraremonstrants*, who before had refused to meet together with the *Remonstrants*, were now for joining in one and the same Synod; whereas those of the Bishoprick, who till now had kept up unity and brotherhood with the *Remonstrants*, would not meet them in the same Synod for fear of being over-voted. They proposed some advantage to themselves by the division, and chose rather by this means to depute some of their own party to the National Synod, than to suffer the *Remonstrants* to send no other Representatives but of their own persuasion. From whence it would have followed, that when the Synod, instead of allowing a place and vote to the *Remonstrants* among them, should have kept them quite out, or at least have only suffered them to appear as persons cited before them (as it afterwards happened) the rest of the churches of *Utrecht* would likewise have been excluded. The *Remonstrants* of this Province did indeed draw up something, in order to refute the arguments made use of by their adversaries in their petition, for their assembling separately; but leave was already obtained, and so there was no notice taken of their reply.

Transactions of
the Provincial
Synods of U-
trecht.

The Clergy of the *Contraremonstrant* Synod met in the Chapter-house of the Cathedral Church of *Utrecht*, drew up in the first place a certain paper, representing the state of their agreement and disagreement with reference to the *Five Points*, and caused it to be handed to the *Remonstrant* Synod which was assembled in the Convent of St. *Catharine*. These prepared observations upon the same, in which they endeavoured to prove, that in the state of the case drawn up by the *Contraremonstrants*, there were certain equivocal and obscure expressions, which seemed to mean one thing, and to say quite otherwise. These Observations were introduced by a Preface or Letter, in which we find these words;

A Letter of the
Remonstrant
Ministers of
Utrecht, to
the Contrare-
monstrants of
that Province.

‘ Dear and worthy Brethren in our Lord Christ (in case you will vouchsafe to own us for such) We could have wish’d with all our hearts to have continued from hence-forwards in the same Mutual Toleration, Brotherly Love, and Christian Unity which has subsisted hitherto among us the Clergy of this Province; by which we have shown, during the space of six whole years, how feasible and practicable it is for Ministers of different sentiments with respect to the doctrine of *Predestination* (provided they avoid the extreams on both sides, as we have done, pursuant to our Ecclesiastical Regulations) to live with one another, and exercise their Ministry in mutual christian peace and tranquillity, not only in one Country or Province, but in one and the self same Town and Church. But since some of you, Gentlemen, (we cannot say all) have been pleased to sue to the States for this separation — we must bear it with patience; but we cannot forbear acquainting you, in the sorrow of our souls, how much we are grieved to be thus rejected by you without any just cause —

‘ To these Remarks, the *Remonstrants* subjoined XVII Articles, which they rejected as dishonourable to God, and pernicious to Religion, entreating the *Contraremonstrant* Brethren fairly and fully to speak their mind thereupon, because they had either entirely past them over in silence, in the state they had drawn up of the Controversy, or had proposed them in ambiguous terms. But the *Contraremonstrants*, instead of replying to the said XVII Articles, drew up XIX others by way of question, desiring an answer from the *Remonstrants*. The latter refused to receive the said

BOOK XXXII. *in and about the* LOW-COUNTRIES. 563

faid XIX Articles or Questions (which I never saw) alledging, that they were foreign AN^o DOM^o 1618. to the *Five Points* in dispute, and maintaining that the XVII Articles properly related to the said Points, and ought absolutely to be answered, in order to the settling the true state of the controversy. Upon which, the *Contraremonstrants* first, and afterwards the *Remonstrants* declared, that neither of them had ever taught those doctrines or positions with which they seemed mutually to reproach each other. Then the latter drew up certain *Gravamina* and Articles of complaint, in order to their being laid before the National Synod by their Deputies, which the Reader will find in the 1060th page of *Uitenbogart's Ecclesiastical History*. Both parties proceeded to depute an equal number of persons to the National Synod. ^{Deputations to the National Synod.} Among the *Contraremonstrant* Deputies was *Johannes Dibbetius*, Minister of *Dort*, who served their Church by way of loan, which the *Remonstrants* conceived to be for want of a sufficient number of well qualified persons among themselves. To him was joined *Arnoldus Oortkampius*, a Minister of *Amersfort*, and *Lambert Kanter*, Doctor of Law, Counsellor of the Provincial Court, and an Elder of the Church of *Utrecht*. On the part of the *Remonstrants* were deputed *Isaac Frederick*, a Minister of the City of *Utrecht*, *Samuel Neramus*, a Minister of *Amersfort*, and *Stephanus van Helsdingen*, Doctor of Law, Counsellor of the Provincial Court, and one of the Elders of the Church of *Utrecht*.

In *Overyssel* the affairs of the *Remonstrants* were still in a worse state: The Consistory of *Kampen*, according to ancient custom, summoned the Members of the *Classis*. Upon which, the *Contraremonstrants*, who were three in number, refused to attend, though contrary to custom. After which, they erected themselves into a distinct *Classis*, being assisted by some others, sent from the *Classes* of *Deventer* and *Steenwick*, together with *Hieronimus Vogelius*, Minister of *Hasselt*, who at that time served the Church of the separate *Contraremonstrants* at *Kampen*, and afterwards appeared at the National Synod, as Deputy of the churches of that Province. This separation was approved by the Provincial Synod, who received two of the number of the New *Classis* for Members of the Assembly, and for their sake excluded two of the Deputies of the *Classis* of *Kampen*. In choosing Deputies to the National Synod, they passed by the Minister of *Kampen* for being a *Remonstrant*, as also another at *Swol*, because he would not declare himself either on one side or the other, (this they now required of him, tho' contrary to custom, that they might make sure of their cause) depriving him of his vote (which in the Province of *Utrecht* was wont to be free) till the end of the National Synod. Besides *Vogelius*, before named, there were likewise deputed, on the part of the churches of *Overyssel*, to the National Synod, *Gasper Sibelius*, *Hermannus Wiferding*, *Johannes Langius*, Ministers of *Deventer*, *Swol*, and *Vollenbove*, who were all of them zealous *Contraremonstrants*; and with them *William van Brookbusen*, an Elder of the Church of *Swol*, and *John van Lauwick*, another Elder of *Kampen*. A Provincial Synod in Overyssel.

In the Provincial Synod of *Zeland*, all the preparatives tended in like manner to the prejudice of the *Remonstrants*. From hence were deputed to the National Synod, *Hermannus Faukelius*, *Godfry Udemans*, *Cornelius Regius*, and *Lambertus de Ryke*, Ministers of *Midelburgh*, *Zieriksee*, *Ter Goose*, and *Bergen-op-Zoom*, together with *Josias Vosbergen*, an Elder of the Church of *Midelburgh*, and *Adrianus Hofferus*, an Elder of that of *Zieriksee*. What was done in this Synod with respect to the affairs of the *Remonstrants*, may appear from certain entries in their Journal, which are as follow: A Provincial Synod in Zeland.

' It was asked, in general, by the President, and all the Deputies of the respective *Classes*, how it stood with their several churches in relation to doctrine, and particularly as to that of the *Five Points*, in order to form proper instructions for the Deputies that were to be sent from hence to the National Synod; whereupon it was answered unanimously by all, that all and singular the Members and Ministers of the respective churches were in so good a disposition, that they stedfastly adhered to the pure doctrine, which has hitherto been uniformly taught in the true *Reformed* churches, as the same conformably to the word of God is briefly contained in the Formularies of Unity, namely the *Netherland-Confession*, and *Heidelbergh* Transactions of the Synod of Zeland.

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delberg Catechism. And that as for the *Five Points*, which have been brought upon the stage by certain Clergymen in *Holland*, called *Remonstrants*, they (the said Churches of *Zeland*) were perswaded in their consciences, that they were meer errors, repugnant to holy Scripture and the aforesaid Formularies of Unity; adding, that the Brethren, called *Contraremonstrants*, had, on the contrary, bravely asserted and defended against them, the said *Remonstrants*, the real truth, and the *Reformed* doctrine: which serious and hearty declaration was heard with joy and thanksgiving by this Assembly.

It was then asked, Whether it were necessary for this Assembly to proceed to any further inquiry into, or discussion of the said *Five Points*, so far as related to the truth of them? And it was agreed, that it was not necessary; not only because all the Churches of *Zeland* were uniform in their opinions concerning that doctrine; but also because the particular examination and determination thereof belong'd to the National Synod. It was likewise found advisable to save the time for the dispatch of the rest of the business which lay before the Synod.

Upon the Question, Whether the Deputies of this Synod should be vested with an absolute power to treat and conclude in the business of doctrine, it was resolved, by most voices, that in case any arguments were offered, which might occasion doubts either among themselves, or among any considerable number of the other Members of the said National Synod, they, the Deputies, should be obliged to a timely recourse to their Principals.

As to the tolerating the said *Five Points*, which have been so much canvassed in *Holland*, and other parts where the churches are divided between the *Remonstrants* and *Contraremonstrants*; it was agreed, *nemine contradicente*, that the Deputies of this Synod should act with such prudence and circumspection, as to propose nothing about *Toleration* of their own accord, there being no need of it in our Province; and that in case this affair should be stirred by other aggrieved churches, they should not consent to any *Toleration*, whether in respect to the *Five Points*, and the things depending thereon, or any other points that may be started by the *Remonstrants*, or their adherents, in order to be profest or taught, either publicly or privately, without having recourse to their Principals; and that they should proceed upon the same foot, with respect to the tolerating Ministers, and other Members of the Church, who should obstinately teach and promote the aforesaid mentioned articles of the *Remonstrants*; but as for those simple Members, who might be seduced thro' ignorance, it was the pleasure of the Synod, that great caution and gentleness should be used towards them, to the end that, by kind instructions, they might in time be brought into the right way.

Some account
of the Synods
of Free-land
and Gronin-
ghen.

In *Free-land* too, where *Daniel Johannes*, Minister of the Church, and Rector of the School at *Sneek*, was deprived of his employs, on account of his inclination towards the *Remonstrants*, the Provincial Synod deputed none but zealous *Contraremonstrants*; to wit, *Johannes Bogermannus*, one of the Ministers at *Leeuwarden*, whom the other party look'd upon as one of their greatest enemies; together with *Florentius Johannes*, and *Philippus Eilshemius*, Ministers of *Sneek* and *Harlingen*, and three Elders of the Church of *Leeuwarden*, namely the Heers *Mainard van Idzerda*, one of the Committee of the States of *Free-land*, *Kempo van Harinxma van Donia*, and *John van den Sande*, Counsellors of the Provincial Court; but *Van den Sande* being afterwards employed upon other affairs, *Tacitus van Aytma*, an Elder of the Church of *Buregirt*, *Hichtum* and *Hartwardt* was chosen in his room.

The Provincial Synod of *Groningen*, deputed likewise the following persons to the National; to wit, *Cornelius Hillenius*, one of the Ministers of the Town of *Groningen*, and whom we have mentioned above, on occasion of the Disputes at *Alkmaer*, *Georgius Placius*, Minister of *Appingdam*, *Wolfgang Agricola* of *Bedum*, *Johannes Lolingius* of *Nordbrook* (there is reckoned also among them, *Wigboldus Homerus* of *Midwel*, tho' I rather think he succeeded the said *Lolingius*) and *Egbertus Halbes*, and *Johannes Ruffelard*, Elders of the churches of *Groningen* and *Stedum*. The rest of the transactions of these two Synods, have not come to my knowledge.

There were moreover deputed from the churches of the *Drente*, *Themo van Aschenbergh*, Minister of *Meppel*, and *Patroclus Rommelingius* of *Ruuen*.

The Synod of the *Walloon*, or *French* churches of the *United Provinces*, which A^N° D^{OM}. met at *Delft* in *September*, deputed to the National Synod, *Daniel Colomius*, Minister of the *Walloon* Church at *Leyden*, and Regent or Principal of the College of Divinity of the same nation, *Johannes De la Croix*, *Johannes Douber*, and *Jeremias de Pours*, Preachers in the *French* tongue at *Harlem*, *Flushing* and *Middelburg*; together with *Eccrard Bekker*, an Elder of the Church of the last named Town, and *Peter du Pont*, Elder of that at *Amsterdam*. It was also in this same *Walloon* Synod, that there happened a dispute concerning *Carolus Niellius*, of which I have no other particulars, but what I find mentioned by himself, in a letter he writ about it to *Conradus Vorstius*; the substance of which, is as follows: 'It was maintained in the *Walloon* Synod, that *Niellius* ought not to be admitted there, unless he made a publick recantation of those flanders he had published, as they said, against the Reformed churches, in the books he writ against *Bassecourt*. He replied, That he was ready to acknowledge his fault as soon as he should be convicted of having accused the *Reformed* churches falsely. But they answered, That the truth of doctrines was to be discusst in the National Synod, and that this Assembly could not take cognizance of it: Then he prayed them to satisfy his conscience, and cause him to comprehend how he might make such a confession without wounding the same: The return was, that such a thing could not be done without entring into a dispute upon the main point. This occasioned a long debate; the conclusion of which was, that they refused to admit him in the Synod, forbidding him to be present there, till such time as the points in dispute should be determined by a National Synod. He made mention likewise upon this occasion of the opinion of *Piscator*, Professor of Divinity at *Herborn*, which some of the Members would have defended, but the greater part of them owned, that his notions were not approved by the *Reformed* churches. This Synod appointed at the same time another Minister to preach at *Utrecht* before the *Contraremonstrant* Members, who had separated themselves from the *Walloon* Church.'

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Transactions of
the Walloon
Synod of the
United Pro-
vinces at
Delft.

About this time *Jacobus Taurinus*, one of the Ministers of *Utrecht*, who (as we have already said) had retired to *Brabant*, was cited to appear before the Court of Justice in that City; but it having been proved, before the last citation, to the Scout, and the said Court, that he was dead, there was a stop put to the further prosecution.

Several mat-
ters relating
to Jacobus
Taurinus, to-
gether with an
account of his
Death.

The *English* Envoy, Sir *Dudley Carlton*, had been so much offended by his writing the book intituled the *Ballance*, that at the time of his the said *Taurinus*'s departure, great endeavours were used to apprehend him. The waggons which convoy'd him to *Bommel* were stopt in their return by some *English* Soldiers, who were in the service of the States, and search was made for him, but in vain.

A few days after, that Minister writ to the States of *Utrecht*, 'That he called God to witness, that he was not conscious to himself of having done any thing against the Government; that he had not retired on that account, but only because having formerly published some papers which he judged might be of use to the Church of God, and to his Country, they had been so misinterpreted, and had given such offence to some people, that great threatnings had been uttered against him on that account; tho' he did not question but he should be able to prove, before impartial Judges, that he had all along endeavoured to maintain the publick authority of his lawful Sovereigns, the freedom of Conscience, and the rights of the Land; which he thought deserved rather to be rewarded than punished; declaring further, that he was ready to defend himself in any Court of Justice, provided he might do it with safety.'

Coming to *Antwerp*, the day after *Uitenbogart*'s arrival there, he began to find himself very ill; and being carried to a house called *Luithagen*, without the town, his illness increased to such a degree, that on the sixth day his life was despaired of: He therefore intreated *Uitenbogart* to write to his Wife, 'That she should freely own in his name, that no body had any hand in the book called the *Ballance* besides himself; and that none of the Gentlemen of the *Hague* or *Utrecht*, nor either *Ledenbergh* or *Uitenbogart*, had ever seen a letter of it till it was quite printed.' He writ the following declaration in the margin of this letter, with his own hand, in *Latin*: 'What is mentioned in this letter, concerning the little Tract called the *Ballance*, was added with my consent, and by my express order, I being thereto com-

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'pell'd

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When *Utenbogat* observed that he drew near his end, and put him in mind of it, he made answer, that *he did not think so; but that however he was prepared.* He owned before those that were present, that *he was a poor sinner in the sight of God; but that he hoped, nevertheless, that God would be merciful to him, for the sake of the sufferings of Christ Jesus his only son:* adding further, *If God should deal with me according to strict justice, I cannot expect salvation; but he is full of compassion. And I promise solemnly, that if he shall vouchsafe to spare my life, and suffer me to return to my Ministry, I will improve my talents to the utmost of my power.* After the salvation of his own soul, his greatest concern was for his pregnant Wife, his five Children, and aged Mother. And he said to *Uitenbogat*; *Pray to God for me, my Wife, Children and Mother.* He likewise returned him thanks for his great affection to him. The other observing that his strength decreased continually, asked him, *If he did not now perceive that his time drew near?* To which he answered in the affirmative. Then *Uitenbogat* exhorted him to constancy and courage, asking him, *Whether he was satisfied that he had acted well, with reference to the affair of the Remonstrants? And whether he was not convinced that their cause was just? And lastly, Whether he had proposed to himself any other end, than the honour of God, and the good of his Church?* At that last question, stretching out his hands towards Heaven, he reply'd, *No.* Soon after he gently resigned his spirit about midnight of the 22d of September, in the 42d year of his age, and was buried on the 24th, in the place appointed for the interment of the Protestants, under the walls of *Antwerp.* This was the end of this *Taurinus* (a son of the late *Peter Taurinus*, formerly Minister of *Schiedam*) of whom it is doubtful, whether he was more loved by most of the *Remonstrants*, than hated by some of the *Contraremonstrants.* He was commended and bemoaned by the former for his learning, judgment, vigilance, fervour, labouriousness, piety, and other virtues and good talents.

The other side describe him on the contrary, as a turbulent, cruel, and violent man: to which a certain *Remonstrant*, expatiating upon his praises, reply'd, that those writers named the most moderate, turbulent; and the most compassionate, cruel; adding, in the conclusion of his Elogium, that *he was the scourge of those who persecuted men for religion, and lorded it over conscience.* So different are the judgments of mankind, when, after inveterate quarrels, they separate from one another, and make it their whole business to contradict and blacken their adversaries.

Uitenbogat writes to the Prince in his own justification, but with no effect.

Several Pasquinades and Satyrs against the late Government, and the Remonstrants.

In this course of affairs, *Uitenbogat* sent to the Prince from *Antwerp* a large justification of himself, by way of letter, in which he endeavoured to mitigate the displeasure of his Excellency, and to demonstrate his own innocence. But this had no effect, any more than the Memorial above-mentioned, which he had presented to the States, and to his said Excellency; and which at the same time was published at *Leyden*, with his name to it, but read by few. The aversion which most of the people bore to the *Remonstrants*, and the late Government, was now more and more cherished and fed by a great number of anonymous papers published in these times, and industriously handed about. *They who till then had been silent, says Baudart the Minister, begun to speak plainly. The general strife was, who should write and columniate most. All the streets and market-places rung with the songs and ballads made upon the prisoners, especially upon Oldenbarnevelt, whom every one cursed, sentenced, and condemned with his abettors—* The most satyrical papers appeared without any name to them. Among the rest, one was entitled, *The Golden Legend of the New St. John:* Another, *The Golden Bellows of the Spanish Knave;* in which the Advocate is charged with taking money of the *Spaniards:* A third; *The Theatre of the Arminians,* composed in doggerel rhimes, with several other *Pasquinades* of the like kind, too many to be mustered up here. Great numbers too of satyrical Prints and Cutts were made in reproach to them; such as for instance, that called

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² *Uitenb. Hist. p. 862, 1007. Life, Lib. XIV. p. 326.* ³ *Pref. ad Eccl. Act. Syn. Nat.* ⁴ *Mem. Lib. X. p. 63. &c.*

The Arminian Dung-cart; *The Arminians last Will*; and the *Sieve of Justice*: all of them ridiculing and exposing the *Remonstrants*, the past Administration, the discharging the Warders, the change of the Magistrates, and, in a word, representing every incident with the utmost spite and rancor. Of this sort too was a Picture, which they called *the Warminian*, representing a Monster with five heads, which were to denote Fraud, Sedition, Misunderstanding, Madness and Avarice. But these things, as they greatly increas'd the heats and animosities among the common people, by adding fuel to the fire of contention, were detested by all good and reasonable men. The most moderate among the *Remonstrants* were of opinion, that whilst the tide ran so strong against them, they were to do nothing but to *bear, see, and hold their peace*: but some others, who had different notions of the matter, endeavoured, by several pieces, to prove their adversaries mistaken; and among other means, by proposing certain questions, which in some measure comprised their own answers. These pieces were published under the title of *Ask-all's*, and were followed by certain counter-questions and answers.

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After the breaking up of the Synod of *Delft*, their Deputies, who were ordered to make a tour through all the Classes, and to dispatch those matters that remained unfinished (in order to shorten the business of the approaching Synod) proceeded immediately to execute their commission. These Synodical Deputies were look'd upon by the *Remonstrants* as their sworn enemies. *Abraham Musenbol*, a Minister of *Breda*, whom we have had occasion to mention in one of our foregoing books, was the President and Chairman of this Society; the rest were *Michael Hogius*, *Hugo Begerus*, *Edsardus Frederici*, and *Martinus Nicolai*, Ministers of *Sevenbergen*, *Schiendam*, *Amejde* and the *Leer*. To these Ministers the States added, on the 8th of *November*, certain Gentlemen as Lay-Commissioners, who were to support the transactions of the Clergy, by their authority. These were the Heers *Mute of Delft*, *Goorede of Rotterdam*, and *Bolleman of Schiedam*. Some add, the Heer *Swerius*, Counsellor in the Council of *Brabant*. This Society, or College, travelled from one Classis to another, and observed the following method in their proceedings. They sent to those *Remonstrant* Ministers whom they had a mind to bring before their tribunal, certain articles of accusation (usually prepared and drawn up by some *Contraremonstrant*) requiring them to come and make their defence, and afterwards to expect their sentence. The accused *Remonstrants* (who upon these occasions were for the most part condemn'd) and those of their party complained at this time to all the world, that 'the Lay-Commissioners were too partial to the Clergy, their adversaries: That their accusers pickt up all they could meet with to the prejudice of themselves, and those who favoured them, or even maintained any brotherhood with them; and that these Ecclesiastical Judges easily allowed of every article which seemed to make against them, passing sentence frequently upon slight and trivial reasons and pretences; and at the same time, as they said, overlooking unpardonable faults of *Contraremonstrants*, if they did but appear orthodox in the doctrine of Predestination, and were zealous against the *Remonstrants*.'

An Account of
the Proceed-
ings of the
Deputies of the
Synod of
Delft, against
the Remon-
strants.

And indeed wherever parties prevail, there all kinds of injustices and abuses are commonly practised; prosperity commonly corrupting the minds of those who are uppermost. On the other hand, the *Remonstrants* did not always bear their adversity with the same degree of patience, for many of them weighed the wrongs which they conceived were done them, in such unequal scales, that they branded these Deputies of the Synod of *Delft* with the odious appellations of *Inquisitors* and *Heretick-hunters*: a poor revenge which by no means lessened the injuries received.

Among the first Ministers who were deposed by these Synodical Deputies, under the direction of the Lay-Commissioners, were *Henricus Gregorius* and *Johannes Stangerus*, Pastors of *Sootermeer* and *Schiply*, in the jurisdiction of the Classis of *Delft*. In the Classis of the *Bril* they likewise caused *Cornelius Burgfleet* and *Gerard van Velsen*, Ministers of the *Bril* and *Racany*, to cease from the exercise of their office till further order. All this was done on account of the Church-disputes, but the particular Pieces of their accusations and justifications never came to my hands.

Several Re-
monstrant
Ministers ei-
ther deprived
or suspended.

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1618.

The Recantation of J. Taurinus.

We have already given an account of the suspension of *Johannes Taurinus*, one of the Ministers of the *Hague*, by the Synod of *Delft*. But this man (a Brother of *Jacobus Taurinus*, that zealous Defender of the cause of the *Remonstrants*) fearing far worse, and seeking to make his peace with the Synod, suffered himself to be so far prevailed upon now, as to appear at the Consistory of the said Town, (which was at variance with him, and to which, according to the sentence of the Synod, he was to give satisfaction) where on the 23d of *November*, after some discourse, he was again admitted to favour, but upon condition that the Act of his Confession and Petition for pardon, should be publickly read on the *Sunday* following in both the Parish churches, and in the presence of all the Congregation. This was done accordingly at 9 o'clock in the morning, he himself standing before the pulpit, in one of the churches. The said Act was as follows:

‘ WHEREAS Dr. *Johannes Taurinus*, late Minister of this Town of *Delft*, has behaved himself, during the latter part of his Ministry here, in such a manner, upon certain occasions, both in the pulpit and in private conversation, that the good people have been scandalized, disturbed, and divided: And whereas the said *Taurinus*, after a previous hearing, has been sentenced by the Provincial Synod to give satisfaction to the Church of this Town: And whereas he the said *Taurinus* is now convinced that he has misbehaved himself in these matters, being very sorry for his former carriage, and acknowledging that he did very ill, he begs the Members of the said Church, from the bottom of his heart, that they would be pleased charitably to forgive those his offences, for which he is sincerely sorry; in testimony whereof he now presents himself in person before the Congregation.

The day before, he writ a certain letter, in which he said, that the Act was drawn up in such a manner, that it would not be agreeable to several of the *Contraremonstrants*, because it did not sufficiently enter into the detail of matters: Neither would it please the *Remonstrants*, because it made mention of confession of his fault; but for my part, added he, *I can, I must, I will submit to it with a safe conscience*. But it did not stop here, he was forced to be yet more complying with the *Contraremonstrants*, as will appear by his subscribing the following Questions proposed to him by the Classis of *Delft*.

Dr. *Taurinus* was asked in the first place, ‘ Whether he did not own, that the Doctrine of the churches touching the *Five* contraverted *Points*, as proposed by the so called *Contraremonstrants*, in the Conference at the *Hague*, and fully explained and proved there, was the Doctrine of Truth, and conformable to the Word of God?

‘ And on the other hand, Whether he did not hold the opinion of the *Remonstrants* (as they were called) as proposed and explained by themselves in relation to the said *Five Points*, erroneous, and to be rejected?

To which he subscribed thus:

I, Johannes Taurinus, do from my heart answer in the affirmative to both these Questions: In witness whereof, I have written and subscribed these presents with my own hand, this 29th of November, 1618.

JOHANNES TAURINUS.

But this subscribing procured very little credit to the Subscriber from that side which he embraced and pretended to adhere to. They kept him out of the pulpit both at the *Hague* and *Delft*, and all he got was a small Benefice at *Maastrand*, a little Village near *Delft*. Thus suddenly did this man pass over to the side of the *Contraremonstrants*; yet it is thought by some, that he was wavering for some time before, and the Heer Secretary *Duik* related, that having met him accidentally about six weeks before this happened, in the *Hague*, *Taurinus* desired to speak with him alone, and asked him why the Gentlemen of the Court were so much against his

Call,

Call, saying, among other things, *They take me for a great Remonstrant, but they wrong me, for I am not so.* From all this, and what has been said above concerning his brother, *Jacobus Taurinus*, we may see how unlike they were to each other. A^NO D^OM. 1618.

About the same time came the business of *Bernardus la Faille*, a Minister of the *Hague*, before the Deputies of the Synod of *Delft*. They accused this person (who, though he was a *Contraremonstrant* in the matter of *Predestination*, yet, as we have said before, maintained a brotherly correspondence with the *Remonstrants*, and opposed the separation) and also the whole Consistory of the great Church in the *Hague*, of several matters and things which he and they thought they could easily have answered in the time of the former Government. But now their Judges found them guilty and over-ruled their plea. *La Faille* refusing to submit, was suspended from his Ministry, and the Members of the Consistory discarded. The sentence pronounced against them all, bore date the 1st of *December*.

The Commissioners of the said Synod, both Lay and Clergymen, appearing the day before at the Assembly of the Committee of the States of *Holland*, gave an account of their Transactions and Resolutions, not only in relation to the depriving the Ministers of *Sootermeer* and *Schiply*, but also to the suspending *la Faille*, and dissolving the Consistory. The Committee approved of what they had resolved, and ordered it to be put in execution, granting moreover to the Lay-Commissioners, Letters Patent empowering them to act in like manner in other places where the circumstances were the same, without giving any further account of their proceedings to the said Committee of the States. By this suspension of *la Faille*, and desertion of *Taurinus*, the affairs of the *Remonstrants* in the *Hague* fell to a very low ebb; which troubled and discouraged *Uitenbogart* extremely, when the news of it reach'd him at *Antwerp*. He writ a certain letter on that occasion to the Advocate, Mr. *Nicolas van Sorgen* (one of the Elders of the Church at the *Hague*, who were at this time dismissed, and his most faithful and useful friend in this time of adversity) in which letter, bearing date the 12th of *December*, he imparts to him his opinion concerning the deplorable state of the Church, together with his advice, in the following expressions: '*Taurinus* has deceived us, and himself most of all, but not God, who will neither be cheated nor mocked. He has given a very great wound to the Church, and a still greater to his own conscience, and perhaps (which I extremely fear) an incurable wound — O how hard is it to stick close to truth, under the rigour and infamy of the Cross! — An addition to this wound, is the suspension of *la Faille*, and breaking of the Consistory. — I could not have thought they would have carried things so far, nor extended the severities even to the oldest Minister of the *Hague*. This man, I confess, has deceived me too; but it is for good. I never expected that sincerity and constancy which I now see and observe in him; for which reason he ought to be cherished and esteemed by all good men. But, *ad rem*, what is to be done? Let us secure what remains. And this I think may be done if the discarded Elders and Deacons will exert themselves a little, and privately learn which are those among them that are disposed to continue firm, and assist according to their ability, in setting up secret assemblies, where they may receive the comfort of God's Word. If I could have supposed that *Taurinus* would have abandoned that Congregation so perfidiously, I would not have stirred one foot; it should have fared with me as God had pleased; and I am still resolved to return, and to venture my life with them, in case I find there is yet zeal enough remaining to preserve true liberty of conscience before God; but we must be first assured of that. As soon as I shall be apprised of it, I shall take care that they be supplied with spiritual food, if not by my self (who cannot answer that it shall last long, tho' I should come thither, because I should be immediately taken up) yet by some other means. I beg of you to consider of this, for the like is done and vigorously pursued in other places. Talk with some of the Elders about it, such as you can best confide in, using my name, and freely communicating to them the contents of this Letter. If the honest people there are inclined to undergo some inconvenience for the sake of truth and liberty of conscience, I am ready to hazard my life in their service.

The Synodical Deputies make a Report of their Proceedings to the Committee of the States.

Certain Expressions extracted from a Letter of Uitenbogart, relating to the Desertion of Taurinus, and the Suspension of La Faille, a Remonstrant Minister in the Hague.

But

AN. D. O. M.
1618.

The first separate Meeting of the Remonstrants in the Hague.

A Placard of the Court of Holland against the Remonstrants on that Account.

But all the *Remonstrant* Elders of the *Hague*, who about this time consulted and debated among themselves what was to be done in the present situation of affairs, were not of one and the same mind. *Van Sorgen*, to whom the above-mentioned Letter was not communicated till the 18th of this month, would gladly have put off their separate meetings for a while. He was of opinion, that they should sit still till the breaking up of the National Synod, and that in the mean time some Student of sufficient abilities should go from house to house, and privately exhort, instruct, comfort, and strengthen the people in sickness and in health, till they were able to judge how things would go. The other Elders and many of the Members were of a different mind, and had their reasons too, which induced them to oppose him: They alledged, that they could see plainly enough already what the Synod aimed at, and how it would end; for which reason it was their opinion, that they ought not so long to delay the external exercise of Religion in their Assembly. Upon this they held their first separate meeting on the 16th of *December*, in a considerable number, in the house of one *Cornelius Martenson*, a Gardener, at a place called the *Laen*, where *Gerard Reus*, a Student, preached, and where the usual collection was made. They had sent a messenger from the *Hague* to *Rotterdam*, to the late Minister *Nicolas Grevinkhovius*, in order to procure some *Remonstrant* Clergyman by his assistance, who directed the messenger to others, by whose persuasions the said *Reus* was prevailed upon to go to the *Hague* and give them a sermon. The fourth Day, after he had preached, there was published a Placard bearing date the 20th of the said month, in the name of the Prince of *Orange* as Stadtholder, and of the Council of *Holland*; in which it was declared: 'That
' whereas a National Synod was called for the decision of the religious differences,
' none ought to attempt any innovations in this Province; and that the constitution
' and interest of the country could not bear any Conventicles or other unusual as-
' semblings, especially without making application, and obtaining permission from
' the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and waiting their pleasure in the pre-
' mises. And whereas on the contrary some factious persons had, on *Sunday* last,
' holden a Conventicle at the house of *Cornelius Martenson* in the *Hague*, causing
' sermons to be preached, and alms collected in the same, which ought not to be
' done without lawful authority in any town where good order and policy obtained,
' but timely to be prevented, opposed and punished, and the rather because such
' proceedings were calculated to obstruct, defeat, and elude the Acts and Resolutions
' of the National Synod, and to introduce all kinds of pernicious Sects, by the
' means of persons not yet admitted to the Ministry: Therefore, in order to pre-
' vent the foresaid inconveniencies, and for preserving the peace among the good
' people of the *Hague*, all persons, of what quality or condition soever, were
' strictly forbidden to hold the like meetings in houses, gardens, barns, warehouses,
' fields, or other places. And all the Ministers, Teachers, Proponents, or Students,
' were likewise forbidden to go to such places in order to preach, teach, or exer-
' cise any kind of religious worship; and all other persons to lend or hire their
' houses, barns, gardens, or fields, or suffer them to be used to that end, or to
' appear there themselves, on pain of arbitrary correction according to the nature
' of the offence. And the Teachers, Proponents, or Students, that should presume
' to preach or teach in the aforesaid forbidden Assemblies, were to forfeit for every
' such offence the sum of one hundred pounds *Dutch*, consisting of 20 *Styvers* the
' pound. And the persons in whose house or on whose estate these Conventicles
' should be holden, were to pay a Fine of two hundred pounds of like value, one
' part to the Informer, and the rest to the Officer who should put this Placard
' in execution. And all such who were in the service of the Government, or en-
' joyed any publick places of profit, were actually to forfeit the same, over and
' above the arbitrary correction to which they should be liable. The Procurator-
' General and the Bailly of the *Hague* were likewise required to do their utmost
' endeavours to prevent such meetings on forfeiture of their places. This was
' ordered provisionally, and till such time as the States of this Province should other-
' wise direct.

Two days after, some more companies of Soldiers were sent to the *Hague*, and the next *Sunday* three of them were drawn out and stood under arms, to give the more force and authority to this Placard, the first that was ever published in *Holland*

land against the *Remonstrants*. The Committee agreed effectually to execute the said Placard, and to cause the Military Men to march to the place where it should be contraven'd. The Civil Officers, together with the Procurator-General, and the Bailiff of the *Hague*, with their servants, were likewise appointed to be ready, and to apprehend four or five of the ring-leaders, and oblige them to confess at whose instigation the Meeting was set on foot, and to punish the transgressors according to the Placard, in the doing which, the Government would support them.

Some weeks after the Student *Reusius*, who had preached before the *Remonstrants* of the *Hague*, was cited by the Procurator-General to make his personal appearance before the Court of Justice. Some of the Gentlemen of the Long Robe were of opinion, that he ought not to keep out of the way, but freely answer the citation before the Court: They likewise advised, that he should not retain any Council, nor make a formal defence, but simply plead, that he had not committed any fault, not being able to imagine what could be done against him on account of his preaching. But in a few days time matters cleared up in such a manner, that he was advised by his friends not to appear, and accordingly he absconded.

In the mean while the Deputies of the Synod of *Delft* went on with their business thro' the Classis of *Gornichem* or *Gorkum*. *Samuel de Prins*, Minister of *Bardewick*, was suspended on the 19th of this month of *December*. *Henricus Dringelius*, Minister of *Veen*, and *Henricus Tammerus*, Minister of *Drongelen* and *Geenderen*, were brought freely to resign their benefices: Afterwards the Deputies went to the Classis of *Gouda*, where they suspended *Johannes van Galen*, Minister of *Schoonhoven*, *Jeremias Tykemaker* of *Newport*, and *Arnoldus Neomagus* of *Bergambacht*, being all of them *Remonstrants*. The Charge against *van Galen* was, that being called according to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of *Ninety-One*, he was not a lawful Minister; and that having had some discourse with an *English* Captain, he had used certain expressions which (as he complained) being alledged against him, were too easily believed, and too partially weighed. Of the further accusations against him and the other two, nothing certain has occur'd to me, unless it was, that *Neomagus* was charged with having slandered *Calvin*, by affirming it to be his opinion, that **God snatches innocent children from their Mother's breasts, and casts them into hell.** For which he quoted several passages out of his works against *Castellio*, and the 22d Chapter of the 3d Book of his *Institutions*. *Daniel Wittius*, another Minister of *Schoonhoven*, a *Remonstrant* too, and a great promoter of their cause, was, after several conferences with him (the substance of which may be seen in *Uitenbogart's History*) cited to the *Hague*, detained there a while, and at last deprived by the aforesaid Deputies. Add to this, that the States not only confirmed their judgment against him, but also commanded him not to return any more to *Schoonhoven* without their leave, on pain of a severe punishment. It was thought by many, that the Deputies of the Synod of *Delft* would have suspended the Ministers of the Town of *Gouda* (being all *Remonstrants*) when they went thro' the Classis of the same name; but others say, 'twas probable the Magistrates were apprehensive of some tumult among the Burghers, who were most of them *Remonstrants* too, or favourers of them; and that they therefore being not strong enough to make use of their authority, procured orders from the higher powers, that the informations taken against the Ministers of the said Town should be first transmitted to the *Hague*, to be considered of there, before the Deputies proceeded to any sentence of deprivation or suspension; and that afterwards this affair was put off till the end of the National Synod.

It was likewise found adviseable, to attempt nothing against the *Remonstrant* Ministers of *Rotterdam*, considering the great numbers of the people who were of the same persuasion: besides, they endeavoured first to put in execution the sentence past by the Synod of *Delft*, against the Minister *Grevinkhovius*, and to hinder him from preaching any more there; but they were quite at a loss, because of the affection which the people of that place bore towards him. But at last it was agreed by the States to summon him before them at the *Hague*, and there to acquaint him with the orders of the Synod; — Hereupon there happened a tumult, which

A^{Nº} D^O M.
1618.

Further Proceedings of the Synodical Deputies in the Classis of Gornichem and Gouda.

Grevinkhovius is summoned to appear at the Hague.

* See *J. Calv. Tract. Theolog.* p. 748. Edit. 1611.

* *Uitenb. Hist.* p. 1041, &c. and 634.

AN^O DOM.
1618.

Which occasi-
ons a Tumult
at Rotter-
dam.

Deputies sent
from the
Hague to
Rotterdam.

had like to have produced dangerous consequences. The Burghery, or People, came to his house in great numbers; some of them begging and praying him with tears, that he would by no means go to the *Hague*: Others crying out, that they would not suffer him to go thither, as being assured of his being detained; and some of them used such threatening language, that the Magistrates fearing much greater dangers, did, as some say, intreat him themselves to stay, in order to pacify the Citizens, promising they would excuse him to the States and his Excellency. It is likewise reported of him, that notwithstanding the prohibition of the Synod, he had the boldness to preach publicly about the same time. And *Slatius* ventured the *Sunday* following, being the 11th of *November*, to do the same at *Rotterdam* too, in the open air, before several hundreds of the *Remonstrants*, their numbers being so great, that the usual places could not contain them. His Excellency and the States were made acquainted with all this, and it occasioned them no small uneasiness. The Minister *Franciscus Lansbergen*, and two Deputies of *Rotterdam*, waited on the said States the 13th of the same month, and informed them, that they had warned *Grevinkhovius* in the name of the Government, to cease from preaching, and all other exercise of his ministerial function, and that he had obeyed; but that nevertheless, there happened some disorders on the *Friday* and *Sunday* following, of which they gave a particular account, but excused themselves, and prayed the States to give further directions for preventing the like, or worse. After some deliberation, they were exhorted by the States to use their utmost endeavours to compose matters, and to restore the peace and repose of their town: They bid them likewise return thither immediately, and wait the arrival of his Excellency, who would be there the next day, and assist in restoring peace to the City. But his Excellency being indisposed, the States thought fit, the next day, with his approbation, to depute the President of the Council, the Heer *Kroomhout*, and the Heer *Junius*, a Member of the same, to *Rotterdam*, who were ordered to do their endeavours to re-establish the former tranquillity, and likewise to enlarge one of the places of religious worship, for the greater convenience of the people: And further, to oblige *Grevinkhovius* to obedience, by forbearing to preach, or to come into any Ecclesiastical Assembly, either within or without the town; and in case he should think himself aggrieved therein, to refer him to the National Synod, where he might make his complaint, and expect their resolutions. They were also ordered to let *Slatius* know how ill he had done by preaching in *Rotterdam*, after such a manner, and without any call; and to require him not to presume, for the future, to preach or exercise any ministerial office in or out of the town, unless lawfully called, on pain of corporal punishment, if he transgressed. These orders were executed with respect to *Grevinkhovius* on the 15th, but it is not said whether they extended them or not to *Slatius*. *Grevinkhovius* prayed the Deputies to acquaint him with the reasons of his deprivation, there having never any sentence or judgment of the Synod of *Delft* been notified to him: but they did not think fit to give him any satisfaction, how earnestly soever he urged them to it; only answering, that his business was to submit to the commands of the Government. This, at last, he promised to do, provided that they would suffer him to enjoy the same liberty of conscience which was granted to other sects, viz. to live quietly at *Rotterdam*, like a private Burgher, and to exercise religious worship out of the publick churches: He likewise prayed, that in case he was to undergo any further punishment besides that of his deprivation, or if the Prince had directed them to do any thing more to his prejudice, they would do it immediately, and at once, to the end that he might know whether he should be permitted to remain in the town peaceably and undisturbed, like other Burghers. But nothing more was done to him, at that time; and he went about the country with full liberty, for the space of six months, till a new storm arose, which not being able to withstand, he was obliged at last to yield to, and disappear: But the silencing *Grevinkhovius*, made the rest of the *Rotterdam Remonstrants* more attentive to their affairs. And they increased daily in number and zeal, insomuch that not only the Town Wood-house was fitted up for them by order of the Magistrate, to preach in; but likewise the Prince's Church was made almost as big again to accommodate the number of hearers, which was so great, that

* See *Uitenb. p. 1005, and the Writers of those times.*

that the place in which they performed divine worship on the first *Christmas-day* AN^o D^o M. 1618. (for the Great Church was taken from them that very day; or as others write, they and the *Contraremonstrants* made use of it by turns, and it was the turn of the latter that day) could not contain their Congregation by some hundreds: Upon which many of them, finding no room in the Church, went in companies to the *Exchange*, and knowing that *Bernerus Vefekius*, Minister of *Echtelt* (one of the *Remonstrants* cited to appear before the National Synod, as shall be shown in the following book) was then in town, they importuned and prest him so earnestly to preach to them, that at last he consented to do it. This produced a Placard on the 29th of *December*, by which the Magistrates, with the advice and approbation of his Excellency, and the Committee of the States of *Holland*, prohibited all assembling out of the publick churches, not only upon pain of arbitrary or discretionary punishment, according to the nature of the offence, and the forfeiture of one hundred Pounds or Gilders, to be paid by the Teacher, and two hundred by the Owner of the Meeting-house, according to the tenor of the Placard, which was issued at the *Hague*, on the 20th of the second month, but likewise of a further fine of five and twenty Gilders, to be paid by all such as should be present at the Meeting. It was said in this Placard, that, 'the preaching at the *Exchange* was the effect of meer insolence; that it tended to the great scandal of Religion, dishonour of the Government, and the raising tumults among the People; which could by no means be endured, but ought to be opposed and punished; and the rather, since by this kind of proceeding they endeavoured not only to defeat all the good that was expected from the National Synod, but also to establish the publick exercise of all the most pernicious sects, by the riots and tumults of unquiet and turbulent persons.' Thus did they speak here in the language of the Placard of the *Hague*. The *Remonstrant* Ministers, who till then were in the service of the Town, were also summoned before the Magistracy, who required them, publickly to reprove such of the people as had engaged themselves in the like Meetings. But the Ministers scrupled the doing it in such a manner, only promising to dissuade them from those practices, as long as they enjoyed the use of the publick churches; but after that, said one of those Ministers, *I shall not forbear preaching in private assemblies, tho' the gallows stood at the door*. And yet this boaster was one of the first who, when prest by necessity, departed from their zeal, and suffered themselves to be perswaded to silence.

After *Rotterdam*, there was scarce any town in all *Holland* that had more *Remonstrants* in it than *Horn*. For this reason there were great efforts made by the *Contraremonstrants*, to silence the *Remonstrant* Ministers of that City. *Peter Plancius*, and *Herman Gerardus*, Deputies of the *North-Holland* Synod, who, together with five other Ministers, and two Elders, were impowered to hear and determine matters at *Horn*, came thither in *December*, where, with the assistance of some of the Magistrates, they presently deprived two of the Ministers, viz. *John Walesius*, and *John Arnoldus Rodingenus*, and suspended the third, *Isaac Welsing*, till the end of the National Synod. Others say, that the Deputies proceeded no further than suspension with all the three Ministers; and that the three Ministers themselves appealed to the National Synod. They were allowed to enjoy their stipends till the ensuing *May*, provided that they did not exercise their functions all the while. But when they informed the Consistory of the condition of this agreement, and shewed some tokens of joy for keeping their wages so long, it gave such discontent, that one of the Deacons could not help using this expression: *O Shepherds! I find you are more concerned for the wooll than the sheep*. At the same time, the Synodical Deputies dissolved both the Consistories, as well that of the *Remonstrants* belonging to the Great Church, as that of the *Contraremonstrants* of the *Raam Church*, and then ordered that a new one should be chosen out of the whole Church, that is to say, out of the *Contraremonstrant* party only, who, and none but they, were allowed by the said Deputies to be the lawful Church. Thus were the *Remonstrants* turned out of the publick places of worship at *Horn*, by the silencing three of their Ministers; the fourth was one of those who were cited before the National Synod, and by that means was snatched away from his flock. But when they had brought matters thus far, the Magistrates, who were minded to bring the *Contraremonstrants* and their Teachers into the Churches, found themselves at a full stand, on account of the

The Remonstrants of Rotterdam assemble and preach on the Exchange.

A Placard is published against 'em.

Two Ministers at Horn deprived by the Deputies of the North-Holland Synod, and a third suspended.

AN^o D^o M.
1618.

great number of their Burghers, who were either *Remonstrants*, or favourers of that party. They therefore sent their Secretary, *Jacob vander Beeke*, to his Excellency the Prince of *Orange*, acquainting him with the sentence past upon those Ministers, and what was further to be done, and begging the advice and counsel of his Excellency. The Prince being likewise at a loss, desired to hear the opinion of the Committee of the States of *Holland*. The proceedings against those Ministers being read in the presence of the Prince, and the said Committee, and the Secretary likewise heard, 'twas agreed, after long deliberation, that the Heer *Albert Brunink*, Secretary of *Enkbusen*, should repair to *Horn*, to inform the Burgomasters of the reasons and views of his Excellency and the States; and in case he found matters in *statu quo*, to put a stop to the execution of the Deputies Judgment till further order; but if they had begun to put it in execution already, they should go on, taking along with them the advice of the States Commissioners, and the Magistrates of the place, and be assur'd of the support of the Government, in hopes that God would bless their endeavours. However, the Prince and all the Gentlemen who heard the case, declared that the Synodical Deputies had acted too rashly in this affair; and 'twas agreed, that his Excellency should tell them so; and that he should moreover write to the aforesaid Burgomasters, and acquaint them that the further direction of matters was left to their prudence, and that they would do well to have regard to the state of the Town: His Excellency was likewise desired to write to the Commissioners for the Northern parts, and order them to assist the Magistrates with their counsels. Presently after this followed the seizing on the Great Church, for the use of the *Contraremonstrants*. The Heer *Richard Velius* giving an account of these changes in the Chronicle of *Horn*, says, that the new Governours of that Town being about to take away from the *Remonstrants* that Church, which till then had continued in their hands, did, in order to their doing it with the better grace, send for certain Ministers from abroad (he means the *Synodical Deputies*) who made some inquiry into the Lives and Doctrines of the Town Ministers; and as we have shown before, found them to be faulty. The *Saturday* before *Christmas*, the Heer *Eysinga*, who commanded the Soldiers that were quartered in the Town, sent for the Ministers, and charged them not to presume to preach there any more; seeing they were, as he said, suspended from the exercise of their office. *Velius* tells us further, that the night following, the Watch was doubled, insomuch that half of the seven Companies, which lay there in Garrison, were upon duty at the same time, and did not go off on *Sunday* the 23d, but kept their posts till the evening of that day. Besides this, they sent a strong detachment of Soldiers compleatly arm'd, at break of day, to the little Church-yard, which lies North of the Great Church, and another as strong, but with their Swords only, into the Church, in order to secure it. Then followed the common people as soon as the bell toled. *Johannes Ursinus*, a Minister of *Medenblik*, and one of the Five whom the Synod had impowered to settle the affairs of *Horn*, made the first Sermon there, and that with great sharpness; which, as the said *Velius* says, was the result of the times, he having been formerly esteemed a very moderate person. After that the Great Church had been thus seized upon for the use of the *Contraremonstrants*, the Consistory of the *Remonstrants* found it advisable to present the following paper to the Prince, on the 29th of this Month.

The Great
Church at
Horn seized
for the use of
the Contrare-
monstrants.

Mighty Prince, and Gracious Lord,

A Memorial
and Petition
of the Re-
monstrant
Consistory at
Horn, pre-
sented to his
Excellency the
Prince.

THE Members of the *Remonstrant* Consistory, do most humbly represent to your Excellency, in the name, and on the behalf of all the people of their Church in *Horn*, who till now were wont to assemble in a publick Church of that Town, being above a thousand Communicants, besides a considerable number of other Auditors, how that on *Saturday* last past, being the 22d instant, the Burgomasters of *Horn* prohibited their Ministers to preach any more from that time forwards in the said Church, or other places, either publicly or privately. And that the said Burgomasters have put into the possession of the said Church those persons, who about five years since thought fit to make an irregular separation

tion and schism (though in very inconsiderable numbers) from us, without the AN^o DOM: consent of the Classis, and without any just cause or inquiry into matters, but only out of meer spite and envy; notwithstanding, that in process of time their affairs are so much changed, that by the countenance of some who have sided with those Separatists, their numbers are much increased. It has likewise so happened, that during this separation, those of our party have been always so disposed towards union, that they, with the interposition of the Magistrates, have made several offers and advances towards peace with the Separatists; but nothing would do, it seems, neither would those Separatists be contented till they had gratified their revenge, by driving your Petitioners out of their Church, though they are twice as strong as their adversaries. Now since this has occasioned great troubles and uneasinesses to the whole body of the Burghers, and since it is like to turn to the detriment and hurt of the Poor, who are so strongly recommended to our care by the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and who have been supported by our Congregation with an income of about six thousand Gilders yearly; and it being also to be feared, that the silencing our said Ministers will produce many inconveniences, especially since our said Ministers have appealed to the National Synod, during which appeal there ought nothing to be done against them, and ought at least to be tolerated in their publick Church as well as the aforesaid Separatists: they therefore betake themselves most humbly to your Princely Excellency, begging you, for the love of God, to take pity on the Petitioners and the distressed People, by allowing them the use of their publick Church by turns, or of one of the two, (especially since one is sufficient for the other party) or at least by granting them the use of that other Church which is at present quite empty. This being obtained, the said Petitioners will continue to pray to God for the prosperity and welfare of your Excellency, as they now do.

The following Answer was returned in writing on the Margin of this Petition or Memorial:

HIS Excellency having seen this Petition, and imparted the contents thereof to the Committee of the States of Holland, does not doubt but that the * Provincial Synod of North-Holland proceeded upon good grounds, and with a full cognizance of the cause to suspend the Ministers therein mentioned; but in case the said Ministers find themselves aggrieved or injured by their judgment, they are at liberty to apply or appeal to the National Synod: And as for what relates to that part of the Petition containing a desire of being accommodated with another Church, since the granting of it will not consist either with the good of the Country or the peace of the Church (which cannot bear two churches at the same time) the Petitioners cannot be gratified therein, nor tolerated either in the publick or private exercise of their religion. But if they conceive they have any thing material to object against the Ministers or Doctrine of the Church, let them repair, on that account, to the aforesaid National Synod, which has been lawfully called by order and authority of their High-Wightnesses the States-General, for determining the Ecclesiastical Differences.

Done at the *Hague* this 29th of December, 1618. And sign'd,

MAURICE DE NASSAU.

Afterwards, the *Remonstrants* perceiving they should no longer be suffered to preach in the publick churches, began to keep their Assemblies in other places; and the first was in the Garden or Yard belonging to the Warehouse of the Heer *Peter Janſon Lioren*, a late Burgomaster; and afterwards in other Burghers houses, where, on account of their own Ministers being silenced, and before they could procure others, some of the sermons of *Bullinger* and *Poppius* were read to them; till some of the *Remonstrant* Ministers belonging to other places were permitted to preach

Separate Meetings of the Remonstrants at Horn.

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and

* It was not the Synod but the Deputies, who suspended the Ministers. See above, p.

AN^o DOM. 1618. and to administer the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, to which the people thronged extremely; whilst, as *Velius* says, the *Contraremonstrant* Preachers at that time had few hearers in the Great Church besides the Soldiers.

In this course of affairs, when so many of the *Remonstrant* Ministers were either turned out or suspended from the exercise of their function, the people of that persuasion found themselves, through so many heavy blows of adverse fortune, so extremely distressed, that one of their body (he is supposed to have been *Gasper Barleus*, the Vice-President of the Divinity-College at *Leyden*) found it necessary to draw up a certain complaint and request to the Prince of *Orange*, in the name of all the *Remonstrants*, and to publish it, in which he represented their condition, and setting before him several moving arguments, implored his protection and assistance: This Request is as follows:

Illustrious and High-born Prince,

A Complaint and Petition addressed to the Prince of Orange, in the Name of the Remonstrants.

MANY thousands of the Inhabitants of these *United Provinces*, all of them friends and professors of the Christian *Reformed* Religion, both of high and low condition, both learned and unlearned, both men and women, cast themselves at your Excellency's feet with this Petition, begging and conjuring your princely grace in the deepest humility, and with great emotion of heart, kindly to receive it from your faithful and submissive servants; and postponing for about an hour's time your great and various affairs, to hear these their complaints, which their sorrow and deplorable condition extort from them, with patience and compassion.

Most Gracious Prince,

THIS well known to your Excellency, that throughout the whole Country, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, divers Ministers, men of probity, and very dear to their respective flocks, have been ill treated, from one severity to another, their doctrines being calumniated and condemned, their persons deposed from their Ministry, and forbidden the exercise of it either in publick or private, even on pain of corporal punishment. From hence it proceeds, that not only the Ministers themselves, but their Hearers too are exposed to the utmost hatred and contempt of their Fellow-Citizens, and are in a manner become what the Apostle *Paul* says of the Christians in his time, an off-scouring of the earth. It is of this we bitterly complain; and complain to him who only can change our sorrow into joy, our reproach into honour, our sighs and tears into a cheerful countenance; that is to say, to your Excellency, to that high-born Prince, whom God has set at the head of these Provinces for the protection of good men, and for the defence of the rights of the innocent. Look down, Great Prince, on the deplorable condition, and hearken to the groans of so many innocent and devout persons of this country, occasioned by the rigorous proceedings against their Pastors, and consequently against themselves. Regard the floods of tears which are daily poured forth in the churches by innumerable Members, when they hear the sad farewell sermons of their Teachers. Be persuaded, most illustrious Prince, that such sighs, issuing from the bosoms of those who seek neither temporal honours nor worldly goods, being extorted from them only by their affection to the doctrine of *Christ*, which they have espoused and owned to be true, cannot but be very efficacious and powerful when they mount up to the throne of God. Alas! how have we moved the anger of your Excellency (pardon us, most illustrious Prince, for speaking thus, being as it were overwhelmed with grief) to the turning your wonted goodness towards us and our Pastors into such an aversion, as causes you daily to employ your Princely authority to our prejudice; inasmuch that our adversaries shamefully abuse your most noble name, to our reproach and contempt in every ballad, print, and picture? We speak out plainly, most gracious Lord, and take the liberty to say, that neither our Teachers nor we have deserved such treatment. Are the *Contraremonstrants* lovers of their Country? so are we; nor are we in the least behind hand with them in our
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inclinations of giving the utmost evidence of this, when necessary, both by offering up our prayers to God, by sacrificing our estates, and pouring out our blood for it. Are they friends to the person of your Excellency? wherein have we shown our selves otherwise? Are they lovers of the Protestant religion, and haters of Popery, of its idolatry, errors, and tyranny? so are we. Do we not daily hear our Ministers offering up their prayers, and calling down the blessings of Almighty God upon the present Government, and on the head of your Excellency? Do we not hear them as heartily refute the errors of that Religion as any others whatever? If any object that they teach, that man may be saved by his own strength, and without the grace of God, they do them great injustice, and the eye of the Lord, which watches over the righteous, sees that it is a slander, and a mere fiction raised against them. Is it said of them, that they place salvation out of *Christ* and his knowledge, or even seek it in their own merits? This is doing them great wrong, for they teach us the contrary. Are we reproached with betraying our Country? We appeal, Great Sir, to your own conscience, and beg to be informed, wherein, when, and to whom the conduct of the *Remonstrants* has made this appear. Do they say, (as we are sure it is given out) that our Pastors have received money from the enemy, why don't they give some proof of it? Infamous are they, and deserve to be exposed to the world whoever they be, whether *Remonstrants* or *Contraremonstrants*, who are capable of such practices. But if there have been any transactions in the State that are disagreeable to your Princely Grace, must we suffer for it who have had no share in the guilt? Must we therefore be torn from the arms of our Ministers, and our Ministers from our arms? And admitting that our Teachers differ from others in certain dark and perplexed controversies, must they for that reason be immediately condemned as unfit to preach *Christ* to us, or to be esteemed Christian Ministers? To what did the Apostolical men oblige all Christians, both Teachers and Hearers? Was it to the doctrine of Predestination? we trust not. To what then? To the Twelve Articles of the Apostolical Creed: Those we believe, those our Teachers intirely and unfeignedly profess. Has the Church made some further explanations of the doctrines of salvation in her General Councils, since the Apostles times, in order to restrain the Clergy? These are likewise embraced and professed by our Teachers. Do the Articles and Confessions of several churches agree in all points? By no means. Do therefore the Teachers of such Articles cease to be true Ministers of the Church of *Christ*? Surely, no. They that place the whole of Religion in Controversial Points, take the certain way of losing it. Would they have us be nothing but Philosophers, and teach us the art of wrangling about scholastick questions? That will render us worse than we are. We shall indeed be more learned, but not more good; if that may be called learning which does not improve the heart as well as the head. We esteem them good Teachers who explain to us the Articles of our Faith in such a manner as to refer us to one God and *Christ*, and to them only, in whom alone we are to seek salvation: Those who teach us we are sinners, and cannot be saved without the mercies of God in *Christ*; and that we cannot partake of those mercies otherwise than by faith, which worketh by love: Teachers who preach such doctrines in the main, and at the same time lead an inoffensive and edifying life, we judge to be orthodox and sound enough to guide us in the way of salvation. These are the doctrines which the holy Scriptures press upon us; to these they join salvation, and these are such as may be understood by the meanest Christians; this is the food we all are able to digest. And O, that we knew no more! O, that all the preaching among us would turn upon these points! we should be wiser, better, and more agreeable to God. Most illustrious Prince, believe your own senses, but take no man's word besides. God has endowed your Excellency with an understanding sufficient to enable you to distinguish between good and evil, beyond many other Princes. Your Excellency is not ignorant that those who complain against us are our most inveterate enemies, and that there are daily brought to your Excellency many stories in prejudice of us, which you in your great wisdom know to be false and without any foundation. Lend us then one ear, Sir, and believe not every thing they seem to insinuate to your Excellency. Consider, most gracious Prince, that the happiness of this Country consists chiefly in the free

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free exercise of Religion according to every man's conscience ; a privilege bought with the blood of the House of *Nassaw*, and of so many brave men. This liberty consists in this : *That we may serve, honour, and believe in God after our own way.* But how can we believe without hearing, and how can we hear without Preachers ; or when we are deprived of those who have planted and watered us, that is to say, brought us up in the Christian Religion, whose voice we have been accustomed to, who have comforted us when sick, admonished us when fallen into sin, yea, who are even our spiritual Fathers, who have regenerated us through *Christ* ? Their doctrine is edifying, their lives inoffensive. Why then are such shepherds smitten and their sheep scattered ? Is it for the benefit of our Country, that multitudes of people are kept out of the churches, and that one man goes over to one sect, another to another, or else stays at home without worshipping God either in Church or Conventicle ? Is this the way to make Christians, or to propagate the Reformation ? Is this to seek the honour of God, and edification of the Community ? Is this the peace which the *Contraremonstrants* follow ? Is this a service to our Country, that willing Subjects who with joy would follow their respective trades and occupations under their Governours, are thus harrassed, and almost compelled to quit their dwellings ? It is always better for Sovereigns to be loved than feared by their Subjects. Is it for the service of our Country, that we are necessitated to hold our Assemblies out of the publick churches, in order to serve our God, and to offer up our prayers together ; or that the boats on *Sundays* are seen laden with Burghers, who are forced to go five or six miles from their own homes to hear a sermon ? If they don't care we should frequent the publick churches, let us be allowed the free exercise of our Religion in private places. What is there to be feared from us who are true to the Government, who freely contribute to its support and defence as well as others ; who pray for our Sovereigns, and take the Oath of Allegiance to them ? The Priests and Monks were used to insinuate to the Council of the King of *Spain*, *That the the Reform'd must be expelled ; that the land could not bear two Religions ; that the Gueuses must be so effectually extirpated, as that the very remembrance of them might perish.* But how have they been extirpated ? for one that was cut off are there not ten new ones sprung up ? Is this preserving a Country, to render it a mere wilderness ? Our adversaries are walking in the same path. They cry, the *Remonstrants* must be suppressed, so as their name may no more be heard, and boast they will do it so effectually, that a reward shall be given to any who can show an *Arminian*, as they are pleased to call us. The land cannot bear both parties, say they, *ergo*, the weakest must be trampled under foot. But they will find the quite contrary. The more truth is suppressed, the more strongly it breaks forth and diffuses itself. Nay, some scarce esteem truth to be such, unless it be persecuted. If the land can bear *Lutherans* and other Christians who have separated from us, why may not we be tolerated ? Are we too strong ? the more it will be for the service of the State, that such a number of men should have satisfaction given them in the business of Religion. Judge yourself, Illustrious Prince, if it be not a deplorable and unaccountable manner of proceeding, that the *Jews*, open enemies and blasphemers of our Saviour, are permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their Religion in the most powerful City in *Holland*, whereas we, who are Christians, and of the *Reformed* Religion too, cannot be tolerated either there or elsewhere ? Shall it be accounted for the advantage of our Country, that such may hold religious assemblies, who teach their people that our Lord was a Seducer ; and will any one pretend, that it would be prejudicial to the State, that we who acknowledge *Christ Jesus* for our Redeemer, should enjoy Liberty of conscience ? If it be objected, that our Ministers do not preach the truth, we answer, That we believe your Excellency is well satisfied and convinced, that our Ministers teach what is at least sufficient to salvation ; and as for the points in controversy, we think our Pastors in the right, and theirs in the wrong. If it should be attempted to make us believe otherwise by human authority, and by the power of a Synod, we appeal from thence to the Word of God. Why should not the judgment or opinion of such Christians who fear God, and daily pray for his Spirit, be as worthy of belief as that of a Synod ? Do we not pray to God for understanding as well as the Clergy ? Have they greater promises of being heard than we ? Does not God

God frequently baffle, and render their speculations vain? We must either take AN^o DOM. 1618. for truth all that the Synod says, or else we must judge for our selves: Are we to believe implicitly every thing they say? Then do we fall again into the old way of Popery. But if our judgments be left us free, and if we judge that our Pastors teach us the *Truth*, and accordingly receive it as such, why then will they not suffer us to retain those Pastors? The rather, because there is no contest between us and them, about the fundamentals of the *Christian* faith. If it be objected that our doctrines are new, we answer, that novelty is not prejudicial, provided it be truth: And we say further, that what our Pastors teach us, is not *new*, but *old*. Is it not expressly said in Scripture, that *God would have all men to be saved*: that *they that reject the word of God, make themselves unworthy of everlasting life*. Do we not find there, that *God converts us by his word and spirit*, but that *many resist both the one and the other*? Do we not find there, that *many fall away from the faith*. As for those distinctions, by which men endeavour to enervate the strength of these passages, we meet with nothing of them in the word of God; we therefore stick to the text; that is on our side, and the passages here quoted are plain enough. Not to mention that the Primitive churches, quite down to the time of *St. Austin*, were all of the same opinion, as well as so many shining lights of the *Reform'd* churches; such as *Melancthon*, *Bullinger*, *Hemmingius*, and others. On the contrary, we think that the opinions of the *Contraremonstrants* are neither true nor edifying. We do not find it said in any part of the word of God, that *God has elected some men without respect to obedience and faith in Christ*; and *rejected, or reprobated the most part, without regard to their unbelief*. We can't discover there, that *God converts men by an irresistible force*. In a word, we don't find there, that *a true believer, fallen into the grievous sins of murder and adultery, is, nevertheless, and continues to be a child of God*. We think it very unedifying and offensive, either to teach or believe such doctrines; being *what may make the one careless, and the other desperate, by allotting to one that salvation which he can never forfeit; and to the other, everlasting death which he cannot escape, let him do what he will*. We might add, that in the writings of the *Contraremonstrants*, we meet with such tenets as the following; to wit, that *all things, good and evil, happen necessarily*; that *God has ordained sin, or moral evil*: That *God has made men, to the end they should sin*: That *he withholds from them his grace, in order to their sinning*; and that *he stands in need of the sinner*: That *God reprobates even young children, or infants*: That *repentance is not necessary to the pardon of sin*: That *Hereticks are to be put to death for their faith*; and many more such, which we can neither read nor hear without horror.

Now, Great Sir, let our Prayer penetrate both your ear and heart too, and suffer not them to be oppress'd, who believe the former articles, and scruple to believe the latter. Certainly, we think the truth is with us; are we mistaken, it is ignorantly. We are not induced either by any carnal profit, or temporal honour, but by our own consciences, to believe as we do. If we stand, we stand to our Lord *Christ*; and if we fall, we fall to him, who will be our Judge. Take then from us the reproach we lie under, and suffer not the *Reformation* to be obnoxious to so much harm, as that one of its Professors should persecute and oppress the other, or to use the Apostle's word, that *we should bite and devour one another*. If it be objected, that the *Contraremonstrants* have formerly been ill-treated in divers places; we answer, that it does not lie upon us to defend or justify all the proceedings of others against them. Neither ought men presently to impute to our Ministers what was done by any of those who were then in the Government. And supposing that some things were done amiss at that time, will those who condemn such actions, do as bad, or worse? Will they render evil for evil? They should show themselves better men, as they pretend to be *purser Christians*. But this is the difficulty, to set bounds to our conquests, and not to depart from the rules of virtue in time of prosperity.

Endeavours have been used to obtain a Synod, where the points in difference might be discuss'd; but whilst matters are preparing for the same, they despoil us of our Teachers; one while in one place, one while in another. They of *Deventer* complain of the deprivation of their *Affuerus*, who was never yet accused of any fault relating to his Life and Manners, nor heard before any Classis or Synod, on

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account of his Doctrine. They of *Arnhem* complain of the removal of their faithful Minister *Brumannus*, who has so well instructed them these many years. Those of *Nimeguen* send up their sighs to Heaven, for the sudden displacing of all their three Ministers. The people of *Tiel* pour out their complaints to God, for their being deprived of the voice of their dear *Alardus*. They of the *Hague* lament as often as they reflect upon the unjust proceedings against their spiritual Father *Uitenbogart*, who for many years served both the *Dutch* and *French* Churches without reproach, and to the great satisfaction of all good people who knew and heard him : But now, alas ! he is compell'd to consume the remainder of his old age in sorrow and complaints. Could they but have retained their *Bernardus la Faille*, it would have been some alleviation : but that was too great a favour ; he too was taken from them by suspension. They of *Rotterdam* cry to Heaven on account of the deprivation of their Teacher *Nicolas Grevinkhovius*, who always watched with a particular care for the salvation of his Flock, and knows not to this hour the cause of his dismissal. *Harlem* bemoans her *Junius* and *Sprankbusen*, who are deprived of the exercise of their spiritual function there ; not because of any objection made, either against their lives or doctrine, but only for obeying their Governours. Those of *Gooree* lament the turning out of their Minister *Adrianus Romanus*. They of *Woerden* complain of their being so rigorously bereft of their careful Pastor *Petrus Cupus* — The people of several villages are bewailing their hard lot, that they can no longer hear the voice of their ordinary Ministers : and all this has happened before the meeting of the Synod, or even during the session of it. Thus do they hurry on our condemnation, and will not allow us so much as a month or two, that our case may be fairly and maturely considered ; when our adversaries have been admitted to preach in any of our churches, the moment they get in, they forbid us the use of them, and drive us to places that can not contain half our Members ; as may be seen at the *Bril*, *Schoonhoven* and *Rotterdam*.

Your Excellency took pity upon certain *Contraremonstrants*, who could not hear their usual Pastors ; be pleased then to extend the like compassion to us, who are much more straitened and oppressed. If they, the *Contraremonstrants*, would but have maintained peace with us, these troubles had never disturbed the State : They refused it, and now they are not contented with being uppermost, but have in a manner deprived us of that liberty which they themselves desired and obtained.

Suffer not your high-born Race to set their faces against us, who are a part of the *Reform'd* church ; but rather show us, who are oppressed, the same countenance which your Excellency's Father, of glorious Memory, shewed the *Reform'd*, when they lay under persecution. We are still the same people, or at least the children of those who shelter'd themselves under the wings of that illustrious Prince of *Orange*, and who assisted him with their lives and fortunes. We are the same that experienced the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, for the sake of our dear country ; and many of us still bear the marks of their cruelty. Those of the *Bril* were the first that terrify'd the Duke of *Alva*, and yet they are rewarded with the loss of their churches. Those of *Leyden* suffered all the misery of famine when besieged by the common enemy ; and now they are reduced to the sad necessity of hungering and thirsting for the word of God, by their own countrymen. They of *Rotterdam* were massacred by *Bossu* ; but now it's a more sensible affliction to them, to see their Teacher silenc'd, that he cannot preach *Christ*. What did not *Harlem* endure ? And what are they of that town forced to see and suffer now ? Are these the fruits of the war, of all our labours for obtaining liberty of conscience ? Is this the conclusion of all those glorious victories which God has granted us under the conduct of your Excellency ? Is this the consequence, that we must be treated and prosecuted as *Hereticks* ? Was it for this that we joined in defending our country against the common enemy, and received foreign Refugees into our bosoms, that they might rob us of that liberty which we had acquired for them ? What ingratitude is this ! For such sins as this, most Illustrious Prince, the wrath of the Almighty is kindled against Cities and Provinces. Receive therefore our complaints, and grant us your assistance, not for oppressing others, but for defending our selves. There is no reason why we should not be owned as Members of the

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Reformed Church : for we maintain the principles of the *Reformation* ; nay, we adhere to them more uniformly than our adversaries. But if we may not be permitted as *Reformed* to keep our Temples, suffer us at least to hold our Meetings quietly, and in a due submission to our Governours. Put an end once to the daily suspensions, and pernicious deprivations of our Ministers, that so our voices may not cry to Heaven like the blood of *Abel*, and complain of the wrongs that have been done us, lest the Lord of Lords, the supreme Shepherd, should scatter the sheep in his wrath, and overwhelm the land, and its inhabitants at once. It is said to the Ministers of God's word, *He that refuses you, refuseth me; and he that receives you, receiveth me.* How terrible was the punishment of the *Jews*, for depriving and murdering the Prophets ? What miseries have befallen their nation, since their crucifying the Lord of Glory, and spilling the blood of his Apostles ? To what a deplorable condition has the King of *Spain* reduced his *Netherlands*, by hearkening to the bloody counsels of his Clergy ? May these examples prove warnings to those Magistrates, to whom God has committed the reins of Government ! Men do not see these inconveniencies at the first ; but the further they proceed, the deeper they sink into them, till at last they are so entangled, that they cannot extricate themselves : If they proceed in oppressing those religious Sects which differ from them, they usually rise from one step to another : First they suspend a Minister from preaching for a while, then they deprive him of his Cure ; they forbid him to officiate, first in the publick Churches, next in private Conventicles ; first within the towns, then without ; first by a pecuniary mulct, then on pain of banishment ; afterwards they proceed to imprisonments, and corporal punishments ; and thus by degrees they fall into the same paths with the Spanish Inquisition.

As yet indeed they are not arrived at these heights in this country, but it is to be feared that in time they will ; especially since those of the Clergy, who maintain, that *Hereticks ought to be punished with death*, have so much credit with our Governours. 'Tis more than time, Illustrious Prince, that you judge our cause, and render justice to the innocent. Your Authority is great with the States of these Provinces, and extends very far. We therefore most humbly implore your protection and intercession. If your Excellency has already granted the right hand to the *Contraremonstrants*, give us the left. If they have obtained the greatest blessing, keep one at least in store for us, that we may not be entirely excluded our Father's house, despised by our brethren, and robb'd of our birth-right, that is to say, of the liberty of our conscience. Rejoyce the hearts of so many thousands of sincere Patriots, and lovers of the *Reformation*. Shew them a favourable countenance, that they be not overwhelmed, and over-powered by their enemies. The House of *Nassau* was raised up by God for the comfort of the oppressed. Make us sensible of the blessing, and the whole land will share in our joy. Now one Citizen vents his sorrow to another ; the Father to the Child, the Child to the Father ; one Brother to another, the Husband to his Wife ; and yet all of 'em desire the good of their Country, and the advancement of Religion. Join both the parties, if not in one and the same opinion, yet at least in charity, and a peaceable, neighbourly correspondence. This will certainly come to pass, if both parties be contented with the enjoyment of a freedom for their own consciences, with retaining their own Ministers, and exercising their own religion. But now we are wrestling like the Twins, *Esau* and *Jacob*, in the Womb of our Mother (our dear country) envying each other the birth-right, that is, the exercise of our religion, which yet both of us may preserve, and in doing so, may preserve our country too. Your Excellency can't be ignorant, that our enemies laugh at our divisions ; they clap their hands, and cry, *Now has God delivered them into our hands.* Turn their laughter into weeping, and their scorn into sorrow of heart. It will be so, doubtless, when they see that we are on both sides resolved to unite our strength, and to bend it unanimously against them. Your Excellency, in your great wisdom, can judge what mischiefs will proceed from our being oppressed. The present state of the Towns of the *Brill*, *Schoonhoven*, *Rotterdam*, *Horn*, *Utrecht*, *Nimeguen*, *Tiel*, *Bommel* and *Woerden*, makes it evident enough. Is it not much better that the Burghers enjoying the liberty of their consciences, should cheerfully and unanimously defend their Towns against foreign enemies, than that the

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Government should be obliged to make use of its Troops, to keep the Burghers themselves in awe? Trade must necessarily decay in a country full of troubles: Where Soldiers enter, the Merchants will soon retire. All business is at a stand; the rents of houses and lands are fallen; nor will things easily mend, but rather the contrary, if they thus proceed to deprive us of our Pulpits, our Churches, and the worship of God. But if we may be supported in the free exercise of our religion as well as others, then like the grass which raises up its head in the morning, Commerce and Arts will revive and flourish again: the Churches of the Reformed will increase, the feuds and animosities of our Citizens wear off, our disturbances will be composed, our unanimity will strike a terror into the hearts of our enemies, and both parties, as well *Contraremonstrants* as *Remonstrants*, will have cause to applaud your Excellency's goodness and clemency.

To conclude, We humbly beseech your Princely Excellency to be persuaded, that we are sincere lovers of our country, and will never be wanting, every one of us personally, to contribute our utmost out of our estates, for the support of the Government, and what we are most cordially affected to, the Reform'd religion. We further beg your Excellency, to give the necessary orders, that those scandalous Books, Ballads and Cuts, by which we and our Printers are represented as traitors to our country, and persons not fit to live in this Republick, may be suppressed; as also that our Ministers may not be deprived on account of the articles of *Predestination*, and their dependencies. Or in case all this cannot be obtained, let us at least be permitted to hold our meetings out of the publick churches, under the protection of the State against all force and insolencies, on condition of continuing always like good Burghers and Inhabitants, true and faithful to the higher powers.

May God, the Father of Mercies, who holds the hearts of King and Princes in his hand, incline your Excellency's heart and spirit, to the end, that attending to the complaints and prayers of so many thousands, you may please to exert your self in granting them some relief! May the same God preserve the person of your Excellency from all misfortunes, and bless your counsels, for the defence of truth, for the good of our country, and his own glory!

The *French* likewise joined their efforts, in order to bring matters to some kind of temper. Messieurs *Boiffise* and *Du Maurier*, Ambassadors from the King of *France*, perceiving so great a change both in Civil and Ecclesiastical affairs, and apprehending still greater, and finding that the National Synod was already opened, desired a new audience of the States General; and having obtained it, they made the following Speech to the Assembly, on the 12th of *December*.

High and Mighty Lords,

A Speech of
the Ambassadors
of France
to the States
General, re-
lating to the
Union, the
Change of the
Magistrates,
the Synod, and
the imprison'd
Gentlemen.

THE King our Master has commanded us to continue our usual good offices, though they have not met with that reception which such a Friend and Ally deserved. However, his Majesty will not forbear showing, in the present state of affairs, that he has as great a concern for your welfare, as for the peace and tranquillity of his own dominions.

We shall therefore again exhort you to adhere to the union of your Provinces, as being the principal support of your Republick, and to take a particular care that the alterations lately made among the Magistrates, and in the governments of the respective Towns, do not increase and inflame, instead of lessening and healing the differences and animosities of your Subjects; for all changes of laws and of polity, are commonly dangerous to the state; unless they be occasioned by some unavoidable necessity, or appear so beneficial to the Community, that no body shall have reason to complain. It will therefore be incumbent on you, to see that your new Magistrates, by a good and impartial conduct, behave themselves so as to win the affections of the people; and especially that they comport themselves with such moderation towards those who have been deposed, that the inconstant and wavering populace may not think they have cause to lament the loss of their late Governours; and that they who are deprived of their offices, may bear this resolution of affairs, as what has happened for the publick good.

We flatter our selves, that the Synod which you have call'd will suggest some happy expedient for restoring peace and unity; with respect to those points which

have

‘ have been the occasion of those troubles and divisions among you. But in order to AN^D DOM.
 ‘ bring good out of this evil, ’tis absolutely necessary, that the Synod be free, and 1618.
 ‘ that an access to it be safe for all such as have occasion to attend it; and that the
 ‘ different opinions of all parties be weigh’d and examined there without passion,
 ‘ and without any views whatever, excepting those of the honour of God, and the
 ‘ repose of mens consciences. And indeed, whosoever they be that attempt to scruti-
 ‘ nize and penetrate into the deep secrets and treasures of the divine Wisdom, with-
 ‘ out as deep humility and submission, will find themselves driven as much back-
 ‘ wards as they fancied themselves advanced.

‘ We are moreover commanded by his Majesty, to say a word in favour of your
 ‘ Prisoners, and to represent how greatly it would tend to the honour and dignity of
 ‘ your Government, to the peace of your Provinces, and to the unity of your Sub-
 ‘ jects, to administer to the said Prisoners good justice, with the requisite expedition.
 ‘ They are accused of crimes enormously great and abominable; of Treason against
 ‘ their country, of Intelligence and Correspondence with your enemies, and of having
 ‘ endeavoured to involve the whole State in blood and confusion. Are they guilty
 ‘ of such things, the King our Master advises you to treat them with all the rigour
 ‘ of law and justice. But as such transgressions are to be detested by all good men,
 ‘ and deserve a very severe punishment, so on the other hand, they are likewise re-
 ‘ strained and limited to certain facts, beyond which no wise and good Princes, or
 ‘ well-constituted Commonwealths have ever extended them. On the contrary,
 ‘ many Princes have shewn themselves very much disposed to mercy, and to the par-
 ‘ doning of attempts even against their own persons. The freest Republicks were
 ‘ always the most frugal of their Subjects blood, even in cases of the greatest guilt:
 ‘ one of the most remarkable tokens of their liberty, was the regard they had for the
 ‘ life of a Citizen.

‘ The crime of Treason ought therefore to be taken in its proper terms, with-
 ‘ out extending it by any consequences, or bringing it by *innuendo’s* to facts that
 ‘ are not exactly of the same nature. The discords which often arise from the ad-
 ‘ ministration of State-affairs, the jealousies conceived against the power and autho-
 ‘ rity of any great Officer, or that ambition, which always hurries men on to at-
 ‘ tempt more than they ought, are the usual defects of Governments, which pro-
 ‘ duce many misfortunes and inconveniencies; but yet such things as those have
 ‘ never been accounted *Crimina læsæ Majestatis*, or High-Treason, because the great-
 ‘ ness of the offence was measured by the design and will of the offender, and not
 ‘ by the event.

‘ We doubt not, my Lords, but that you likewise, according to your wonted pru-
 ‘ dence and justice, will distinguish as you ought, concerning the crimes wherewith
 ‘ your Prisoners stand charged; especially since there is a difference with respect to
 ‘ the lives of your great Officers, and those of common Subjects. One of these is
 ‘ the eldest Minister of your State; we mean the Heer *van Oldenbarnevelt*, who
 ‘ has so much recommended himself by the long and great services he has rendered
 ‘ to these Provinces, of which he has your Republick itself, and all the Princes and
 ‘ States in alliance with you, for witnesses; insomuch that it can hardly be imagined
 ‘ that he should be engaged in any design of ruining that Government, which you
 ‘ know he has so strenuously laboured to establish. But however, since he has been
 ‘ charged with this, and is committed on this account, it would be very much for
 ‘ the service of your State, to inquire into, and discover the truth; for which pur-
 ‘ pose it behoves you to cause him, and the rest of the Prisoners, to be tried by
 ‘ Judges that are not partial or exceptionable, such as will proceed against them ac-
 ‘ cording to the known laws of the land, and upon plain and uncontestable proofs,
 ‘ as right and equity require; but by no means upon guesses and surmises, which
 ‘ often deceive the wisest Judges, because there are many things which are specious
 ‘ and probable, and yet not true; as on the other hand, others that are true, with-
 ‘ out the appearance of truth. If you act after this manner, you will convince the
 ‘ world, by an equitable and moderate sentence, that you are worthy to rule that
 ‘ State, over which it has pleased God to set you.

‘ The advice his Majesty gives you in relation to the Prisoners, is, that you would
 ‘ not be guilty of any unreasonable severity against them, but rather use gentleness,
 ‘ mildness and mercy; virtues so pleasing to God, and so proper to win the hearts

A^N° D^O M. 1618. of the people, and reduce them to obedience. These are the solid foundations of States, and are naturally suited to yours, in order to cement its divisions, and to sweeten the bitterness that reigns among your Subjects.

For promoting these ends, we are charged to subjoin his Majesty's request and recommendation, who is very much interested in the preservation of your Republick, and is well apprized of the great services that Gentleman has done, and the good inclinations he has always shown to maintain the alliance between *France* and this State: All which are so many evidences of his sincerity and fidelity, and so remarkable, that they seem to obviate even the strongest suspicions of treachery and breach of trust, of which therefore the King can by no means be induced to think him guilty, unless you can convict him by the clearest proofs. But if it should so happen, that your Lordships, after so many good counsels suggested to you by the King our Master, should chuse the methods of severity, his Majesty will have the honour and satisfaction, that like a true Friend and Ally, he has given you the safest and most wholesome advice, the use and success of which may prove as beneficial to your State, as the contrary will be detrimental. It will likewise be extremely disagreeable to his Majesty, to find so little account made of his advice, his request and friendship, which in such case is likely to become as cold as you formerly found it ready and favourable when you stood in need of it.

To this Speech of the Ambassadors, their High Mightinesses returned the following Answer in Writing, on the 19th of *December*.

The Answer of
the States-Ge-
neral to the
Ambassadors
of France.

THE States-General of the *United Netherlands* having heard, and mutually considered in their Assembly, the Propositions of the Sieurs *de Boissise* and *du Maurier*, Ambassadors of the most Christian King, made by them the 12th instant, and the next day delivered in writing, do declare, that they never had any thing more at heart than by the justice of their actions and administration, sincerely to induce his Majesty to continue to them his royal favour and protection, as they enjoy'd it from the late King of immortal memory and unparallel'd wisdom, for the good and support of their Republick. For this end they have at all times, and upon all occasions, endeavour'd to make use of his wholesome counsels and good offices against the attempts and power of their enemies, on which account they have had great reason to congratulate each other, and have been obliged to testify their gratitude to his Majesty, and to the Crown of *France*. But on the other hand, they are extremely concerned to find that there have been endeavours used to render them suspected to his Majesty, as if they had not been sensible of the good offices done them on occasion of the late troubles, according to the merits of his friendship and alliance: For they cannot conceive on what these complaints are grounded, it having always been their peculiar care, strictly to observe and maintain all the duties and obligations of those treaties and alliances, which they have had the honour to make or renew with his Majesty, without having neglected any thing to prevent the least occasion of dissatisfaction or jealousy which might arise. The said States are therefore firmly perswaded, that since they continue to observe the same methods, for the preservation of their State, which they have hitherto done with so good success, and which have given existence to that friendship and alliance wherewith the two Kings have successively honoured them, his Majesty will pass no other judgment upon their present conduct and disposition, than ought to be done on that of a State so extremely sensible of the merits of his favours, and so sincerely inclined to render itself worthy of the continuation of them, by all that respect which shall be found proper for the service of his Majesty, and adapted to its own security. Nevertheless the said States of the *United Netherlands* do, upon this occasion, accept, as a mark of great goodness, the kind and wholesome counsels which his Majesty is pleased to give them in the present juncture of their affairs, whereby he exhorts them to persist with constancy in the union of their Provinces; such counsels being entirely conformable to their own sentiments: For they have always had the same desire and inclinations, to the end that they might be the better qualified to defend themselves against all the attempts of their enemies, and enabled more effectually to serve their friends.

It

‘ It was not without long and mature deliberation that they were induced to make a change in the Government of some towns, of which perhaps there has been a much greater noise made by rumours industriously propagated, than the matter deserves; for such a remedy was both necessary and practicable, and was effected with discretion and moderation, without violence or danger of bloodshed; inso- much that the publick authority, the union, and the security against the foreign enemy, were thereby jointly re-establish’d; all which had been not a little dis- turbed by some factious and ambitious spirits, and that not without manifest ha- zard (if our patience and connivance had continued any longer) of overturning and ruining the whole Government, to the sorrow of many brave and good men, and to the prejudice of his Majesty’s interest, and that of the Kingdom of *France*. Besides, there has really been nothing more effected than a necessary change among a few persons, without any alteration in the Laws, Rights and Polity of the towns themselves: Neither have we had any other views in this election of new Magi- strates, than the putting a stop to the scandalous animosities, which by the in- trigues of the aforesaid factious persons, had crept into towns and families, inso- much that Altar was set up against Altar. And by this resolution, we have only brought into the Magistracy faithful persons, and such as are well qualify’d and dispos’d to promote the good of the country, who without doubt know how to acquire the peoples love, by a just and upright behaviour, and to secure the State from all violent commotions. Of this we have several instances already in many Towns, where this gentleness, together with the regulations that are made for securing the innocent against the former oppressions, is so welcome and agree- able, that all the Members of the State concur unanimously in their abhorrence of the past violent proceedings, and dispose themselves to their respective duties, by a chearful submission to their Superiours. And in case these necessary alterations had engaged them in any great difficulties, they should have expected from his Ma- jesty’s wonted goodness, to have been supply’d with that support and assistance, which possibly their own strength might not have offer’d them, in order to put a stop to those confusions, which they, by the favour of God, have seasonably pre- vented, without much noise, or any trouble to their Allies.

‘ As for what concerns the Synod which has been called in these Provinces, they have always been firmly perswaded, that it was the way to find expedients for peace and unity, with respect to those controversies, which have occasioned some disquiet in certain Churches of their Provinces, as believing this to be the gentlest, most ancient, and most lawful method; a method used by the most primitive Churches, even in the time of the Apostles themselves. But whatever they could do till now, in order to the calling such a Synod, they were never able to attain to this good and wholesome remedy, nor to suppress and stifle these dissensions in their birth. His Majesty may also be pleas’d to recollect what requests have been se- veral times made to him, to grant the said States the assistance of some of his own Subjects, deputed by the *Reformed* Churches of this Kingdom, for the bringing about of this good work. But all these endeavours have been eluded and defeated by the management of a small number of persons, who, contrary to all the just rules of Government, abusing the authority of their offices, rendered the equitable desires and endeavours of the States abroad entirely vain. But having now, by the goodness of God, and by the brave and wise management of the Prince of *Orange*, securely re-establish’d their State, as to its Temporal interests, they would not omit turning their cares to the adjusting the spiritual concerns of it; for which end the National Synod was conven’d, and open’d in the month of *November*, a *Free Synod*, as was desired, and as it ought to be, and upon which no other bur- den is laid, but the having regard to the honour of God, the purity of his word, and the repose of mens consciences. And in this Synod there is met together so great a number of persons, eminent for piety and learning, whom their respective Sovereigns have deputed thither, that the said States have sufficient reason to ex- pect much good from their labours. And they make no doubt but that the event of things will prove their just and sincere intentions to the satisfaction of his Maje- sty, to the peace and welfare of this Republick, and to the confusion of the Au- thors and Encouragers of this faction.

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‘ In the next place, the Lords the States have well comprehended and weighed the arguments and reasons which the aforesaid Ambassadors have largely offered in favour of the Prisoners, which tended to the doing good and speedy justice to the said Prisoners, and the dealing gently with them, in case it should appear that they have not conspired with the enemy to subvert the Government. But forasmuch as the said States have been entirely taken up with settling the Republick, which had been reduced to a tottering condition by the violent proceedings of those persons who aimed at innovations and alterations in the State of Religion, in the Civil Constitutions, in the Courts of Justice, and in all political establishments (nay, it has appeared to us, that this Conspiracy has extended itself so far and so wide, that scarce any thing has been left unaffected by it;) they the said States have therefore been of opinion, that a Process of such weight and consequence ought not to be hurried, but that it would be necessary to collect all the materials proper for setting the same on foot, in order to discover, and afterwards to prove fully and clearly, the grounds and merits of the cause; and that these delays could not tend to the prejudice of the accused persons, if they were conscious of their own innocency. However, no time has been lost, but all due diligence made use of in carrying it on, and it is already brought so far, that they firmly believe a sentence will soon follow, which will doubtless be such, that when it is divulged, every one of their Allies who wishes the welfare of this Country, and in particular his Majesty, who is himself so just a Prince, will applaud the justice of it, when better informed of the nature of this conspiracy.

‘ In the mean while, they intreat the aforesaid Ambassadors to assure the King, in their name, that they will always leave as much room for gentleness and mercy (to which they and the genius of their Government are naturally disposed) as their obligations to justice, and the preservation of the Commonwealth shall in any wise admit. They also hope that his Majesty will not have so much regard to the event, as to prefer the importunate and unreasonable solicitations of some private Criminals, before the publick interests of the dignity and safety of those Provinces: but on the contrary, they are fully perswaded that he will think it more for the advantage of himself and those Provinces, to acquiesce in the conduct of the said Lords the States, in matters relating to their Government, and particularly, in their proceedings with respect to this affair, which they shall manage with all that equity and gentleness which is consistent with the authority of Sovereigns, and the obedience of their Subjects; and at the same time with all that regard and deference to the advice of their Friends and Allies, which may serve to convince his Majesty, that they will never be wanting in the duties they owe to his Alliance; for which they are indeed responsible to him.

Done at the Hague, in the Meeting of the Lords the States-General, this 19th of December, 1618.

Sign’d,

GYSBERT DE BOOTSELAAR.

And lower,

By Order of the said STATES-GENERAL.

C. AERSENS.

The same day, their High-Mightinesses writ the following Letter to the King of France, of which I have seen the copy:

Sire,

*A Letter of the
States-General
to the King of
France.*

THE many demonstrations of favour which your Majesty has vouchsafed to give us upon so various occasions, have sufficiently convinced us of the care and concern your Majesty has for the good and tranquillity of our Republick, of which also your Ambassadors have made us more particular declarations by virtue of their Credentials, bearing date the 28th of November last. We most humbly beseech your Majesty to be assured, that none of those who have the honour of

your

your alliance, can exceed us in affection or fidelity, proceeding from the desire and AN^O DOM.
obligation we have of testifying to your Majesty all due thankfulness for the 1618.
same.

But, *Sire*, it would justly trouble us, if your Majesty should be perswaded to give more credit to others (whoever they might be) in relation to the management of our publick Affairs, than to ourselves, who are the same that have received the repeated confirmation and continuation of the generous assistance of your Royal hand and favour. For we know very well, that in this occurrence, there are some who either wish us little good, or are little acquainted with the reasons that have prevailed on us to make this Reform among our Magistrates. Wherefore, *Sire*, we are fully determined, upon the entire confidence we have in your equity and prudence, to persevere in the care and application we are bound to exert for consolidating our Peace and Union by all lawful and gentle methods, in opposition to all Intrigues and Factions both foreign and domestick. And we question not but your Majesty will be satisfied with our conduct, when you observe the religious performance of those Treaties which we shall always be ready to give you an account of. In the mean while, *Sire*, we shall pray to God for the prosperity, grandeur, health, and long life of your Majesty.

Dated from the Hague, 19th of December, 1618.

The Answer of the States-General, which we just now related, in which there is mention made of *Ambitious and Factious Spirits*, of *Authors and Encouragers of Faction*, of *Innovations in the business of Religion, the Laws, the Polity*, and of *Conspiracies*, boded no good to the imprisoned Gentlemen. Neither were the *Remonstrants* any better pleased with what the States said in this Letter, with relation to the National Synod, expecting no better treatment than condemnation and banishment from that quarter, together with other troubles, which, as they thought, were hanging over their common Country. Besides, the more melancholy sort looked upon the great Comet which at that time show'd itself to our part of the world, with sorrowful hearts, considering it as a presage of approaching calamities. *A Comet appears.*
Some of them having read in the Letters of *Melancthon*, that when he sent the description of the great Eclipse of the Sun, which happened at the beginning of the Council of *Constance*, to his friend *Camerarius*, he said to him, *You will say, 'tis a picture of the Synod*, thought likewise, that upon this Comet's appearing at the beginning of the Synod of *Dort*, there was the same reason to look upon it as a picture of this Synod, which they feared would, like the Comet or Tail-Star, draw after it a long tail or series of miseries and troubles. This Comet was first seen here on the 27th of *November*, but appeared much more plainly on the 29th and 30th of the said month: Its tail seemed at first to extend itself only about Twenty-five degrees in length, but on the 11th of *December* it measured above Fifty-four degrees. It disappeared about the middle of the ensuing *January*. Several of the greatest Wits of this age employed their pens in the description of this Star, and published their thoughts upon the nature, place, figure, course, effects, and signification of such uncommon *Phænomena*. The principal of those who writ about it in the *Latin* tongue at that time, were *Erycus Puteanus*, *Thomas Fienus*, *Liberus Fromundus*, and *Willebrordus Snellius*, sufficiently known among the learned. *Nicolaus Mulerius*, a Professor at *Groninghen*, writ at the same time his little Treatise which he published in the *Low-Dutch* tongue, intituled, *The Celestial Trumpet of the Comet of the Year 1618*. In *Zeland* were published certain observations on this Star, and on the course of affairs both in this and other Countries, with the consent and approbation of the Committee of the States of that Province. This Treatise was likewise in *Dutch*, and, as it is said, was writ by the Heer *Jacob Cats*, at that time Pensionary of the Town of *Middelburgh*. It contained several Copies of Verses, *Observations on the Comet.*
the title of the first of which ran thus, *Reflections on the meeting of the Modern Synod, occasioned by the present Comet*. The Poet relates in these Verses, that at the birth of *Christ* there appeared a new Star, which served for a guide to the *Wise-men*: That there likewise appeared another new Star at the *St. Bartholomew-Massacre*.

AN^O DOM. 1618. sacre at Paris, when the blood of the Martyrs in France became the seed of the Reformed churches in that Country ; and then he proceeds to give us his observations on the Times, which he thus expresses :

*A Comet with strange Light again adorns the Skies,
Strikes Fear in mortal Hearts, and draws our wondring Eyes ;
As Thunder-struck we gaze, and, doubtful of th' event,
We wait to learn it's Course, and on what Errand sent.
True Son of God descend, the World's bright Sun appear !
Enlighten our dark Minds, and dissipate our Fear.
With Glory fill thy Church, and with thy Heav'nly Fire,
Cherish our frozen Hearts, and kindle new Desire
To serve thee this New Year. May we from hence presage
No fatal Crimes, but Vertues of a new-born Age.
True Prince of Peace appear ! Let Strife and Discord flee
Before thee, and give place to Godlike Unity.
Touch'd by thy gentle Spirit, may rocky Hearts relent,
And join'd by Friendship's Band, all future Fars prevent.*

In the same book there is a Colloquy of three persons, one of whom speaks thus :

*If we view the strange Events
Which the daily Scene presents,
Rising Doubts we shall suppress,
And the Comet's Force confess.
Changes both in Church and State
From this Star derive their Date.*

Afterwards, taking notice of the influence of this Comet on other Countries, he says :

*Let us take a farther View,
And the Comet's Course pursue ;
Countries far remote from hence
Seem to feel it's Influence.
Spain itself, we understand,
Shares the Fate of Netherland.
Crimes of Great Ones veil'd in Night,
By this Star are brought to Light.*

And soon after :

*The Pride of Great Ones to abate,
Seems now the common Work of Fate.
Bohemia teems with something new,
And opens wondrous Scenes to view.
Matthias, on like Measures bent,
May share in Philip's Punishment.
Old Laws to count as Ropes of Sand ;
To preach Religion Sword in Hand ;
Through Seas of human Blood to wade,
The Throne of Conscience to invade,
All to subject to Will and Pleasure,
And Right and Wrong by Power to measure ;
Pacifick Counsels to refuse,
Perversely sway'd by private Views ;
The Peoples Rights to sacrifice,
And all their just Complaints despise,
Are Crimes which by Decree of Fate,
A Prince's Fall precipitate.*

Lastly,

Lastly, explaining himself more fully, he adds, that Comets are not indeed causes of the troubles that follow them, but that however they ought to be understood as fore-runners of God's future wrath. The learned *Snellius* having nicely observed and described this Comet, discourses, at the conclusion of his book, in the following manner: 'The wonderful Revolutions that have happened in *Spain, Bohemia*, and other Countries, will doubtless now alarm many men. But you, O Enquirers into nature! know very well, that no body can be affected by any accident before the time. These things have happened before the Comet appeared, we must expect the events that will follow. I am of opinion, that these deserve a more than usual attention. It is easy to see what is at hand. I am not for hastily believing every thing; nor am I for slighting and despising every thing. I leave every man to his own liberty, and I am of opinion, that I ought to be left to mine. I am confirmed in my notions by the *Arabian, Haly Ben-rhodoan*: This learned man relates, that being very young, and studying Astronomy, he saw a Star in the 22d year of the *Mahometan Era* or Computation, which at first appeared in the Fifteenth degree of *Scorpio*, and that in opposition to the Sun and Moon, seeming to be three times as large as *Venus*, and yielding as much light as the Moon when a week old. It proceeded contrary to the order of the heavenly Signs. It rose earlier every day, till it arrived at the fifteenth degree of *Virgo*, where at last it vanished. He adds, that there ensued in *Mauritania*, Wars, Battles, Revolutions of Governments, and Desolations of Countries; as also Droughts, Famines, and finally, the Plague, which swept away great numbers of people. Now the agreement between that and our Comet, with respect to the place of its rise, and its course, and in a word, the entire resemblance it bore, inclines me to apprehend some like calamity; and the rather because it shone very bright at first, and did not a little increase. And lastly, because about the conclusion of its appearing, when for some time it was scarce visible, by reason of the diminution of its lustre, yet the hair of it emitted a great brightness, just as if it were to take its leave of us. And that which weighs most with me is, *Saturn's* meeting its rise with his adverse and opposite rays, and infecting it with his malignant nature; for which reason I am apprehensive that this Comet will have a very strong *Saturnine* influence. Which evil, may the almighty and infinitely good God graciously avert from the Church, and from all of us. This I most humbly beseech him who alone can prevent it.

But others, of no less name among the learned, maintaining, that Comets have little or no influence on sublunary bodies, or on the course of human affairs, spoke of it after the following manner: 'Many of the Ancients give us terrible representations of Comets, as the causes and fore-runners of approaching evils. This might indeed be said with some show of reason, if Countries and Nations were never infested with any calamities but such as were ushered in by a Comet. But we find the same events of things, whether a Comet precedes or not. Why then are they ascribed to Comets as the causes and tokens of them, or both, rather than to any thing else? If, indeed, Comets continued hanging over any particular house, town, or country; if the defeat of one were not the victory of another, and one man's destruction another's preservation; if at such a time there died none but Kings, or if the heavenly bodies had more influence on great than little men, the notions that some entertain about the power of Comets, might seem plausible. But now that we know that Comets have their course through several regions, and not only so, but that they revolve about the whole earth: That what brings hurt to one man or nation, turns to the good of another: That Subjects die as well as Sovereigns; and natural causes operate in the one case as well as in the other: Why do men call the Comets evil, terrible, and fatal; and not rather good, fortunate, and amiable? They are frightful to us because of our folly, and of the vain fear it fills our heads with, which, as if it was not an evil great enough in itself, brings more upon us from without. Some perhaps will say, that God makes use of Comets to reveal some future event to mankind: 'Tis true, such a thing may be; but how does it appear that it is actually so, any otherwise than from our own vanity, with which we poor mortals are puffed up, as if we were

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of Snellius.

Further Remarks on the
Appearance of
Comets.

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worthy that God should work such wonders for our sakes? For has he ever declared, that when a Comet extends itself towards the Western regions, a Nation should stand upon its guard against foreign enemies, or when it moves Easterly, against domestick ones? We may enumerate thousands of instances of great deeds, and of the deaths of Princes, after the appearing of Comets; but then we shall pass over many more that happened without Comets. Neither can any men explain after what manner they foreshew unhappy accidents to men.

From these Arguments it may appear, how little stress some laid on Comets which seemed so terrible to the Ancients, and what obscurity they met with in the shining of these Celestial Phenomena.

The End of the Second Volume.



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